





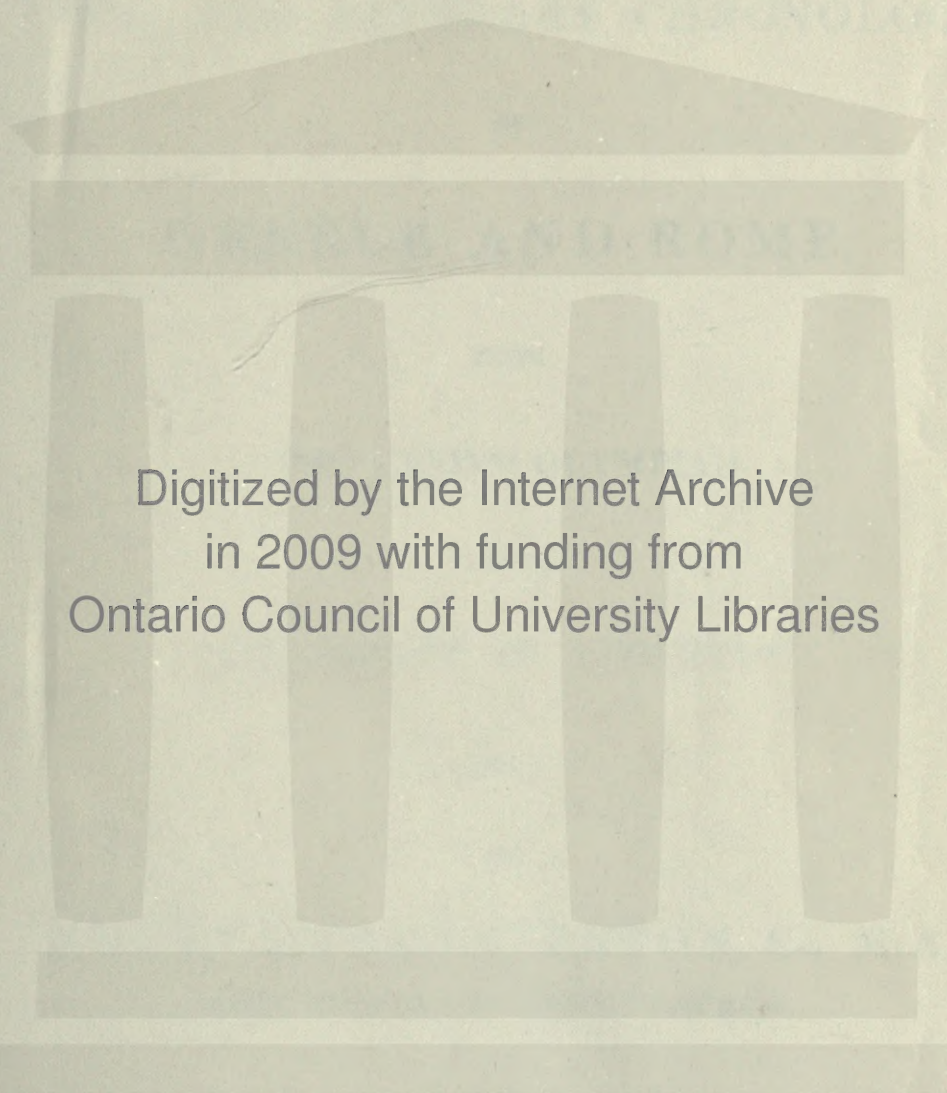


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# FASTI HELLENICI.

THE  
CIVIL AND LITERARY CHRONOLOGY  
OF

GREECE AND ROME,

FROM  
THE CXXIV<sup>TH</sup> OLYMPIAD  
TO  
THE DEATH OF AUGUSTUS.

---

BY  
HENRY FYNES CLINTON, Esq. M.A.  
LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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OXFORD,  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXXX.



EAST HELLINIC

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

THE

CIVIL AND LITERARY CHRONOLOGY

OF

GREECE AND ROME

FROM

THE OLYMPIAD

b

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER

HENRY THOMAS OLIPHANT, Esq. M.A.

LATE STUDENT OF THE CHURCH

OXFORD

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

MDCCCXXII



## PREFACE.

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**T**HE present volume, like its predecessor, appears with all the advantages which are conferred by the Oxford University Press, through the favour and patronage of the Delegates, to whom the Author acknowledges his great obligations.

The plan and arrangement of the Tables are described in the Introduction. The Appendix, with the exception of one chapter which is exclusively Roman, illustrates the Greek writers of this Period, and the Greek kingdoms of Macedon, Syria, Pergamus, and Egypt; together with those other dynasties of Asia Minor which, although not originally Greek, yet gradually assumed the Grecian arts and manners. In the last chapter, in which an account is given in ninety-eight pages of more than 270 literary names, it was not possible within that compass that all the works of each should be described, or (when the remains were numerous) that all the fragments of any should be given. But of many among them the principal works are mentioned, and the places indicated in which the most material fragments will be found.

The Inscriptions and Coins quoted in this work are given in small letters, to avoid extending the bulk of the citations; and in the Greek Inscriptions accents have been supplied for the convenience of the reader.

The inconstancy which will be observed in the spelling of some Latin words, and of some proper names in both languages, arises for the most part from the different practice of different authors; at least in the printed copies which have been used in this work. Thus, for example, Livy in Drakenborch's edition has *adfulsit*, *conlatis*, and the like; but these are *affulsit*, *collatis*, &c. in Cicero and many other au-



thors. The name *Scævula* is thus exhibited in the Capitoline Marbles; but this name is *Scævola* in the printed works of writers. *Coelius* and *Caelius* both occur. Nonius Marcellus has *Caelius*: Pighius attests that *Coelius* is found in an Inscription. In Cicero the inconstancy of the spelling is so great that both forms occur in the same page. *Mithridates* and *Μιθριδάτης* are exhibited usually in the copies of authors; but *Μιθραδάτης* upon Coins. *Μυτιλήνη* and *Μιτυλήνη* both are used; although *Μυτιλήνη* alone is right. On some occasions the usage may have altered in the course of years; but many of these varieties are probably to be imputed to the transcriber, and their number would be much diminished, if in every case, by a careful collation of ancient copies, the text could be restored as the author left it.

The author regrets that his ignorance of the German language precludes him from profiting by the writers who have illustrated ancient history and literature by works written in that language; and who have treated many of the subjects discussed in the former volume, and possibly some connected with the present. Some valuable works have been given to the English reader in translations; but still much of what he would desire to know must be placed beyond his reach. Perhaps, however, this circumstance may not be unfavourable to the investigation of truth: because, when two persons are separately engaged in tracing the same facts and examining the same evidence, if they agree in the result, their conclusion derives authority from that agreement. If they differ, the reader who examines the arguments of both will be conducted through two distinct and independent inquiries. He will see what can be advanced on either side of the question: he will compare and balance the reasonings of each; and will be less likely to accept error for truth than he would have been if only one view of the subject had been presented.

DEAN'S YARD, WESTMINSTER, OCT. 11, 1830.



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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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### IN THE INTRODUCTION.

- xv. note col. 1. line 9. for "B. C. 242." read "B. C. 342."  
 xxxiv. note col. 2. line 2. for Μελέτων γ. Μελέτου  
 xxxvi. note col. 1. l. 27. for καταλελοιπεν γ. καταλέλονπεν  
 xxxvii. note col. 1. l. 23. for ἐγὼ γ. ἐγώ  
 xl. note col. 1. l. 1. for "-eated" γ. "-feated"  
 xlv. note col. 2. l. 18. for "republica" γ. "republica."  
 lix. note col. 2. l. 3. for "Dr. Hasel" γ. "Dr. Hales"

B. C. Col.

### IN THE TABLES.

495. 4. line 4. omit "in his 57th year in B. C. 438; and"  
 line 5. for "conf. ann. 438, 405." read "conf. an. 405."  
 477. 2. for "Plato—332. 6." γ. "Plato—332. b."  
 447. 2. l. 5. ἐλόντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες. Mr. Mitford vol. II. p. 432. has expanded the last word into a charge against the Athenians; "those men of best families and principal influence in "Bœotia who had held Chæronea, were condemned to slavery." But it appears from the edition of Mr. Bekker that the words καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες ought to be omitted.  
 438. 4. omit the whole article "Sophocles—Sophocles." The numbers νζ' are from the conjecture of Brunck. We may admit his emendation, but no argument can be founded upon these numbers, nor can they be quoted as evidence. The passage in Vit. Sophocl. stands thus: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν ξε' (in membran. ξθ') ἐτῶν ὄντα στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο πρὸ τῶν Πελ. ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀναίαν πολέμῳ. If this was the Samian war, the numbers may be corrected νε' ἐτῶν πρὸ τῶν Πελ. ἔτεσιν ἑννέα. = B. C. 440. If we read with Brunck, νζ' ἐτῶν—ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ [B. C. 438], then some other expedition may be referred to, in which Sophocles held a command.  
 411. 3. p. 79. ὅταν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο—πληροῦται. In ed. Bekker this passage is marked as spurious. Thucydides however brings down his narration to the autumn: VIII. 108. Ἀλκιβιάδης—πρὸς τὸ μετόπιστον ἦδη ἐς τὴν Σάμον κατέπλευσε.  
 384. 1. for "Elmsley—Διειτρεφής" γ. "Elmsley—Διειτρέφης"  
 357. 4. for προνόμια γ. προνόμια  
 346. 3. for διαψήφισις.—Ol. 90. 2. γ. διαψήφισις.—Ol. 90. 2.  
 324. 2. for ἀρχιθεωρίας γ. ἀρχιθεωρίας  
 322. 2. (p. 164.) for οἱ τε γ. οἱ τε  
 322. 3. (p. 165.) for διέδεξατο γ. διεδέξατο  
 306. 4. line 24. omit "and Gorgias 109." As Epicurus lived to 72, ἐπίτριτον would be 72 + 24 = 96; and πλέον ἢ ἐπίτριτον might be 100, but the precise age of Gorgias is not marked by Plutarch.

Page.

### IN THE APPENDIX.

202. l. 4. for "numbers:" γ. "numbers."  
 203. note r. add "But his wife had this name according to Thucydides VI. 55. Ἰππίου δὲ παῖδες πέντε, οἱ αὐτῷ ἐκ Μυρρίνης τῆς Καλλίου τοῦ Ὑπερχίδου θυγατρὸς ἐγένοντο. We may therefore suspect the scholiast of error."  
 216. l. 14. for Κλεομένους γ. Κλεομένους  
 228. note q. add "The account of Justin sufficiently agrees with that of Pausanias, who gives to Philip 46 years: VIII. 7, 4. οὐ πρόσω βιώσας ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν. He might be 46 complete and 47 current."  
 265. note h. for "Rhypis" γ. "Rhypes"



Page.

296. l. 16. for "120+478" r. "220+478."
323. l. 17. for "Tables—538. 2." r. "Tables—529. 2."
352. note col. 2. l. 14. for γραμματεῖς r. γραμματεῖς
375. note col. 2. l. 28. for δειξάν r. διεξιάν
378. note col. 1. l. 25. for στρατῆρας r. στατῆρας
383. note col. 1. l. ult. for "which are" r. "which is"
384. note col. 1. l. 21. for "combler" r. "compter"
386. note col. 2. l. 24. for τοῖς τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι r. τοῖς τηλικούτοις, οὐκέτι
387. note col. 1. l. 32. for ἐφήβων r. ἐφήβων
392. In comparing the Attic *medimni* with English bushels, I have stated the number of bushels too largely. The *medimnus* contained 48 *chaenices* (Pollux IV. 168. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 643. Harpocr. v. μέδιμος Etymol. v. ἐκτεῖς Phot. v. μέδιμος): and was equal to 4 *pecks* 6 *pints* 3.501 *cubic inches*. The reader therefore will reform the numbers thus: line 5. read "876,302 bushels." l. 16. "1,969,802 *medimni*=2,157,680 bushels.—This quantity, equal to 269,710 quarters, would be produced upon 89,904 acres, or less than a fifth of the surface"—l. 21. "734,460=804,511 bushels—upon 33,521 acres." p. 393. note col. 1. l. 3. substitute "a *medimnus* being equal to 4 *pecks* 6 *pints* 3½ *cubic inches*, 400,000 *med.* would be equal to "438,151 bushels." p. 395. note col. 2. l. 43. "=107,875 bushels."
- This Attic *medimnus* of 48 *chaenices* is not to be confounded with the Sicilian *medimnus*, which is named by Polybius II. 15. and described by Cicero in Verr. III. 45. 46. and which contained according to Cicero 6 Roman *modii*; that is to say, 6 *pecks* 1 *pint* 12.48 *cubic inches*, or more than a bushel and a half.
394. note col. 2. l. 23. for ἐμπεύροτατοι εἰσι r. ἐμπεύροτατοὶ εἰσι
395. note col. 1. l. 1. for λεγόμενα r. λεγόμενα
399. note col. 2. l. 1. for ἔφθασαν r. ἔφθασεν
400. note col. 2. l. 20. for αἰχμαλῶτα r. αἰχμάλωτα
401. line 10. for "This proportion may" r. "This proportion for Thebes may"
403. v. *Phare*. for Φάρις—Φάριν—Φάρις r. Φᾶρις—Φᾶριν—Φᾶρις
- Ibid. v. *Sciros*. for Καρίας r. Καρίας
404. v. *Zarax*. for "See above p. 193." r. "See above p. 215."
406. l. 3. for "these towns" r. "their towns"
412. note col. 1. l. 29. for οἱ δὲ r. οἱ δὲ
413. note col. 1. l. 10. for νεοδαμῶδες r. νεοδαμῶδες
416. note col. 2. l. 17. for φκουν r. φκουν
417. note col. 2. l. 39. for ἐβοηθήσαν r. ἐβοήθησαν
420. at the end of note p. add as follows: "The account which Barthélemy has adopted is farther refuted by the numbers of Megalopolis. In Megalopolis during the period of its prosperity the proportion of slaves would be greater than in the other Arcadian republics. And yet at Megalopolis, which contained within its territory the population of six states, and part of the inhabitants of a seventh (Orchomenus), and which consequently possessed from 7000 to 8000 citizens, all the men of military age, including citizens, slaves, and strangers, were only 15,000 in B. C. 318. But if we deduct the citizens and strangers, who may be estimated together at 9000 or 10,000, there will remain 5000 or 6000 slaves. The slaves therefore at Megalopolis, at that time the richest and most important state in Arcadia, would be to the freemen as 6 to 9, and perhaps only as 5 to 10; or half the number of the free: which is the proportion that has been adopted in the preceding inquiry for the slave population of Achaia, Bœotia, and Arcadia collectively."
423. l. 4. for "5000 armed troops" r. "5000 light-armed troops"
431. note m. after "Laconia—here given" proceed thus: "The inhabitants of Methonē and of Asiné are included in the total population, but I have not attempted to compute them in the first and second columns. 2. At Sicyon, &c."



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CHAPTER I

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER IV



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE times before *Pisistratus*, forming the first of the three periods into which we have divided Grecian chronology, may themselves be distributed into three portions; the first extending to the Trojan war, the second containing the space from the fall of Troy to the first Olympiad, and the third the interval from the first Olympiad to the fifty-fifth. In treating these we must be guided by the degree of our knowledge. The two first portions, where the sources of information are scanty, are briefly surveyed. In the first, little more is attempted than to ascertain the races of which the early inhabitants were composed, and to trace the families to which the leaders of the Greek nation were ascribed. In the second I have endeavoured to fix the dates of some leading epochs. In these parts of the volume, to bring the subject within a small compass, a short outline of the various positions, and the results at which I have arrived, are stated in the text; while the discussion of particular questions and an exhibition of the testimonies at large are reserved for the notes.

In these two divisions of the subject, the times before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, some remarkable periods might have been preserved. It might have been remembered and recorded that the war of Troy lasted to the tenth year; that *Orestes* returned to Argos in the eighth year after the death of *Agamemnon*; that the Bœotians occupied Bœotia in the 60th year, and the Dorians Peloponnesus in the 80th year, after the fall of Troy; or that the Ionic migration commenced 60 years after the return of the *Heraclidæ*. The duration of some remarkable reigns might also possibly have been transmitted. But it is not likely that the years of any entire series of reigns were accurately preserved. Accordingly, not relying upon the dates which are given by the later chronologers, I have attempted to draw together the scattered relics of the early traditions, and to exhibit the early times as they are related by the ancients themselves, in the form of genealogies. The positions of the chronologers are examined, and compared with those other accounts which the genealogies supply.



But the authority even of these has been called in question by many able and learned writers, who reject *Danaüs*, *Cadmus*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, and many others, as fictitious persons. It is evident that any fact would come from the hands of the poets embellished with many fabulous additions; and fictitious genealogies were undoubtedly composed. Because, however, some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous. Niebuhr argues that the traditions preserved by the poets would be obscured in two or three generations. This might have happened if the poetry of the Greeks had been rude songs recited merely by the populace. But this was not the character of the early poetry of Greece. The compositions were recited by persons whose profession it was to lay them up in their memories and to transmit them. The *αοιδὸς* was a person of importance and dignity. In poetical language he was inspired by the gods; in plain description he was one who had leisure for intellectual pursuits, who was exempted from the necessity of labour and spared the toils of war; and who cultivated poetry as his peculiar province. What he composed was not left in the hands of the rude multitude, but was committed to other poets who were his successors in the art <sup>a</sup>.

We may also observe that national vanity, one cause of corrupting genealogies and falsifying traditions, could have no place in the early times of Greece. In later times, when the Greeks began to distinguish mankind into barbarian and Greek, this feeling would operate. But that distinction had not then been made. The country was occupied by independent and rival tribes, Ionians and Æolians and Achæans and Dorians. The traditions which celebrated the heroes of one tribe would be cautiously received by the others. Variations in the tale occurred. Thus the character and death of *Sciron* were related by the Athenians solely to the honour of *Theseus*; but the Megarians described them very differently <sup>b</sup>. These variations, however, would establish the general fact in which all agreed. And especially we may receive the traditions which were admitted by those who had no interest or concern in the admission. Some of the early traditions acknowledged obligations to foreign countries. They had to tell that they received the arts of life through *Danaüs* and *Cadmus* and *Pelops* from nations more civilized than themselves: these traditions, so little flattering to national vanity, were not such as a people would be apt to fabricate. In estimating, then, the

<sup>a</sup> See this subject touched upon below at p. 358. j. 372. 373.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. *Thes.* c. 10.



historical value of the genealogies transmitted by the early poets, we may take a middle course; not rejecting them as wholly false, nor yet implicitly receiving all as true. The genealogies contain many real persons, but these are incorporated with many fictitious names. The fictions, however, will have a basis of truth: the genealogical expression may be false, but the connexion which it describes is real. Even to those who reject the whole as fabulous, the exhibition of the early times which is presented in this volume may still be not unacceptable; because it is necessary for the right understanding of antiquity that the opinions of the Greeks concerning their own origin should be set before us, even if these are erroneous opinions; and that their story should be told as they have told it themselves.

The names preserved by the ancient genealogies may be considered of three kinds; either they were the name of a race or clan converted into the name of an individual, or they were altogether fictitious, or lastly they were real historical persons. An attempt is made in the four genealogical tables inserted below<sup>c</sup> to distinguish these three classes of names. Those which appear to be the names of nations converted into the names of persons are there exhibited in capitals; the fictitious names are in italics. Of those who are left in the third class all are not entitled to remain there. But I have only placed in the two first classes those names concerning which there seemed to be little doubt. The rest are left to the judgment of the reader.

The following are examples of the name of a people converted into the name of a person. The brothers *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Car*, in Herodotus<sup>d</sup>; *Caucon* in Strabo<sup>e</sup>; *Pelasgus*, of whom there were five<sup>f</sup>; *Achæus*, of whom two are recorded<sup>g</sup>; *Lelex*, of whom three occur<sup>h</sup>. To the same class I would ascribe *Epeüs*, *Ætolus*, and *Eleüs*<sup>i</sup>; *Phlegyas*, *Minyas*, and *Orchomenus*<sup>k</sup>; *Ion*<sup>l</sup>, *Dorus*<sup>m</sup>, *Arcas*<sup>n</sup>, *Æolus*<sup>o</sup>, and even *Hellen*<sup>p</sup>. These appellations might be applied in two ways; either the leader was described under this national name, or (as

<sup>c</sup> At p. 18. 33. 40. 100.

<sup>d</sup> Herodot. I. 171.      <sup>e</sup> See below p. 35. 1.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 11. 18. We may add a sixth p. 11. a. a seventh p. 20. q. and an eighth p. 30. s.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 52. In p. 1., where it is said that the first seat of the Achæans was in Thessaly, I have represented the account of the ancients themselves; according to which the *Achæi* first

became a nation in Thessaly. But it would have been more properly said that the *Achæi* proceeded from Argos to Thessaly and from Thessaly returned into Peloponnesus.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 4.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 49.

<sup>m</sup> Pag. 69.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 45. 51.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 41. 42. o.

<sup>l</sup> Pag. 53—56.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 90. r.

<sup>p</sup> Pag. 44. 45.



Mr. Muller has interpreted many of these names<sup>a</sup>) the nation itself was personified under an individual, and its presence in a particular region, or its migration to a particular district, was described; just as in the language of Hebrew poetry the names *Israel* and *Jacob* are used to designate the whole Hebrew nation. But, although in the Greek traditions these were not real names, or rather were poetical descriptions substituted for the real names, yet the facts with which they were connected were real circumstances. In the former sense of the name of a clan or race transferred to an individual we may understand *Thessalus* the leader of the *Thessali*<sup>r</sup>, *Ion* of the Ionians<sup>s</sup>, *Achæus* of the Achæans<sup>t</sup>. In the latter sense (which, however, less frequently occurs) of a nation personified by an individual, we may interpret *Thesprotus* and *Macedon* sons of *Lycaon*<sup>v</sup>, or *Phthius* son of *Achæus*<sup>w</sup>. Such genealogies will express an affinity between the tribes so named<sup>x</sup>.

Among the second class of fabricated names we may reckon those which have been invented to shew a connexion, or rather which are poetical expressions of a connexion. The connexion is real, but the expression of it fabulous. In these fabricated names many of the females who appear in the genealogies may be included. Thus *Messenë* daughter of *Triopas*<sup>y</sup>, *Spartë* daughter of *Eurotas*<sup>z</sup>, *Taygetë* mother of *Lacedæmon*<sup>a</sup>, *Larissa* mother of *Achæus*<sup>b</sup>, *Callisto* mother of *Arcas*<sup>c</sup>, *Melibœa* wife of *Magnes*<sup>d</sup>, were fictitious persons; but the connexion which they signified was substantial and real. To such names we may refer *Arnë* the daughter of *Æolus* and mother of *Bæotus*<sup>e</sup>. Here *Arnë* belongs to the second class of names, *Æolus* and *Bæotus* to the first. Among the imaginary persons again may be numbered the names designed to express a local origin; as *Haliartus* and *Coronus* sons of *Thersander*<sup>f</sup>; *Mænalus*, *Mantineus*, *Orchomenus*, *Parrhasus*, sons of *Lycaon*<sup>g</sup>; *Epidaurus* and *Tiryns* sons of *Argus*<sup>h</sup>;

<sup>a</sup> This mode of interpretation had been also suggested by Bryant. See Mitford Hist. of Greece vol. I. p. 45. note 25.

<sup>r</sup> See below p. 19.

<sup>s</sup> Pag. 53.

<sup>t</sup> Pag. 52.

<sup>v</sup> Pag. 89.

<sup>w</sup> See p. 18. To this head Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 67. refers *Pamphylus* and *Dymas*, who accompanied the *Heraclidae* into Peloponnesus. They are "the collective names of races which existed through the whole period." I should rather refer them to the former head; the name of the

tribe substituted for the name of the leader. See below p. 109. e.

<sup>x</sup> Mr. Muller supposes them to imply a succession of one race to another. See below p. 21. g.

<sup>y</sup> See p. 33.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 89. 90.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 41. l.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 67. e.

<sup>f</sup> Pag. 46. e.

<sup>g</sup> Pag. 89.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 10. 18.



*Andreus* son of the *Peneüs*<sup>i</sup>: or those in which a plain and obvious analogy may be traced between the name and the fact. Thus *Aëthlius*<sup>k</sup> and *Amphictyon*<sup>l</sup> are fabricated persons. But in cases like these of *Amphictyon* and *Aëthlius* the particular circumstances must conspire to mark the persons as fictitious. The mere occurrence of a name expressing a thing is not of itself a proof that the person is fabricated. Thus *Charilaüs* was a real person, *Agesilaüs* and *Archidamus* were real persons, in historical times. The practice of giving descriptive names is found in many nations. It was common with the Hebrews, and with the Greeks themselves in their latest periods; why should it not have occurred among them in the first ages? Descriptive names, then, are not evidences of fiction, when unaccompanied by other particulars. Thus *Eunomus* is rejected in this work<sup>m</sup>, not on account of the composition of the name in itself, but because a generation is wanting in the oldest author, and because that generation is perhaps interpolated, certainly transposed, in the next oldest authority. Even when the name is fictitious the person may be real. Thus the father of *Arion* is *Cycleus*<sup>n</sup>; doubtless a fabricated name, expressing that *Arion* invented or improved the cyclian chorus; and yet *Arion* himself was real. *Helen* therefore may be a real person, although by one poetical fiction she is called the daughter of *Nemesis*<sup>o</sup>. A descriptive name which superseded the original name was not unusual with the Greeks. *Stesichorus* was not the original name of that poet, who received this appellation after he had attained eminence<sup>p</sup>. The real name of *Melissa* was *Lysidë*<sup>q</sup>. *Pero* the daughter of *Neleus* was afterwards called *Elegeis*<sup>r</sup>. The original name, then, of *Hercules* might have been *Alcæus*; and in all the cases in which we pronounce the person bearing a descriptive name to be a fabulous person, we must have a substantial reason founded upon each particular case; and we shall not be justified in rejecting *Hercules* or *Theseus* from the mere composition of their names.

Too much is often deduced from the etymology of names. Thus many inquirers have sought an etymology for the *Pelasgi*, and have even founded the history and origin of that people upon the supposed origin of their name<sup>s</sup>. But

<sup>i</sup> Pag. 46. e.

<sup>k</sup> See *Aëthlius* explained by Mr. Boeckh ad Pindar. p. 138.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 67. 69.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 144. z.

<sup>n</sup> See the Tables B. C. 625.

<sup>o</sup> See below p. 353. z.

<sup>p</sup> Suid. Στησίχορος.—ἐκλήθη δὲ Στησίχορος, ὅτι πρῶτος καθαρχίᾳ χορὸν ἔστησεν ἐπεὶ τοι πρότερον Τισίας ἐκαλεῖτο.

<sup>q</sup> See the Tables B. C. 624.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 115.

<sup>s</sup> See the authorities quoted at p. 97.



there seems no reason why this particular people should be so investigated. No etymology can be proposed of the names *Achæi*, *Ætoli*, *Epei*, *Dores*, *Thessali*, and many other tribes ; who are derived by the mythologists from *Achæus*, *Dorus*, or *Thessalus*, as the *Pelasgi* are from *Pelasgus*. And yet these tribes are acknowledged ; and their origin is not made to depend upon etymology ; why should this be done in the case of the *Pelasgi* ? A name might often originate in some accidental or trivial cause which was soon forgotten. The etymologies proposed for *Iaones*, *Æoles*, and some others noticed below<sup>t</sup>, are of a different character. There the etymologies harmonize with the origin of the tribes, deduced from other facts. In the case of the *Iaones* and *Æoles*, the etymology is founded upon the history ; in the case of the *Pelasgi* the history is founded upon the etymology. We may observe that the Greeks themselves, who are fanciful in etymology, have often been led from the accidental import of a name to invent a fable, which has thrown discredit upon the name itself. But the person may be real, although the tale to which his name had given occasion is a mere invention, fabricated in a later age.

We may acknowledge as real persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting. The presumption is in favour of the early tradition, if no argument can be brought to overthrow it. The persons may be considered real when the description of them is consonant with the state of the country at that time ; when no national prejudice or vanity could be concerned in inventing them ; when the tradition is consistent and general ; when rival or hostile tribes concur in the leading facts ; when the acts ascribed to the person (divested of their poetical ornament) enter into the political system of the age, or form the basis of other transactions which fall within known historical times. *Cadmus* and *Danaüs* appear to be real persons ; for it is conformable to the state of mankind and perfectly credible that Phœnician and Egyptian adventurers, in the ages to which these persons are ascribed, should have found their way to the coasts of Greece<sup>v</sup> ; and the Greeks (as already observed) had no motive from any national vanity to feign these settlements. *Hercules* was a real person. His acts were recorded by those who were not friendly to the Dorians ; by Achæans and Æolians and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people. His descendants in many branches remained in many states to the historical times. His son *Tlepolemus* and his grandson and great grandson *Cleo-*

<sup>t</sup> At p. 98. h.

<sup>v</sup> See below p. 367.

*dæus* and *Aristomachus* are acknowledged to be real persons<sup>w</sup>; and there is no reason that can be assigned for receiving these, which will not be equally valid for establishing the reality both of *Hercules* and *Hyllus*. Above all, *Hercules* is authenticated by the testimonies in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. These, the oldest poems, treat of the latest period within the epic cycle. If we regard the subjects of the early epic poetry, the earliest place, as will be seen below<sup>x</sup>, belongs to the *Theogony*, the wars of the Giants, the wars of the Titans. Then follow the *Phoronis* and the *Danaïs*; then at some interval the acts of *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and the Theban wars: last of all the war of Troy and the νόστοι. But this order is in a great degree reversed with reference to the poets. The most ancient poems, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, describe the subjects which are nearly the last in order; and, in celebrating the war of Troy, the author of the *Iliad* limits himself to the times which immediately precede it. In the Trojan line he ascends to *Dardanus*<sup>y</sup>; in the Argive kings to *Acrisius*<sup>z</sup>. In the Æolian line the *Odyssey* traces a genealogy upwards to *Melampus*<sup>a</sup>, and to *Cretheus*<sup>b</sup> and *Salmonæus*<sup>c</sup>; and the *Iliad* another to *Sisyphus*<sup>d</sup>. But except in these cases the genealogies in these two poems are limited to the third or fourth generation. They never name *Dorus*, or *Hellen*, or *Danaüs*, or *Deucalion*. Even *Æolus* is not distinctly named as an individual<sup>e</sup>. But this character of the Homeric genealogies is in favour of their historical evidence. The authors of these poems seem to ascend no higher than authentic accounts transmitted by contemporary poets would carry them, and to have neglected the remoter times, where tradition was less distinct and more obscured by fable. But if the author of the *Iliad* flourished where we have placed him<sup>f</sup>, the heroes of the fourth generation would be only 250 or 260 years, and *Hercules* only 210 or 220 years, before the time of the poet himself; and through that period the testimony of contemporary bards<sup>g</sup>, by whom so remarkable a person was mentioned, might well descend to the time of *Homer*; in

<sup>w</sup> Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 434. "The birth of several Doric heroes is connected with the taking of Ephyra; who, though out of the confines of history, are nevertheless to be considered as real individuals." He mentions *Tlepolemus*, *Antiphus*, *Pheidippus*. Vol. I. p. 67. "The descendants of *Hyllus* are no longer races, but, as it appears, real individuals; his son *Cleodæus* and his grandson *Aristomachus*."

<sup>x</sup> At p. 348.

<sup>y</sup> See p. 88. o.

<sup>z</sup> See p. 75. h.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 40. g.

<sup>b</sup> Pag. 40. e.

<sup>c</sup> Odyss. x. 235.

<sup>d</sup> Il. ζ. 154.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 51. l. A later *Æolus* occurs in the *Odyssey*.

<sup>f</sup> See below p. 362.

<sup>g</sup> On the preservation of the poetry of the early poets see p. 372. 373.



whom that hero appears (as Mitford<sup>b</sup> has remarked) in a different character from the *Hercules* of later poets, not clothed in a lion's skin, but armed like other heroes and attended by armies. If the testimonies in the *Iliad* are sufficient for establishing the reality of *Hercules*, they are still more valid for attesting the heroes of the Trojan war itself.

The existence of *Theseus* has been denied. It is urged by Mr. Muller<sup>i</sup> that the Athenian constitution was falsely ascribed to this hero by Athenian vanity; that the Athenians had no democracy till the time of *Solon*; and that the line in the *Iliad*<sup>k</sup> in which δῆμος Ἐρεχθίδης is mentioned must have been composed at least as late as the age of *Solon*. It is truly affirmed that the Athenians had no democracy till the age of *Solon*. We have the testimony of Aristotle<sup>l</sup> that down to this period the government of Athens was an unmitigated oligarchy. The gradual limitations of the power of the chief magistrate at Athens, which occurred between the death of *Codrus* and the legislation of *Solon*, a period of about 395 years<sup>m</sup>, were not imposed by the people but by the aristocracy, who restrained the powers which they were willing to share: and the benefits ascribed to the institutions of *Theseus* were doubtless much exaggerated in the brilliant times of Athens, when the Athenians had become a lettered people<sup>n</sup>. But in that period from *Codrus* to *Solon* they had made no advances in political importance<sup>o</sup>: they had displayed no signs of that intellectual superiority which they were destined to assume. While the Lacedæmonians were conquering Messenia, the weight and

<sup>b</sup> History of Greece vol. I. p. 34.

<sup>i</sup> Dor. vol. II. p. 73. 74. <sup>k</sup> Il. β'. 547.

<sup>l</sup> See F. H. II. p. 249. m.

<sup>m</sup> From B. C. 989 to 594. See below p. 140. 227.

<sup>n</sup> Pausanias I. 3, 2. acknowledges that the Athenian account was false: κερῶρηκε δὲ φήμη καὶ ἄλλως ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς Θεσεὺς παραδίδει τὰ πράγματα τῷ δήμῳ—λέγεται μὲν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς ἀληθῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰς ἰστορίας ἀσφαλοὺς εἶσι, καὶ ὅποια ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παλίου ἐν τε χροῖς καὶ τραγηδαῖς πιστὰ ἡγουμένους.

<sup>o</sup> Orosius indeed I. 21. relates a war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, which he places in B. C. 782. But on a comparison of Eusebius Chron. II. the suspicion of Scaliger ad Euseb. num. 939. p. 59. appears just, that Orosius referred to the war with *Codrus*: Euseb.

Anno 936, Peloponnesii bellum Atheniensibus intulerunt. Anno 939, Amazones cum Cimmericis incursionem in Asiam fecerunt. Orosius: Anno ante U. C. XXX<sup>o</sup> Peloponnesium Atheniensiumque maximum bellum totis viribus animisque commissum est; in quo mutuis cædibus ad hoc coacti sunt, ut velut victi se ab alterutro subtraherent bellumque desererent. Tum etiam Amazonum gentis et Cimmericorum in Asiam repentinus incursus plurimam—stragem edidit. I should not however think with Scaliger that the date in Orosius is corrupt, and that it ought to be ante U. C. CCCXXX<sup>o</sup>. The date, as it now stands, is consistent with the next event, the Messenian war; and Orosius rather seems to have confounded the notice of a Cimmerian incursion in the reign of *Codrus* with a later irruption in B. C. 782.

influence of the Athenians were as yet little felt in Greece. In these times, however, of comparative obscurity to Athens *Theseus* was acknowledged by the epic poets of the Asiatic Greeks<sup>p</sup>. Although, then, *Theseus* was not the founder of the Athenian liberties, yet his existence is established by these early poets, who composed their works under no Athenian influence; and there seems no cause to doubt the fact related by Thucydides, that he collected the inhabitants of the districts into one city, although he did not give them a democratic constitution<sup>q</sup>. Nor does there seem any sufficient reason for rejecting the line in the *Iliad* which mentions δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος. This term could not then be used in the sense which belonged to it in aftertimes at Athens; but δῆμος Ἐρεχθῆος might be said by the poet, as δῆμος Λυκίων, or δῆμος Ἰθάκης, or δῆμος Ἀπαισοῦ, are said in other passages<sup>r</sup>.

In addition to the testimony derived from early poets, and especially from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, to the existence of ancient heroes, the testimony of inscriptions deserves to be considered. These might attest the reality not only of many persons in the period which followed the Dorian conquest, but even of some in the times which preceded it. We have observed below<sup>s</sup> that the Greeks were slow in applying the art of writing to poetry. But, although not applied to poetical works till perhaps after B. C. 776, or about that date, yet it is probable that letters were applied by the Greeks to inscriptions in their temples and to registers of names from a much earlier date. The *Carneonicæ* were registered at Sparta from B. C. 676<sup>t</sup>; the *Olympionicæ* in Elis from B. C. 776<sup>v</sup>. But the

<sup>p</sup> Although the line in *Il.* α'. may be spurious (see p. 64. v), yet *Theseus* is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, and is acknowledged by *Arctinus* and by *Lesches*, and in the Hesiodic poem the *ἄσπις*. See below p. 64. x. 356. b. 357. c.

<sup>q</sup> Thucyd. II. 15. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ εἰς Θησέα ἀεὶ κατὰ πόλεις φέκεῖτο πρυτανεῖα τε ἔχονσα καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὅποτε μὴ τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνήσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολιτεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλιν τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὔσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνέκισε πάντας, καὶ νεομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἑκάστους, ὥσπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ, ἠνάγκασε μὴ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢ ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων εἰς αὐτὴν μεγάλην γενομένην παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησεῶς

τοῖς ἔπειτα. In this passage no mention is made of powers granted to the people. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 895. has prudently drawn the distinction between what was the original and genuine tradition and what was the addition of Athenian orators and poets: *Quod Theseus XII demos in unum corpus, ἄστν, coëgit, fundus est omnium quæ vere narrari possunt.*

<sup>r</sup> Heyn. ad *Il.* β'. 546. δῆμον dixit non Attico more, sed est populus &c. Sic δῆμος Τρώων *Od.* α'. 237. δῆμος Λυκίων *Il.* π'. 437. hoc est, terra. δῆμος Ἰθάκης occurs *Il.* γ'. 201. δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ *Il.* β'. 828.

<sup>s</sup> At p. 368.

<sup>t</sup> Athen. XIV. p. 635. f. See the Tables B. C. 676. Sturz. *Hellanic.* p. 83. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 149.

<sup>v</sup> Pausanias refers to the Elean registers III. 21, 1. V. 21, 5. VI. 2, 1. 8, 1. 13, 6. 22, 2,



disk of *Iphitus*, which was acknowledged by Aristotle, may be placed at B. C. 828 <sup>w</sup>. The public registers at Sparta, containing in Mr. Muller's opinion all the kings from *Procles*<sup>x</sup>, the registers of the kings and *prytanes* of Corinth<sup>y</sup>, the ancient inscriptions at Elis, which exhibited a genealogy from *Oxylus* to *Iphitus*<sup>z</sup>, may be referred to a still earlier period; and perhaps were begun to be written as early as B. C. 1048, the probable time of the Dorian conquest. Among the Athenians we hear of inscriptions made in temples, which, though not so ancient perhaps as these which have been mentioned, were nevertheless of an early date. In the oration against *Neæra*, about B. C. 340, such an inscription is quoted containing the regulations concerning the wife of the king-archon<sup>a</sup>. The inscription, which was then ancient, might be older than the time of *Solon*<sup>b</sup>. The inscriptions quoted by Herodotus, in which *Amphitryo* and *Laodamas* are named<sup>c</sup>, were ancient in the time of Herodotus; which may perhaps carry them back 400 years before his time; and in that case they might approach within 300 years of *Laodamas* and within 400 years of the probable time of *Cadmus* himself<sup>d</sup>.

quoted in the Tables B. C. 644. X. 36, 4, with reference to Ol. 211. That they did not register before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* may be collected from Pausan. VI. 19, 9. quoted at p. 132. o.

<sup>w</sup> Plutarch. *Lycurg.* c. 1. quoted F. H. II. p. 409. For the date of *Iphitus* see below p. 141. Muller vol. I. p. 148. admits the genuineness of this inscription: "There is no reason for doubting its genuineness, which was recognised by Aristotle; and the institution (of the sacred armistice founded by *Lycurgus* and *Iphitus*) was considered by all ancient writers as a real fact."

<sup>x</sup> Muller vol. I. p. 150. quotes Plutarch *Colot.* p. 1116. F. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν περὶ Λυκούργου χρησμὸν ἐν ταῖς παλαιστάταις ἀναγραφαῖς ἔχοντες.* The oracle is quoted Herodot. I. 65. Theodoret. *Serm.* IX. p. 927. Max. Tyr. *Diass.* XIII. (rather XXIX. p. 72) referred to by Muller. Add Themistius p. 225. d. Muller even supposes them to have contained the years of the reigns: "These registers doubtless contained the names of all the kings, and probably also the years of their reigns, as far back as *Procles*." This, however, seems not so likely: see below p. 332. From these registers Muller observes that *Charon* of *Lampsacus* composed the work named by

Suidas, *Πρυτάνεις ἢ ἄρχοντες Λακεδαιμονίων ἔστι δὲ χρονικά.* *Charon* flourished in B. C. 504: F. H. II. p. 19.

<sup>y</sup> Muller vol. I. p. 152. "There must have been also registers of the names and years of the princes of Corinth, and the family of the *Bacchiadae*, since no one could have had the boldness to invent them." That the years were given in any complete list may be doubted.

<sup>z</sup> See below p. 142. q. Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 153. acknowledges these "ancient chronicles of Elis, which Pausanias saw," &c.

<sup>a</sup> Demosth. *Neær.* p. 1370. for the date see F. H. II. p. 359. *τούτων τὸν νόμον γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βαμὸν ἐν Λίμναις. καὶ αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστηκεν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικαῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα.*

<sup>b</sup> Even Josephus Apion. I. 4. p. 1142. admits that they had written laws in the time of *Draco* at B. C. 621; and this inscription might be as early as that date.

<sup>c</sup> See below p. 85. l.

<sup>d</sup> For the time of *Cadmus* see p. 85. 139. for *Laodamas*, p. 87. l. 140. It is granted that these inscriptions are not genuine; that is, not of the age to which they are assigned by Herodotus himself. But that they were ancient can-

But at Argos a register was preserved of the priestesses of *Juno* which might be still more ancient than the catalogues of the kings of Sparta or of Corinth. That register, from which Hellanicus composed his work<sup>e</sup>, contained the priestesses from the earliest times down to the age of *Hellanicus* himself, whose work probably ended with the priestess *Chrysis*, who began her office in B. C. 479, since her 48th year was still current in the spring of B. C. 431<sup>f</sup>. But this catalogue might have been commenced as early as the Trojan war itself, and even at a still earlier date<sup>g</sup>. That many other registers and inscriptions existed in temples, and that they formed materials for *Timæus*—τῶ τὰς ὀπισθοδόμους στήλας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς φλῃαῖς τῶν νεῶν προξενίας ἔξευρηκότι—appears from Polybius<sup>h</sup>.

It is true that these registers would contain no more than bare names<sup>i</sup>. But yet these would identify persons, and would be important evidence, when the question is concerning the very existence of the early heroes; and when it is denied that *Pelias*, *Neleus*, *Ægisthus*, and *Atreus* were real persons<sup>k</sup>. By the aid of etymology *Ὀρφεύς* is interpreted to mean “dark,” and owes his supposed

not be doubted: and that the inscriptions in that temple of the Ismenian *Apollo* at Thebes were ancient is attested by Aristot. θαυμ. ἀκουσμ. N<sup>o</sup>. 133. p. 843. Bekk. τῆς καλουμένης Αἰναικῆς χώρας περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἰσμήνην λέγεται παλαιὰ τις στήλη εὐρεθῆναι, ἣν οἱ Αἰνῶνες τίνος ἦν εἰδέναι βουλόμενοι, ἔχουσιν ἐπιγραφὴν ἀρχαίῃς γράμμασιν, ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ἀθήνας τινὰς κομίζοντας αὐτήν. πορευομένων δὲ διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας—λέγεται αὐτοὺς εἰσαχθῆναι εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἰσμήνιον ἐν Θήβαις. ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ μάλιστα αὐτὸν εὐρεθῆναι τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπιγραφὴν, λέγοντες εἶναι τινα ἀναθήματα ὁμοίους ἔχοντα τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων ἀρχαῖα. The inscriptions in Herodotus are at least testimonies of the opinion of the age in which they were inscribed, and are evidence that *Amphitryo* and *Laodamas* were acknowledged in an early period.

<sup>e</sup> See the fragments in Sturz. *Hellanic*. p. 77—82.

<sup>f</sup> Thucyd. II. 2. where the Scholiast remarks, ἡρίβουν τοὺς χρόνους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν.

<sup>g</sup> Hellanicus named the 26th year of the priestess *Alcyonē*, in the third generation before the Trojan war. See below p. 26. The date might be fixed by Hellanicus upon conjecture; but the name might have been inscribed soon

after the time of *Alcyonē* herself. Mr. Muller, who admits Dor. vol. I. p. 156. that these documents (namely the registers already mentioned) would afford a valuable foundation for an account of the three centuries before regular history begins, observes p. 148. that the art of writing was during this time introduced among the Greeks through their intercourse with Asia. By “during this time” he seems to mean, within B. C. 948, the date affixed at p. 147. But, if the Dorians, a rude race of people, had their registers, it is likely that the more cultivated Achæans and Ionians who preceded them had theirs. Muller p. 148. remarks that letters were long regarded as a foreign craft in Greece. This might be so. But no reason can be given why Phœnician and Egyptian colonists, who settled in Greece some generations before the Trojan war, should suddenly forget an art which was familiar in their native land, and neglect to continue the practice and to teach their successors the practice of inserting inscriptions in their temples in the new country.

<sup>h</sup> See F. H. III. p. 490.

<sup>i</sup> As Mr. Muller observes vol. I. p. 153.

<sup>k</sup> Philological Museum vol. II. p. 352—355.



existence to the rites of darkness which his name describes. It is argued that the history of *Pelias*, who also means "darkness," has strong traces of a connexion with the same rites; the cutting up of *Pelias* being the same story as the dis-cerption of *Orpheus*: that the signification of *Νηλεὺς* is probably the same, for in mythology brothers often represent the same idea; from ἔλα, ἄελιος, εἴλη, comes *Νηλεὺς* with the negative prefix. It is observed that Ἀμυθάων is probably only an epithet; that Μελάμπους also alludes to the rites of darkness; that in Πέλοψ or "dark faced" is another trace of the same religion in Phrygia. The story of the caldron and the division of the body is that of *Orpheus* and *Pelias* repeated. The names Θυέστης, Αἶγισθος, Ἀερόπη, seem to this inquirer to be all connected with the same religious system; Θυέστης being "a sacrificer," Αἶγισθος "one who tears to pieces," Ἀερόπη "the dark," Ἀτρεὺς or *ater* being probably synonymous with Πέλοψ.

This scheme of interpretation is less credible than that which is rejected. For, besides that etymologies, when made the basis of history instead of being founded upon it, or proceeding naturally out of it, can only end in a conjecture at last, and can never stand in the place of historical truth, this whole reasoning rests upon the assumption<sup>1</sup> that mystical religion existed in Greece from the very first and in the earliest ages; an assumption which is refuted by the silence of *Homer* and the absence of all testimony.

In other instances the religious worship of the early Greeks has been somewhat fancifully applied to explain their history. According to some expositors one ancient people is a nation of priests, a sacerdotal caste; and their movements are characterised as a kind of religious wars, undertaken to establish a particular worship. Doubtless the Dorians carried with them into any new settlement the worship of *Apollo*, and the Ionians the worship of *Neptune*. But those worships were not the cause of wars and migrations; these were undertaken from the same motives which have led other nations to seek new settlements. Even Mr. Muller, who has learnedly illustrated the religion of the Dorians, has sometimes assigned to it a larger influence, and described it in loftier language, than his authorities will justify. At one time he states that the Dorians every where exterminated the ancient rites of *Ceres*<sup>m</sup>; at another, that the Ionians planted the worship of

<sup>1</sup> The author himself p. 356. is aware of this: "time of *Homer*, these conjectures and assimila-  
 " If the opinion were well founded, that all the " tions must fall to the ground."  
 " mystical religions were introduced after the <sup>m</sup> Vol. I. p. 116.

*Apollo* by force in Attica<sup>n</sup>. But that the establishment of a religious worship was never a leading motive is evident from the facility with which the Dorians and other early tribes adopted the worship of any other people. Thus the Dorians adopted the worship of the Pelasgian *Juno* at Argos<sup>o</sup>; the Pelasgian or Lelegian *Diana* in Laconia<sup>p</sup>. The *Dryopes* worshipped *Apollo* the god of their enemies<sup>q</sup>. The Ionians embraced the worship of the Ephesian *Diana*, an ancient worship which they found already in the country<sup>r</sup>. With respect to the rites of *Ceres* Herodotus<sup>s</sup>, to whom Mr. Muller refers, does not state that these were every where exterminated, but only that they had fallen into neglect among the Dorians: and Mr. Muller himself relates on another occasion that this very worship was adopted by the Lacedæmonians<sup>t</sup>.

In treating the religion of the early Dorians, Mr. Muller<sup>v</sup> “ascends to a period “in which the primitive religion of the Dorians exhibited a distinct and original “character;” and describes the *Jupiter* and *Apollo* of this nation in the following terms: “The Supreme Deity when connected with *Apollo* was neither born “nor visible on earth, and perhaps never considered as having any immediate influence upon men. But *Apollo*, who is often emphatically called the son of “*Jupiter*, acts as his intercessor, ambassador, and prophet, with mankind. And “whilst the father of the gods appears, indistinctly and at a distance, dwelling in “ether, and enthroned in the highest heavens, *Apollo* is described as a divine “hero, whose office is to ward off evils and dangers, establish rites of expiation, “and announce the ordinances of fate.” These splendid expressions are not justified by the testimonies in Æschylus and Sophocles to which he refers<sup>w</sup>. But if

<sup>n</sup> See below p. 57. d.

<sup>o</sup> See Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 409. 410.

<sup>p</sup> Pausan. III. 14, 2. IV. 4, 2. 31, 3.

<sup>q</sup> Pausan. IV. 34, 6. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ναός, τοῦτο δὲ Δρύοπις ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον. ἄγουσι καὶ παρ' ἑτοῦς αὐτῷ τελετὴν, παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες.

<sup>r</sup> See below p. 116. x. and Muller vol. I. p. 403.

<sup>s</sup> Herodot. II. 171. See the passage below at p. 22. i.

<sup>t</sup> Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 417. “The Lacedæmonians had also adopted the worship of *Ceres*, “under the title of *χθονία*, from the *Hermioneans*; some of whose kinsmen had settled in “*Messenia*: Pausan. III. 14, 5. conf. Hesych.

“Ἐκ πολλὰ. ἐπικρῆναι.”

<sup>v</sup> Vol. I. p. 330.

<sup>w</sup> He quotes Æschylus Eum. 19. and desires us to compare the *ἱέρειαι* quoted by Macrobian Sat. V. 22. Schol. Soph. CEd. Col. 791. and Sophocles El. 660. These lines are as follow:

Æschyl. Eum. 19.

Διὸς προφήτης ὃ ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατὴρ.

Æschyl. *ἱέρειαι* apud Macrobian. l. c. Schol. Soph. l. c.

στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ  
Ζεὺς ἐγκαθειῖ Λοξία θεοπίσματα.

The Scholiast adds, δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Διὸς λαμβάνειν τοὺς χρησμούς, ὡς καὶ ἐν Ἰφικλείῳ (Σοφοκλῆς) φησί.

Soph.



this description were to be found in the works of Æschylus or Pindar or Sophocles, it must be ascribed to the additions of a later age; and there would be no proof whatever that it belonged to the rude and ignorant worship of the early Dorians. To attribute these splendid notions to them would be an error similar to the mistake of some interpreters of the Eleusinian mysteries (an error exposed by Lobeck), who, applying to those mysteries the refined notions of a polished age, have ascribed to the barbarians of the time of *Eumolpus* a hidden wisdom which existed only in their own imaginations<sup>x</sup>. It is true, indeed, that the *Jupiter* and *Apollo* of the *Iliad* are sometimes described with striking attributes of divine power; but these are only the lofty conceptions of the poet's own mind. If, however, we were to grant that those were the current opinions of the Ionian and Æolian Greeks in the age in which the *Iliad* was composed, we could not infer from thence that these notions belonged to the religious system of the early Dorians. For this poem, probably composed in the tenth century before our era<sup>y</sup>, was at the least three centuries later than the period at which the Dorians planted the worship of *Apollo* at Delphi or in Crete<sup>z</sup>.

The names exhibited in the genealogies after the return of the *Heraclidæ* may be for the most part referred to the third class, of real historical persons. There is no reason to believe that the Ionian and Æolian Greeks were ignorant of the founders of their respective states, from a period not very remote, since the beginning of the period was less than three centuries before the Olympiad of *Co-*

Soph. El. 658. 659.

ἐπαξίῃ σὲ δαίμων ὅτι' ἐξεδέσθαι  
ταῖς ἐκ Διὸς γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ πάνθ' ὀρεῖν.

These passages merely assert that *Apollo* was the son of *Jupiter* and delivered the oracles of his father; and that *Apollo* as a deity and a son of *Jupiter* had the superior knowledge which belonged to a deity.

<sup>x</sup> Mr. Lobeck exposes this error in his treatise on the *Eleusinia*, Aglaopham. p. 3—228. See especially his statement of this question p. 68. and his observation p. 146.

<sup>y</sup> See below p. 362.

<sup>z</sup> Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 276. marks three epochs of the worship of *Apollo*: 1. In the earliest migrations of the Dorians, when the temples of Delphi, Delos, and Cnossus were established. 2. The maritime supremacy of *Minos*,

when the coasts of Asia Minor were covered with altars. 3. The migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus. He observes p. 237. that the worship of *Apollo* was introduced into Crete by the Dorians, and especially at Cnossus. He conducts the worship thither p. 234. from Olympus; but his testimonies only prove that Cnossus received the worship after it had reached Delphi.

If we place the earliest establishment in the time to which *Dorus* is assigned (see below p. 40. 69), the sixth generation before the Trojan war, this will fix it according to the dates proposed below p. 139. at about B. C. 1300. *Minos*, in the third generation before that era (see below p. 71), is at B. C. 1200. The date of the *Iliad* being assumed at B. C. 950 will be 350 years below the one date, and 250 below the other.

*ræbus*<sup>a</sup>. In Greece itself the successions of kings in some dynasties were attested by registers already noticed. And yet, if the remark of Mr. Lewis be just, that lineal successions through a long series of descents do not occur in authentic history<sup>b</sup>, we may suspect that the love of the Greeks for a genealogy exhibiting a lineal succession has led them to attribute to those dynasties a lineal succession where it was not always lineal. In the dynasties represented below<sup>c</sup> the Messenian succession is lineal through eight reigns. In Arcadia the lineal succession ends at *Æginetes*; but it begins with *Hippothus*, and is continued through nine reigns. The succession at Corinth, which commences with *Aletes*, is broken at *Aristodemus*<sup>d</sup>; but it remains entire through eight generations. In the two Spartan lines, the lineal succession of the *Agidæ* ends in *Cleomenes I.*<sup>e</sup> But it proceeds unbroken through 17 reigns from *Aristodemus* inclusive. In the other line we shall see reason below<sup>f</sup> for omitting one generation. But the lineal descent from *Aristodemus* to *Demaratus*, in whom it ends, nevertheless proceeds through 15 reigns. The Athenian reigns are also represented to us as lineal. The direct succession is continued from *Melanthus*, the founder of a new dynasty, down to *Æschylus*, the 12th perpetual archon, for 14 generations<sup>g</sup>. It was recorded of a dynasty of Lydian kings that they held in direct descent from father to son for 22 generations<sup>h</sup>; and of the kings of Assyria, that they reigned for 30<sup>i</sup> in lineal descent. Although these two last cases are fabulous, yet they contribute to shew the tendency of the Greeks to exhibit the reigns of kings in lineal succession. The suspicion, then, appears well founded, both from the practice of the Greeks and from the improbability of the fact, that those successions in the Grecian dynasties were not always lineal, and that, although the names for the most part were faithfully recorded, and although the dynasties remained unchanged, the successor of a king is sometimes called his son when in reality he was a brother or a nephew or some collateral heir<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 140. The Æolic migration was according to probable dates 292 years, the return of the *Heraclidæ* 272 years, before B. C. 776.

<sup>b</sup> Philological Museum vol. II. p. 46. "The succession at Sparta of the 14 first kings of both houses in the direct line from father to son, or from grandfather to grandson, without a single instance of female or collateral succession, is a circumstance which cannot be paralleled in any single line of hereditary princes;

"and how much is the improbability increased when the line is double!"

<sup>c</sup> See p. 100. 101.

<sup>d</sup> See the Tables B. C. 744.

<sup>e</sup> See F. H. II. p. 205.

<sup>f</sup> See below p. 144. z.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 101.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 133. p.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 263.

<sup>k</sup> The *Medontidæ* at Athens were probably not all descended in the direct line. If the lineal succession in the *Proclidæ* or the *Agidæ* at Sparta



The third division of this period, commencing from the Olympiad in which *Corcebus* won, affords materials more copious and exact. Here the facts require a fuller exposition, and are capable of being arranged in the form of Tables and treated in separate columns. Some useful materials are supplied by Eusebius, who has preserved many dates from older authorities now lost. But his chronology seems destined never to be presented to us in an accurate form. The original is lost. The version of Hieronymus is negligently made in many parts. In the Armenian copy preserved at Constantinople we possess a copy more faithfully exhibiting the original; and of this version two transcripts have been made, and two Latin translations published, both by very competent translators skilled in the Armenian language. And yet these two copies differ from each other. Many variations are marked in the Tables of the present volume; and I here subjoin a specimen of others, which occur in the Eusebian Tables between the Olympiad of *Corcebus* and the death of *Augustus*. A comparison of the two versions will shew a variation of a year in many important dates between the Milan and the Venetian copy.

	<i>M.</i> <sup>1</sup>		<i>V.</i> <sup>m</sup>	
	Ol.	Ann.	Ol.	Ann.
<i>Thebani Cyrenen &amp;c.</i> .....	5. 2	1257	5. 3	1258
<i>Roma quibusdam condita</i> .....		1262		1263
<i>Prima Israelis captivitas</i> .....	9. 2	1273	8. 3	1270
<i>Syracusæ et Catana conditæ</i> .....	11. 4	1283	11. 3	1282
<i>Sennecherimus &amp;c.</i> .....	13. 3	1290	13. 2	1289
<i>Glaucus Chius</i> .....	22. 2	1325	22. 1	1324
<i>Gela</i> .....	23. 1	1328	} 22. 3	1326
<i>Phaselis</i> .....	23. 3	1330		
<i>Post Cares Lesbii (Libyes V.)</i> .....	27. 2	1345	Id.	Id.
<i>Zaleucus</i> .....	30. 1	1356	29. 3	1354
<i>Dodonæa divinatione M.</i> .....	} 36. 1	1380	Id.	Id.
<i>Dodona divinatrice V.</i> .....				
<i>Epimenides destruxit Athenas</i> .....	47. 1	1424	46. 4	1423
<i>Primus annus captivitatis</i> .....		1427		1426
<i>Æsopus</i> .....	54. 1	1452	54. 2	1453
<i>Xenophanes cognoscebatur</i> .....	56. 1	1460	56. 2	1461
<i>Pythagoras cognoscebatur</i> .....	62. 2	1485	62. 1	1484
<i>In Samo tyrannidem &amp;c.</i> .....	62. 2	1485	62. 1	1484

was sometimes interrupted, as Mr. Lewis suspects, the argument adopted below at p. 340. from Hales, which assumes the Spartan reigns to be equivalent to generations, will have less force; and there will still remain a difficulty in the period of 180 years in one line and 210 in the other, which followed the accessions of *Polydo-*

*rus* and *Theopompus*. In the space which preceded, from the Return to *Alcamenes* and *Nican-der*, there is no improbability in the average amount of years as expressed at p. 340.

<sup>1</sup> *M.* Lectiones editionis Mediolanensis.

<sup>m</sup> *V.* Lectiones editionis Venetæ.

	M.		V.	
	Ol.	Ann.	Ol.	Ann.
<i>Hipparchus et Hippias</i> .....	63. 3	1490	63. 2	1489
<i>XIV<sup>o</sup> Lacedæmonii</i> .....	67. 1	1504	66. 4	1503
<i>Romæ reges &amp;c. Cæsar centesima octogesima (prima) Ol. M. Olymp.</i> } <i>CLXXX V.</i> .....		1504		Id.
<i>XVI<sup>o</sup> Eretrienses</i> .....	69. 4	1515	69. 3	1514
<i>Romæ Pompilia virgo</i> .....	74. 2	1533	74. 1	1532
<i>Chærilus et Phrynichus</i> .....	74. 3	1534	74. 2	1533
<i>Diagorei philosophi</i> .....	74. 4	1535	74. 3	1534
<i>Evenus Parius fl.</i> .....	80. 2	1557	80. 1	1556
<i>Heraclitus</i> .....	80. 3	1558	80. 2	1557
<i>Cratinus et Plato</i> .....	81. 3	1562	81. 4	1563
<i>Romæ calariorum agon</i> .....	82. 3	1566	82. 2	1565
<i>Herodotus Athenis &amp;c.</i> .....	83. 4	1571	83. 3	1570
<i>Democritus, Empedocles &amp;c.</i> .....	86. 3	1582	86. 2	1581
<i>Gorgias, Hippias, &amp;c.</i> .....	86. 4	1583	86. 2	1581
<i>Peloponn. bellum</i> .....	87. 2	1585	87. 1	1584
<i>Eudoxus Cnidius</i> .....	89. 4	1595	89. 3	1594
<i>Lacedæmonii Heracleam</i> .....	90. 1	1596	89. 4	1595
<i>Athen. in Sicilia ærumna</i> .....	90. 3	1598	90. 2	1597
<i>Dionysius</i> .....		1615		1614
<i>Plato, Xenophon, &amp;c.</i> .....	102. 1	1644	101. 4	1643
<i>Dion interemptus</i> .....	106. 2	1661	106. 3	1662
<i>Erinna</i> .....	106. 3	1662	107. 1	1664
<i>Demosthenes</i> .....	107. 2	1665	107. 3	1666
<i>Romani Samnites superant</i> .....	109. 3	1674	109. 2	1673
<i>Speusippus ob.</i> .....	110. 4	1679	110. 3	1678
<i>Alexandria anno 7<sup>o</sup></i> .....	112. 3	1686	112. 1	1684
<i>Alexander Aornum petram cepit et Indum transgressus est</i> } .....	112. 3	1686	111. 4	1683
<i>Lysimachus Lydiæ &amp;c.</i> .....	114. 1	1692	113. 4	1691
<i>Perdiccas in Ægyptum</i> .....	114. 2	1693	114. 3	1694
<i>Menandri Ὀρχή</i> .....	114. 3	1694	114. 4	1695
<i>Theophrastus</i> .....	114. 4	1695	115. 2	1697
<i>Romani Sabinos (Samnites V.)</i> .....	115. 1	1696	115. 3	1698
<i>Maccabæorum libri &amp;c.</i> .....	116. 4	1703	116. 3	1702
<i>Seleucus Antiochiam &amp;c. condidit</i> .....	119. 2	1713	119. 4	1715
<i>Demetrius Poliorcetes &amp;c.</i> .....	120. 4	1719	121. 1	1720
<i>Sarapis Alexandriam venit</i> .....	125. 4	1739	125. 3	1738
<i>Polemon philosophus obiit</i> .....	127. 1	1744	126. 4	1743
<i>Romani Syracusas obsederunt</i> .....	129. 2	1753	129. 3	1754
<i>Romani Carthag. superant &amp;c.</i> .....	129. 4	1755	130. 1	1756
<i>Jud. Pontifex Manasses</i> .....	131. 1	1760	130. 4	1759
<i>Antigonus Athen. libertatem reddit</i> ....	131. 1	1760	131. 2	1761
<i>Jesus Sirachi &amp;c.</i> .....	138. 2	1789	138. 1	1788
<i>Prima Maccab. historia</i> .....	140. 2	1797	139. 4	1795
<i>Antiochus Judæam occupat</i> .....	143. 2	1809	143. 1	1808
<i>Hiera insula emersit</i> .....	144. 3	1814	144. 4	1815
<i>Antiochus Judæos honorabat &amp;c.</i> .....	145. 2	1817	146. 1	1820
<i>Romani (Græcos) liberos &amp;c.</i> .....	146. 3	1822	146. 4	1823
<i>Antiochus Ptolemæo reconciliatur</i> .....	147. 2	1825	147. 3	1826
<i>Hircanus &amp;c.</i> .....	150. 2	1837	150. 1	1836
<i>Romani Perseo interfecto &amp;c.</i> .....	153. 1	1848	153. 3	1850
<i>Aristarchus gramm. fl.</i> .....	155. 3	1858	156. 1	1860



	M.		V.	
	Ol.	Ann.	Ol.	Ann.
<i>Censu Romæ instituto millia 322 M.</i> }	158.3	1870	Id.	Id.
<i>millia 362 V.</i> ..... }				
<i>Jonathas cum Romanis &amp;c. fœdere</i> }	159.1	1872	158.4	1871
<i>jungitur</i> ..... }				
<i>Romani occiso Philippo &amp;c.</i> .....	159.1	1872	158.4	1871
<i>Simon Jud. pontifex &amp;c.</i> .....	160.4	1879	161.2	1881
<i>Maccab. II. finis</i> .....	162.1	1884	162.2	1885
<i>Hyrcanus Samariam delevit</i> .....	164.4	1895	165.1	1896
<i>Rhodo concussa Colossus corruit</i> .....	168.2	1909	168.1	1908
<i>Seleucus combustus est</i> .....	171.1	1920	170.4	1919
<i>Servilis rebellio rursus &amp;c.</i> .....	171.1	1920	170.4	1919
<i>Aquillius servorum bellum compressit.</i> ..	171.3	1922	171.2	1921
<i>Hyrcanus annis XXXIV V. "annis</i> }		1950		Id.
<i>XXXIV" omittit M.</i> ..... }				
<i>Pompeius Hierosolyma &amp;c.</i> .....	178.4	1951	178.3	1950
<i>Signum Olympiæ fulmine ictum</i> .....	181.4	1963	181.3	1962
<i>Cæsar Germanos Gallosque domuit</i> ...	182.2	1965	182.3	1966
<i>Herodes ann. XXXVII V. "ann.</i> }		1984		Id.
<i>XXXVII" omittit M.</i> ..... }				
<i>Tiberius Cæsar appellatus</i> .....	190.4	1999	191.1	2000
<i>Tiberius Vindelicos subegit</i> .....	191.4	2003	191.3	2002
<i>Tiberius imperator appellatus</i> .....	193.1	2008	192.4	2007
<i>Herodes Hyrcanum occidit &amp;c.</i> .....	193.2	2009	193.1	2008
<i>Cos urbs M. Coensium urbs V.</i> .....	194.2	2013	194.1	2012
<i>Augustus Juliam ejecit</i> .....	194.3	2014	194.2	2013
<i>Herodes obiit</i> .....		2019		2020
<i>Athenodorus Tarsensis</i> .....	197.1	2024	196.4	2023
<i>Sotion cognoscebatur</i> .....	198.1	2028	198.2	2029

From what negligence these variations have arisen I have not the means of knowing. But as the Venetian copy gives the Armenian original, it is probably the most accurate, and will generally deserve to be preferred where a difference occurs. In referring to the first book of Eusebius, I refer to the Milan edition alone, because the other was not within my reach.

In the Appendix a considerable space is allotted to the Scripture Chronology. It was at first intended to limit that inquiry to the kings of *Judah*, a period in which Herodotus is in some points verified or explained or corrected by the authority of Scripture. But on better consideration it seemed due to the importance of the subject to give the whole. The Scripture Chronology is accordingly stated from the beginning; and the testimonies are collected in as short a form as possible, upon which the various computations of different chronologers have been founded.

# I.

## EARLY INHABITANTS OF GREECE.

THE inhabitants of Greece in the first ages are rather to be classed according to their clans and families than according to the districts which they occupied in the country. They had no settled habitations, but migrated from one part of the country to another, often in a hostile, but sometimes in a peaceful manner. Thus the *Dorians* frequently changed their habitations. The first seat of the *Achæans* was in Thessaly; thence they migrated into Laconia, and lastly occupied the northern shore of Peloponnesus, called from them Achaia. The *Ionians* were settled in Attica; thence they passed into Peloponnesus; from whence they returned again into Attica, before their final settlement in Asia. Thucydides<sup>a</sup> and Strabo<sup>b</sup> mark this character of the early times. It was not till after the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus that the different members of the Greek nation were fixed in the seats which they finally occupied.

On surveying the people known by the appellation of Greeks, it naturally occurs to inquire whether these were descended from the aboriginal occupiers of the soil, or whether they were sprung from settlers of a later date, by whom that original race was supplanted. Four establishments were ascribed to foreigners; but the change effected by these establishments of *Danaüs*, *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, and *Pelops*, was not such as to deserve to be accounted the introduction of a new race of people, such as is produced by force of arms, or by large bodies of invaders overwhelming the ancient inhabitants. Nothing of this character belonged to the settlements made in early Greece. These were made within three centuries of the Trojan war, when the country was already in the possession of powerful tribes, which subsisted after these establishments, and increased so far as to supersede them. All these four settlements are examples of a smaller received into a larger number. They were adopted by the body of the people by whom they were received, and the Egyptian or Phœnician or Phrygian settler was lost in the Greek<sup>c</sup>. Excluding, then, these from the inquiry, we must ascend to a higher point of time, and extend our survey over the early tribes by whom the country was possessed, in order to determine how far the Greeks were an aboriginal people.

Bryant<sup>d</sup> has pronounced of all the Greeks that they were not descended from the original inhabitants: that by the confession of their best historians, their ancestors were not the first

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. I. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo XII. p. 572.

<sup>c</sup> Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps. tom. I. p. 9. distinguishes this character of the early settlements: *Il n'étoit pas nécessaire que ces premières colonies fussent bien nombreuses; elles n'étoient que des établissemens pour le commerce, autour de quels se réunirent quelques familles, &c.*—

*D'après cela, au lieu de faire adopter leur langue, les Phéniciens durent apprendre celle du pays.*—*La colonie Phénicienne que Cadmus amena dans la Béotie n'étoit pas assez puissante pour que son influence sur le langage pût s'étendre dans le reste de la Grèce.*

<sup>d</sup> Analysis of Ancient Mythology vol. I. p. 187—189. vol. V. p. 1—20. 21—38.



inhabitants; that the country was before their arrival in the possession of a people whom they style barbarians. He asserts that the Helladians were colonies of another family; that they introduced themselves somewhat later; that they came from Egypt and Syria; that the *Pelasgi*, *Leleges*, *Hellenes*, Dorians, Ionians, were all of one great family, Cuthite colonies, who came into the land of Javan. His testimonies are these<sup>c</sup>:

1. Hecatæus apud Strabonem VII. p. 321.
2. εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότεροι βάρβαροι. Plato Cratyl. tom. I. p. 425.
3. πάλαι τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν. Pausan. I.
4. Ἀρκαδίαν βάρβαροι ᾤκησαν. Schol. Apollon. III. 461 [IV. 264].
5. Ἀθηναίους—ἀποίκους Σαῖτων τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Diod. I. [28.]
6. Again: Diod. ibid.
7. The Athenians, Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικοι, ὡς φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῷ Τρικαλήνῳ. African. apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10.
8. Κέκροψ Αἰγύπτιος ὦν δύο γλώσσας ἠπίστατο. Cedren. p. 82.
9. Κέκροψ Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος ᾤκησε τὰς Ἀθήνας. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. [773.]
10. Cecrops from Sais came to Greece. Tzetzes Chil. V. 18.
11. Κέκροψ Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος ᾤκησε τὰς Ἀθήνας. Suid. Κέκροψ. [merely a repetition of No. 9.]
12. Λίλξ ἀφικόμενος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Pausan. [I. 44, 5.]
13. Erechtheus from Egypt. Diod. I.
14. Triptolemus from Egypt. Diod. I. [18. 20.]
15. Δαναὺς Χεμμίτης. Herodot. II. 91.
16. Danaüs from Egypt. Plin. VII. 56. Diod. I. [V. 58.]
17. All the heads of the Dorian race from Egypt: Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές. Herodot. VI. 53.
18. "The Lacedæmonians esteemed themselves of the same family as the Caphtorim of Palestine. Hence they surmised that they were related to the Jews." 1 Macc. XII. 20. Joseph. Ant. XII. 4.
19. Perseus was supposed to have been a foreigner. Herodot. VI. 54.
20. "It is said of Cadmus that he came originally from Egypt in company with Phœnix:" Κάδμος καὶ Φοῖνιξ ἀπὸ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Euseb. Chron.
21. "Eusebius in another place mentions the arrival of Cadmus with a company of Saitæ. They founded Athens and Thebes. Chron. p. 14. The ancient Athenians worshipped Isis, and were in their looks and manners particularly like the Egyptians. Diod. I. p. 24—26<sup>f</sup>."

<sup>c</sup> Analysis vol. I. p. 226—231. He prefaces these testimonies by the following observations: "The sons of Japheth were certainly the first inhabitants of those countries; but the Helladians, though by family Ionians, were not of this race. They came afterwards; and all their best writers agree that, when their ancestors made their way into these provinces, they were possessed by a prior people. Who these were is no where uniformly said; only they agree to term them in general βάρβαροι, or a rude, uncivilized people. As my system depends

"greatly upon this point, I submit to the reader the following evidences; which are comparatively few, if we consider what might be brought to this purpose. These are to shew that the Helladians were of a different race from the sons of Japheth, and that the country, when they came to it, was in the possession of another people; which people they distinguished by the title of βάρβαροι."

<sup>f</sup> He adds to these a number of references to prove that the mythology of Greece was borrowed from Egypt.

By far the greater part of these passages is irrelevant, since they only tend to prove that *Cadmus*, or *Danaüs*, or *Cecrops*, or *Triptolemus*, were derived from Egypt and the East; facts which are of no weight in determining the original of the *Pelasgi*, *Dores*, or *Hellenes*. Others of these testimonies are strained beyond their due meaning; as, for instance, he quotes Herodotus to prove that *all the heads of the Dorian race were from Egypt*: which he repeats in another place: “Of this we may be assured, that the Dorians, like their brethren the *Ionim*, were not of the first occupiers of the country. They were colonies from Egypt;” and Herodotus VI. 53. speaks of all the heads and leaders of this people as coming directly “from Egypt.” But Herodotus says nothing to this extent. His words are these: after relating the history of the first Spartan kings, he observes; τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλῆας μέχρι μὲν Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης—καταλεγόμενους ὁρθῶς ὑπ’ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσι Ἕλληνας—ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρίσιου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτέων, φαινοίετο ἂν ὄντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές. The whole amounts to no more than this; that the *Heraclidae*, being descended through *Hercules* from *Perseus*, were derived from *Danaüs* the Egyptian. It has no weight in giving a foreign original to the Dorians beyond what was effected in the person of *Danaüs*: and it has been shewn that the settlement of *Danaüs* had no such consequence. This testimony, then, when limited to its real meaning, establishes nothing in support of Bryant’s hypothesis<sup>h</sup>. Other instances occur in his work of a somewhat exaggerated exhibition of testimonies. “The *Ionim* were supposed to have been led by one *Ion*; but what was alluded to under the notion of that person may be found from the his-

g Vol. V. p. 21—38.

<sup>h</sup> Dr. Faber in his *Horæ Mosaicæ* has adopted the interpretation of Bryant, and has drawn from it an inference to the same purpose. “The first or Babylonian empire (he observes) was clearly founded by *Nimrod*. The second may possibly have been vested in the line of *Shem*; though even that point is far from being satisfactorily established. But the third, or Grecian, if any credit is due to history, was erected, not by the descendants of *Japheth*, but by those of *Ham*. Greece might probably have been first peopled by *Japheth*; but these *aborigines* were soon conquered, and either extirpated or incorporated with a totally different race. It is impossible to derive the later Greeks, so celebrated to this day for their proficiency in the arts and sciences, from the line of *Japheth*, unless we contradict the whole tenor of history. Diodorus Siculus asserts that some of the original leaders of the Athenians were Egyptians, and that the Athenians themselves were a colony from Sais in Egypt. Herodotus speaks in a similar manner of the Dorians; and Pausanias gives the same account of the Megarians. *Lelex* also, the father or leader of the *Leleges*, came from Egypt. The Peloponnesus was for the most part inhabited by Dorians; and the *Leleges* established them-

selves in Megaris. In short, the most celebrated leaders of the Grecian colonies, such as *Danaüs*, *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, and *Phœnix*, all came from Egypt. Hence it is manifest that the Greeks were, strictly speaking, an Egyptian nation; and consequently not the descendants of *Japheth*, but of *Ham*.” The value of these propositions in establishing the origin of the Greeks has been already examined; since the whole of these arguments had been preoccupied by Bryant. As to the leading object of Dr. Faber’s enquiry, namely, from what race of mankind the third kingdom of the prophet was derived, these facts concerning the origin of *Cadmus* and *Erechtheus* and *Cecrops* have still less weight in determining that point, because none of the states to which these persons belonged had any principal share in establishing that empire; which was founded by the Macedonians, and not by the people of Attica or Peloponnesus. The Lacedæmonians especially had no share, and were expressly excluded by Alexander himself: Plutarch. Alex. c. 16. Arrian. Exp. I. p. 48. And Thebes was destroyed the year before the invasion of Asia. Next to the Macedonians, the Thessalians had the largest share in that war; and none of the Egyptian settlements were made in that province of Greece.



“tory given of him. Tatian imagines that he came *into Greece* in the time of *Acrisius*<sup>i</sup>.” Thus he translates “Ἴωνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄφιξις. “*Hellen* was the son of the person who escaped “the flood.” Thus he renders “Ἑλλην υἱὸς Δευκαλίωνος, to give colour to his conclusion that *Hellen* was the same person as *Ham* the son of *Noah*.

Bryant collects from Pausanias that the *Leleges* were Egyptian. The whole passage in Pausanias is as follows<sup>k</sup>: δωδεκάτῃ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φηρωνέως γενεᾷ λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Λέλεγας ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι· καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κληθῆναι Λέλεγας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ. Κλήσανος δὲ τοῦ Λέλεγος γενέσθαι Πύλαν· τοῦ Πύλα δὲ Σκίρωνα· τοῦτον συνοικῆσαι Πανδίωνος θυγατρὶ, καὶ ὕστερον Νίσῳ τῷ Πανδίωνος ἐλθεῖν κ. τ. λ. This *Lelex*<sup>l</sup>, then, according to the tradition, is twelve generations later than *Phoroneus*, and in the third generation before *Nisus* and *Ægeus*. But the *Leleges* existed long before, and were a people in the time of *Deucalion*<sup>m</sup>. Another *Lelex*, an aboriginal chief, prior in time to *Deucalion*, founded the *Leleges* in *Laconia*<sup>n</sup>. A third *Lelex*, an indigenous chief, the leader of the *Teleboæ*, was traced by Aristotle in *Acarnania*<sup>o</sup>. If the Megarian tradition, then, is admitted to be true, the *Leleges* were not founded by that Egyptian settler. He was ὁμόνυμος τῷ ἔθνει. He bore the name of the people among whom he settled, and derived his appellation instead of imparting it.

The remaining testimonies collected by Bryant are for the purpose of proving that the first inhabitants of Greece are called βάρβαροι by the Greek writers. He has elsewhere<sup>p</sup> added other references to the same effect; and his argument is, that “though the Greeks pretended “to be αὐτόχθονες, yet their best historians ingenuously own that *Hellas* was originally occupied by a people of another race, whom they styled βάρβαροι. Therefore the first inhabitants “were of a different race from the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges* and *Ionians*, who succeeded them, “and came afterwards.” But these “barbarians” are no other than the *Pelasgi* themselves, the most ancient people of whom the Greeks had any vestiges, and beyond whom their traditions did not reach<sup>q</sup>: ἔθνος βάρβαρον Πελασγοὶ κατέκουν πάλαι τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Ἄργος καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ὀλίγας χώρας. According to Strabo<sup>r</sup>, σχεδὸν τι καὶ ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλάς κατοικία βαρβάρων ὑπῆρχε τὸ παλαιόν. But these barbarians are the *Dryopes*, the *Caucones*, the *Pelasgi*,

<sup>i</sup> Vol. V. p. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Vol. IV. p. 206.

<sup>k</sup> Pausan. I. 39, 5.

<sup>l</sup> He is mentioned again by Pausanias I. 42, 8. Idem I. 44, 5. μῆμά ἐστι πρὸς θαλάσῃ Λέλεος, ὃν ἀφικόμενον βασιλεῦσαι λέγουσιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς Ἐπάφου. *Pylus* or *Pylas* son of *Cleson* occurs again Pausan. IV. 36, 1. ἡ Πύλος [in *Memmenia*]—ταύτην ἦκισε Πύλος ὁ Κλήσανος ἀγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος τοὺς ἔχοντας τότε αὐτὴν Λέλεγας· καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐκ ὤνατο, ὑπὸ Νηλείως—ἐκβληθείς ἀπεκμήσας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔσχευ ἐνταῦθα Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἠλείῳ.

<sup>m</sup> Hesiod. apud Strab. VII. p. 322.

ἦτοι γὰρ Λαερτιάδης Λελέγων ἡγήσατο λαῶν, τοὺς μὲν ποτὶ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄφρητα μέδεια εἰδώς· λαοτὸς δὲ γαίης λαῶς πᾶσι Δευκαλίονι.

λαῶς is the conjecture of Heyne ad Apollod. I. 7, 2. *Salmasius* apud *Palmer*. *Grec. Antiq.* p. 68. had already conjectured λαῶν πᾶσι. *Dionysius Ant.* I. p. 47. identifies the *Leleges* with the *Locti*: ἱεθαίνονται Θισσαῖος ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωρήτων καὶ

Λελέγων, οἱ νῦν Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται—ἡγουμένου τῶν πολεμίων Δευκαλίωνος.

<sup>n</sup> Pausan. III. 1, 1.

<sup>o</sup> Strabo VII. p. 321. ὅτι πλάνητες (οἱ Λέλεγες) καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων [sc. τῶν Πελασγῶν] καὶ χωρὶς, καὶ ἐκ παλαιού, καὶ αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους πολιτεῖαι δηλοῦσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ φησὶ τὸ μὲν ἔχειν αὐτῆς Κουρήτας, τὸ δὲ προσεσπέριον Λέλεγας, εἴτα Τηλεβόας· ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, τοὺς νῦν Λοκροὺς Λέλεγας καλεῖ κατασχεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοὺς φησὶν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀποντίᾳ καὶ Μεγαρίᾳ· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λευκαδίᾳ καὶ αὐτόχθονά τινα Λέλεγας ὀνομάζει, τούτου δὲ θυγατρίδου Τηλεβόαν· τοῦ δὲ παῖδας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι Τηλεβόας· ὃν τινες οἰκῆσαι τὴν Λευκάδα. For the *Teleboæ* conf. Strab. X. p. 459. Their history, and their occupation first of *Acarnania* and then of the *Echinades*, and their war with *Amphitryo*, are related Schol. Apollon. I. 747.

<sup>p</sup> Vol. V. p. 1, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Schol. Apollon. cod. Paris. I. 580.

<sup>r</sup> Strab. VII. p. 321.

the *Leleges*<sup>s</sup>. Hecataeus<sup>t</sup> affirms that the predecessors of the *Hellenes* were barbarous. But the predecessors of the *Hellenes* were the *Pelasgi*. The *Leleges* are called barbarous by Strabo, who observes<sup>u</sup>, recounting the early inhabitants of Bœotia, ἡ Βοιωτία πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ὤκειτο Ἀόνων καὶ Τεμνίκων ἐκ τοῦ Σουνίου πεπλανημένων, καὶ Λελέγων, καὶ Ὑάντων, εἶτα Φοίνικες ἔσχον οἱ μετὰ Κάδμου. Bryant, then, has failed in proving that ancient writers describe any barbarous tribes of another race prior to the *Pelasgi* or the *Leleges*.

With respect to the *Hellenes* themselves, no testimony warrants the supposition that these were a foreign race. The earliest traditions place *Deucalion* in Thessaly, or in the adjoining region. Bryant has been particularly unsuccessful in making out a Cuthite or Amonian original for the descendants of *Deucalion*. As nothing in ancient Greek traditions favours the supposition, his theory is built upon conjecture and hypothesis, to which he adds some fanciful etymologies. The Arcadians are “Arkites,” the Ionians are “Ionim,” or worshippers of the dove<sup>v</sup>; being denominated from *Jonah* the dove. Meanwhile the name *Æolus*, the great family which included so many of the heroic chiefs, appears to be unnoticed.

A dynasty of Pelasgic chiefs existed in Greece before any other dynasty is heard of in Greek traditions<sup>w</sup>. Excepting in this line, none of the genealogies ascend higher than the ninth, or eighth, or seventh generation, before the Trojan war. *Danaüs* is in the ninth, *Deucalion* in the eighth, *Cadmus* in the seventh generation before that epoch. But in the Pelasgic branch of the nation *Phoroneus* is in the eighteenth before the Trojan war; the founder of Sicyon is his contemporary; and the Pelasgic chief who planted the Pelasgians in Thessaly is five generations earlier than *Deucalion*. *Inachus* the father of *Phoroneus* was the highest term in Grecian history<sup>x</sup>: τὴν τᾶς Ἑλληνικᾶς ἱστορίας ἀρχὰν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου ἤμεν τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ. *Inachus* is mentioned by Pausanias<sup>y</sup>: Ἰναχὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε τὸν τε ποταμὸν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγουσιν ὀνομάσαι, καὶ ὕσαι τῇ Ἡρᾷ. λέγεται ὧδὲ καὶ δε λόγος· Φορωνέα ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἰναχὸν δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πάτερα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ—Φορωνεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰνάχου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους συνήγαγε πρῶτον εἰς κοινὸν, σποράδας τέως καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστοτε οἰκοῦντας. He is named by Apion, by Tatian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Africanus, and Eusebius<sup>z</sup>. Africanus makes him a little older than

<sup>s</sup> Strab. Ibid. Δρυῖων τε καὶ Καυκόνων καὶ Πελασγῶν καὶ Λελέγων καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων κατανεμειμένων τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ.

<sup>t</sup> Strabo Ibid. Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου φησὶν ὅτι πρὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν αὐτὴν βάρβαροι.

<sup>u</sup> Strab. IX. p. 401.

<sup>v</sup> Vol. V. p. 38, &c. 130, &c. Of his success in etymology a judgment has been pronounced by Sir William Jones, Asiatic Researches vol. III. p. 488. with whom we shall agree, that no mode of reasoning is in general weaker or more delusive than etymological conjecture.

<sup>w</sup> *Ogyges* will be no exception to this remark, for *Ogyges* himself was indigenous. He left no descendants or successors; and he was not earlier than *Phoroneus*, with whom he is made contemporary by Acusilaüs, as will be seen below.

<sup>x</sup> Ocellus apud Stob. Eclog. I. 21, 5. p. 426.

<sup>y</sup> Pausan. II. 15, 4.

<sup>z</sup> These testimonies may be gathered from Syncellus p. 62—66. compared with Eusebius

Præp. X. p. 487—491. δ μὲν Ἀφρικανός—εἰδὼς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν κρατοῦσαν, ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀμώσεως Φορωνεὺς Ἀργεῖον ἐβασίλευσε καὶ πρὸ γε τούτου Ἰναχὸς ὁ τούτου πατήρ, ἐφ' οὗ Μωϋσῆς γεννᾶται—δ δὲ Εὐσέβιος οὔτε τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ οὔτε τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ συμφωνῶν—τοὺς χρόνους περιέκοψε, σύγχρονον Μωϋσέως δείξαι Κέκροπα τὸν διφυῆ ἐπειγόμενος· μαρτυρῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τοῦ κανόνος αὐτοῦ προλόγῳ τοὺς προλεχθέντας Ἰώσηπον μὲν καὶ Ἰούστον ἐκ περιτομῆς, Ἀφρικανὸν δὲ καὶ Κλήμεντα τὸν Στρωματέα καὶ Τατιανὸν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου ἀνδρας ἐν παιδείῃσι γνωρίμους πάντας, κατὰ Ἰναχὸν καὶ Φορωνέα τὸν Ἰνάχου πρῶτους Ἀργεῖον βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι Μωϋσέα, ὦν σύγχρονος ἦν Ὀγγυγὸς αὐτόχθων πρῶτος βασιλεὺς Ἀκτῆς τῆς νῦν Ἀττικῆς, καὶ ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν Ὀγγυγον πρῶτος καὶ παλαιὸς ἱστορούμενος Ἑλλῆσι κατακλυσμός κατὰ τὸ π' ἔτος Μωϋσέως, κ' δὲ Φορωνέως, κατὰ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ὧδέ πως ἐπὶ λέξεσι γραφέντα “Φαμέν τοῖνυν ἕκ γε τοῦδε “τοῦ συγγράμματος Ὀγγυγον, ὃς τοῦ πρῶτου κατακλυσμοῦ “γένευνεν ἐπάνυμος, πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων διασωθεὶς, κατὰ “τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ Μωϋσέως ἔξοδον γεγενῆσθαι, τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν



*Moses*. Eusebius has placed *Moses* 300 years below him, but agrees with Africanus in placing *Inachus* 700 years before the fall of Troy. Other traditions however, to which Pausanias refers, make *Phoroneus* the first king. Acusilaüs and Plato record this tradition<sup>a</sup>: 'Ακουσί-

“ προειρημένον ἀπὸ 'Ομήρου ἔτη δειχθήσεται αἱ. ἀπὸ δὲ  
 “ πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς πέμπτης ἔτος  
 “ πρώτων, τούτ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος α', ὅπερ  
 “ ἦν αἰχμαλωσίας τέλος, ἔτη σιέ [σιζ Euseb.]. ἀπὸ  
 “ 'Ομήρου τούτων ἐπὶ Κύρου ἔτη αἱ εἰς [αἱ εἰς Euseb.].  
 “ εἰ δὲ ἀναφέρει τις ἀναλογιζόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῆς  
 “ αἰχμαλωσίας τὰ αἱ εἰς [αἱ εἰς Euseb.] ἔτη, κατὰ ἀν-  
 “ αλογίαν [ἀνάλογον Euseb.] εὐρήσει ταυτὸν διάστημα  
 “ ἐπὶ πρώτων ἔτος τῆς ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐξόδου  
 “ 'Ισραὴλ ἴσων ἀπὸ τῆς τε' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ 'Ομήρου ὅς ἐκ-  
 “ τισεν 'Ελευσίνα. ἔθεν ἐπισημωτέρον ἔστι καταλαβεῖν  
 “ τὴν 'Αττικὴν [τὴν αὐτὴν Syncell.] χρονογραφίαν.—  
 “ ὅστε οὐδὲν ἀξιωμακόμενον 'Ελλήσιν ιστορεῖται πρὸ  
 “ 'Ομήρου, πλὴν Φωρονέως τοῦ συγχρονισάντος αὐτῇ καὶ  
 “ 'Ινάχου τοῦ Φωρονέως πατρὸς.—καὶ τὸ αὐτὰ μὲν πρὸ  
 “ 'Ομήρου. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς τοῦτον χρόνους ἐξῆλθε Μωϋσῆς  
 “ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου.” — “ ἀπὸ 'Ομήρου τούτων ἐπὶ Κύρου  
 “ ὅτις ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον [τῶν αὐτῶν  
 “ χρόνων Syncell.], ἔτη αἱ εἰς [αἱ εἰς Euseb.]. ἀλλὰ  
 “ καὶ 'Ελλήνων δὲ τινες ιστοροῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρό-  
 “ νους γενέσθαι Μωϋσέα. Περί μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν  
 “ 'Ελληνικῶν ιστοριῶν λέγει. “ Ἐπὶ Ἀπιδῶς τοῦ Φωρονέως  
 “ μῆτρα τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ στρατοῦ ἐξέτεσεν Αἰγύπτου  
 “ [ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Syncell.], οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλου-  
 “ μένῃ Συρία οὐ πᾶσι 'Αραβίας ἦσαν.” οὗτοι δηλονότι  
 “ οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσέως. Ἀπιδῶν δὲ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, περιεργότα-  
 “ τος γραμματικῶν, ἐν τῇ κατὰ 'Ιουδαίων βίβλῳ καὶ ἐν  
 “ τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ιστοριῶν φησὶ κατὰ 'Ιναχον 'Αργεὺς  
 “ βασιλεῖα, Ἀμόσιος Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεύοντος, ἀποστῆναι  
 “ 'Ιουδαίους, ἐν γένεσθαι [γίνεσθαι bis Syncellus]  
 “ Μωϋσέα. [conf. Syncell. p. 148. C. 149. A.]—  
 “ ὅπως τῶν α καὶ κ' ἐτῶν τῶν μέχρι πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος  
 “ ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως τε καὶ 'Ομήρου ἐκκειμένων, πρώτῃ μὲν  
 “ ἔτει τὸ πάσχα καὶ τῶν 'Εβραίων ἔξοδος ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου,  
 “ ἐν δὲ τῇ 'Αττικῇ ὁ ἐπὶ 'Ομήρου γίνεσθαι κατακλυσμός.”  
 “ —ταῦτα ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ λόγῳ φιλαληθῶς  
 “ καὶ ἡμαρτύρους ἱστορῶν ἀξιπιστότερος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ  
 “ κατὰ πάντα Εὐσεβίου, ἐν τούτῳ τῇ κατὰ Μωϋσέα καὶ  
 “ τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείαν λόγον ἔχων, ὡς πρέσβηται. καὶ  
 “ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἡμαρτύρους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ Χριστὸν φιλο-  
 “ σοφώσαντας ἐξ 'Ελλήνων Κλήμητα τὸν Στρωματέα καὶ  
 “ Τατιανόν, ὡς αὐτὸς Εὐσεβίος ἐν τῇ προοίμῳ τοῦ κανόνος  
 “ εἰς τὴν γράφον συμμαρτυρεῖ. “ Μωϋσέα γένος 'Εβραίων,  
 “ προφητῶν πάντων πρῶτον, —τοῖς χρόνοις ἀκμάσαι κατὰ  
 “ 'Ιναχον εἰρήκασιν ἄνδρες ἐν παιδείῃσι γνῶριμοι, Κλήμης,  
 “ Ἀφρικανός, Τατιανός, τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου, τῶν τε ἐκ  
 “ περιτομῆς 'Ισραηλῆες καὶ 'Ιουδαῖοι, ἰδίως ἕκαστος τὴν  
 “ ἀπιδείξιον ἐκ παλαιᾶς ὑποσχόν ἱστορίας. 'Ιναχος δὲ τῶν  
 “ 'Ιουδαίων ἔστιν ὑστασιότητος προσβίαι. “ Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ  
 “ φιλοσόφων ὅστις πρὸ ἡμετέρου ἀνὴρ ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν  
 “ συνομίαν προβαλὼν, ἐν τῇ β' τῆς εἰς μάτην αὐτῇ  
 “ πωρεῖσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν ὑποθέσεως πρὸ τῶν Σεμίραμιδος

“ χρόνων τὸν Μωϋσέα γενέσθαι φησὶ. βασιλεῖς δὲ 'Ασ-  
 “ συρίαν ἢ Σεμίραμις πρόσθεν ἔτεσι ν' πρὸς τοῖς β' ὥστε  
 “ εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν Μωϋσέα πρεσβύτερον ν'  
 “ καὶ ὡς ἔτεσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ—εὐρών παρ' 'Εβραίοις διαφόρους  
 “ τῶν χρόνων ἀποδόσεις, τὴν μὲν πλεονάζουσιν τὴν δὲ ἐλ-  
 “ λείπουσιν, οὐ τὴν ἐμαυτῷ κεκρησμένην, λέγω δὲ τὴν  
 “ πληθούσαν, ἥρπασα, τὴν δὲ ἐνδέουσιν μετῆλθον πλὴν  
 “ ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω κατὰ μὲν 'Ιναχον, ἐν πρώτῳ 'Ελλήνης  
 “ Ἀργεὺς βασιλεύσας φασὶ, τῶν 'Εβραίων προπάτορα 'Ισ-  
 “ ραὴλ γενόμενον εὐρον—κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σεμίραμιν τὸν 'Α-  
 “ βραάμ.—Μωϋσέα δὲ, φιλαληθῶς εἰπεῖν, τούτων μὲν  
 “ νεώτερον τῶν δὲ παρ' 'Ελλήσιν ἀρχαιολογουμένων ἀπάν-  
 “ των πρεσβύτατον—Μωϋσέα δὲ ἡ παρούσα συνεξέτασις  
 “ τῶν χρόνων γενέσθαι κατὰ Κέκροπα τὸν διφυῆ, ἐν πρῶ-  
 “ τόν φασὶ τῆς 'Αττικῆς βασιλεύσας, συνίστησι πρὸ τῶν  
 “ 'Ιλιακῶν ἀμφὶ τὰ τ' ἔτη.” According to this ac-  
 “ count, Africanus placed the birth of *Moses* in  
 “ the reign of *Inachus* at B. C. 1875; the first  
 “ year of *Phoroneus* at B. C. 1850; the 80th year  
 “ of *Moses*, the flood of *Ogyges*, and the 55th year  
 “ of the reign of *Phoroneus*, at B. C. 1796. Euse-  
 “ bius dates the birth of *Abraham* at B. C. 2016,  
 “ the birth of *Jacob* and the first year of *Inachus*  
 “ at B. C. 1856, the birth of *Moses* at B. C. 1592,  
 “ his 80th year and the 45th year of the reign of  
 “ *Cecrops* at B. C. 1512. Syncellus himself gives  
 “ these dates: *Inachus* (56 y.) A. M. 3692=B. C.  
 “ 1809. birth of *Moses* A. M. 3737=B. C. 1764.  
 “ (but A. M. 3738 at p. 170. D.) *Phoroneus* (60 y.)  
 “ A. M. 3748=B. C. 1753. 80th year of *Moses*  
 “ completed A. M. 3816=B. C. 1685. He is 97  
 “ years below Africanus in the time of *Phoroneus*,  
 “ and 111 years below him in the date of the  
 “ exode: conf. Syncell. p. 125. B.—126. D. Idem  
 “ p. 121. B. πάντες οἱ τε ἐκ περιτομῆς οἱ τε ἐκ χάριτος  
 “ ιστορικοὶ, 'Ιωσήπος καὶ 'Ιούστος, Κλήμης ὁ ἱερὸς Στρωμα-  
 “ τεὺς Τατιανὸς τε καὶ Ἀφρικανός, συνολογοῦσι κατὰ 'Ινα-  
 “ χον γεννηθῆναι Μωϋσέα, καὶ κατὰ Φωρονέα τὸν 'Ινάχου  
 “ παῖδα καὶ Νιδῆς ἀκμαῖον, κατὰ Ἀπιδᾶ δὲ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπ-  
 “ του πορείας τοῦ 'Ισραὴλ ἡγήσασθαι, τὰς ἀποδείξεις καὶ ἐκ  
 “ τῶν παρ' 'Ελλήσιν δοκουμένων ὑποσχόντες ἱστορικῶν, οἷς μὲν  
 “ οἱ Καισαρεὺς Εὐσεβίος καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἀντιπίπτων χρόνους  
 “ ὑστερον κατὰ Κέκροπα—μετὰ 'Ομήρου καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ  
 “ κατακλυσμὸν ἔφη γενέσθαι Μωϋσέα. This is not the  
 “ place for examining the causes of the error of  
 “ Africanus and Syncellus with respect to the time  
 “ of *Moses*, whom they both place too high. But  
 “ no apology is necessary for introducing here  
 “ these passages, which are important as exhibiting  
 “ the chronological opinions of Africanus and Eu-  
 “ sebius.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 321. A. Africanus,

λαος γὰρ Φορωνέα πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι λέγει· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητὴς εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔφη πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Τιμαίῳ κατακολουθήσας Ἀκουσίλαῳ γράφει· “Καὶ ποτε “προαγαγεῖν βουλευθεὶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐς λόγους τῶν τῆδε τὰ ἀρχαιότατα λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖν, “περὶ Φορωνέως τε τοῦ πρώτου λεχθέντος καὶ Νιόβης<sup>b</sup>.”

Africanus, according to computations derived from the accounts of Philochorus, Hellanicus, Castor, Thallus, and others, placed the flood of *Ogyges* and the 55th year of the reign of *Phoroneus* at B.C. 1796, or 1020 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* B.C. 776. These computations have been already given from Syncellus. That period of 1020 years is mentioned again in the following passage preserved by Eusebius<sup>c</sup>: ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου τοῦ παρ’ ἐκείνοις αὐτόχθονος πιστευθέντος (ἐφ’ οὗ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμὸς, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ἱστορεῖ) μέχρι πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὅπῃθεν Ἕλληνας ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια εἴκοσιν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς δεικνύσεται. ταῦτα γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἱστοροῦντες Ἑλλάνικὸς τε καὶ Φιλόχορος οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἱ τὰ Σύρια Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλὸς, καὶ τὰ πάντων Διόδωρος ὁ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας, Ἀλέξανδρος τε ὁ Πολυίστωρ καὶ τινες τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀπάντων. εἴ τις οὖν ἐν τοῖς χιλίοις εἴκοσιν ἔσῃ ἐπίσημος ἱστορία τυγχάνει, κατὰ τὸ χρήσιμον ἐκλεγήσεται<sup>d</sup>. The computation of Africanus would place *Phoroneus* 667 years before the fall of *Troy*<sup>e</sup>.

By all testimonies *Phoroneus* was an aboriginal chief of the predominant tribe the *Pelasgi*. His subjects were Pelasgians and his successors Pelasgians till the coming of *Danaüs*<sup>f</sup>. The ancient chronologers attempted to arrange the events recorded in their early traditions accord-

as quoted by Syncellus p. 64. C., appears to imply that Acusilaüs made *Inachus* the first king: οὐδὲν ἀξιοσημειώμενον Ἑλλήσιν ἱστορεῖται πρὸ Ὠγύγου πλὴν Φορωνέως τοῦ συγχρονίσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰνάχῳ τοῦ Φορωνέως πατρὸς ὃς πρῶτος Ἀργεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ἱστορεῖ. τούτου θυγάτηρ Ἰὼ, ἣν Ἴσιν μετανομάσαντες σέβουσι. But as we may collect from Clemens adducing Plato that Acusilaüs knew nothing of *Inachus* as first king of Argos, this account would be erroneous. Although therefore τούτου θυγάτηρ, &c. refers to Ἰνάχῳ, yet it is probable that ὃς πρῶτος was intended to be referred to Φορωνέως and not to Ἰνάχῳ. The sense is rightly expressed by the Scholiast on Statius Theb. IV. 589. *Phoroneus*] *Hic est qui primus Junoni sacrificasse dicitur, ut Dardanus Jovi. Phoroneus autem Inachi filius, qui primus mortalibus regnavit, cujus filiam Nioben—Jupiter primo mortalem dicitur compressisse. Where qui and cujus refer to Phoroneus. Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 3., following the chronology of Eusebius, names *Inachus* as the first king.*

<sup>b</sup> Plato *Timæo* p. 22. A. Clemens has τῆδε τῇ πόλει and ἐπιχειρεῖ. This passage of Plato is referred to, although inaccurately, by Syncellus p. 126. B.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. *Præp.* X. p. 488. D.

<sup>d</sup> Heyne ad *Apollod.* II. 1, 1. Sturz. ad *Hellanic.* *Fragm.* p. 102. and Dr. Routh *Reliquiæ Patrum* tom. II. p. 295. by mistake ascribe this date of 1020 years to Acusilaüs himself. But

the testimony of Acusilaüs (which is here placed in a parenthesis to distinguish it) only refers to the flood of *Ogyges*. Mr. Mitford *Hist. of Gr.* vol. I. p. 44. justly questions the existence of *Ogyges*: but when he adds that “no assurance remains that even the name of *Ogyges* was known to the older Grecian authors,” his observation is refuted by the testimony of Acusilaüs.

<sup>e</sup> He gives for the first year of *Phoroneus* B.C. 1796 + 54 = 1850; and B.C. 1183 + 667 = B.C. 1850.

<sup>f</sup> Mitford *Hist. of Greece* vol. I. p. 28. derives *Phoroneus* from Egypt, and observes that according to all accounts Argos was an Egyptian colony. But no accounts make Argos an Egyptian colony till the arrival of *Danaüs*. Thucydides I. 3. quoted by Mitford has nothing of such an import.

*Car* the son of *Phoroneus* reigned at Megara: Pausan. I. 39, 4. κληθῆναι δὲ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ βασιλεύοντος· τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γενέσθαι Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς [conf. 40, 5.], καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι Μέγαρα. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὶ περὶ σφῶν Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσι. From him the citadel retained the name of Caria to the time of Pausanias: Idem I. 40, 5. τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν. Idem I. 44, 9. καὶ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως μνήμᾳ ἔστι, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς χῶμα γῆς.



ing to the reigns of this Pelasgic dynasty which reigned at Argos. Tatian<sup>s</sup> has preserved the synchronisms, which are also given by Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>h</sup>. Castor<sup>i</sup> undertook to assign not only the whole period of the dynasty, but the years of each respective reign.

**TATIAN.**  
γενεαὶ εἴκοσι.

<i>Inachus.</i>	
<i>Phoroneus.</i>	Ὀγυγὸς ἀφ' οὗ κατακλυσμός.
<i>Apis.</i>	
<i>Argius.</i>	
<i>Criasus.</i>	
<i>Phorbas.</i>	Ἀκταῖος ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἢ Ἀττική.
<i>Triopas.</i>	<div> <div>Προμηθεύς, Ἐπιμηθεύς. Ἄτλας.</div> <div>ὁ διφυὴς Κέκροψ.</div> <div>Ἰά.</div> </div>
<i>Crotopus.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις.</div> <div>ἡ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία.</div> <div>ἡ Ἀμφικτύωνος βασιλεία.</div> </div>
<i>Sthenelæus.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ Δαναοῦ παρουσία.</div> <div>ἡ ἐπὶ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδ. κτίσις.</div> <div>ἡ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς Κρήτην ἀνακομιδή.</div> </div>
<i>Danaüs.</i>	
<i>Lynceus.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγή.</div> <div>ἡ Τριπτολέμου γεωργία.</div> <div>ἡ Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας παρουσία.</div> <div>ἡ Μίνως βασιλεία.</div> </div>
<i>Abas.</i>	
<i>Prætus.</i>	ὁ Εὐμόλπου πόλεμος.
<i>Acrisius.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ Πέλοπος διάβασις.</div> <div>ἡ Ἴωνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίξις.</div> <div>ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ.</div> <div>αἱ Περσέως καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις.</div> </div>
<i>Peræus.</i>	
<i>Sthenelæus.</i>	
<i>Eurystheus.</i>	
<i>Atræus.</i>	
<i>Thyestes.</i>	
<i>Agamemnon.</i>	Ἰλιον ἐάλω.

**CLEMENS<sup>k</sup>.**

<i>Inachus.</i>	
<i>Phoroneus.</i>	<div> <div>ὁ ἐπὶ Ὀγύγον κατακλυσμός.</div> <div>Σικυῶνος βασιλεὺς Αἰγυαλεὺς, Εὐραψ, Τελχίς.</div> <div>ἡ Κρήτος ἐν Κρήτῃ βασιλεία.</div> </div>
<i>Apis.</i>	τρίτος ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου p. 323. A.
<i>Phorbas.</i>	Ἀκταῖος ἀφ' οὗ Ἀκταία ἢ Ἀττική.
<i>Triopas.</i>	<div> <div>Προμηθεύς, Ἄτλας, Ἐπιμηθεύς.</div> <div>ὁ διφυὴς Κέκροψ.</div> <div>Ἰνά (sic).</div> <div>Τριόπας ἐβδόμη γενεὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου.</div> </div>
<i>Crotopus.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος ἐκπύρωσις.</div> <div>ἡ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπομβρία.</div> <div>ἡ Ἀμφικτύωνος βασιλεία.</div> </div>
<i>Sthenelæus.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ Δαναοῦ παρουσία.</div> <div>ἐπὶ Δαρδάνου τῆς Δαρδ. κτίσις.</div> <div>ἡ ἐκ Κρήτης * εἰς Φοινίκην ἀνακομιδή.</div> </div>
<i>Danaüs.</i>	
<i>Lynceus.</i>	<div> <div>τῆς Κόρης ἡ ἀρπαγή.</div> <div>Τριπτολέμου γεωργία.</div> <div>ἡ Κάδμου εἰς Θήβας παρουσία.</div> <div>Μίνως βασιλεία.</div> </div>
<i>Prætus.</i>	ὁ Εὐμόλπου πόλεμος.
<i>Acrisius.</i>	<div> <div>ἡ Πέλοπος διάβασις.</div> <div>ἡ Ἴωνος ἀφίξις.</div> <div>ὁ δεύτερος Κέκροψ.</div> <div>αἱ Περσέως καὶ Διονύσου πράξεις.</div> </div>
<i>Agamemnon.</i>	κατὰ τὸ ἰγ' ἔτος Ἰλιον ἐάλω.

**CASTOR.**

1. <i>Inachus</i>	50.	
2. <i>Phoroneus</i>	60.	{ <i>Ogygus Eleusinem</i> <i>condidit.</i>
3. <i>Apis</i>	35.	<i>A quo regio Apia.</i>
4. <i>Argus</i>	70.	
5. <i>Criasus</i>	54.	
6. <i>Phorbas</i>	35.	{ <i>Hujus ætate</i> <i>Cecrops diphyes.</i>
7. <i>Triopas</i>	46.	
8. <i>Crotopus</i>	21.	
9. <i>Sthenelus</i>	11.	{ <i>Summa annorum</i> <i>382.</i>
10. <i>Danaüs</i>	50.	{ <i>Sthenelum Da-</i> <i>naüs pepulit.</i>
11. <i>Lynceus</i>	41.	
12. <i>Abas</i>	23.	
13. <i>Prætus</i>	17.	
14. <i>Acrisius</i>	31.	{ <i>Annos 162 confi-</i> <i>ciant. Argivorum</i> <i>imperii summa</i> <i>annorum 544.</i> <i>Huc usque Da-</i> <i>naidæ<sup>l</sup>.</i>

<sup>s</sup> Tatian. Or. ad Græc. p. 131—134.

<sup>h</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 321—323.

<sup>i</sup> Castor apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 129—131.

<sup>j</sup> The names of these kings are transposed in the extant copies of Tatian thus: *Apis, Criasus, Triopas, Argius, Phorbas, Crotopus, Sthenelæus, Danaüs, Lynceus, Prætus, Abas*. They are given in the right order by Eusebius Præp. X. II. p. 404. by whom this passage of Tatian is transcribed.

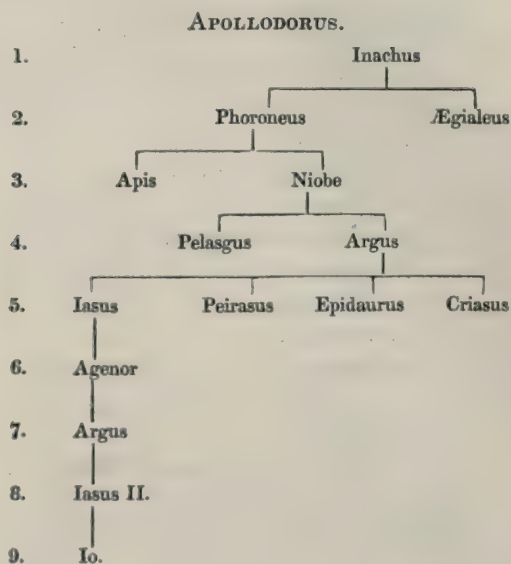
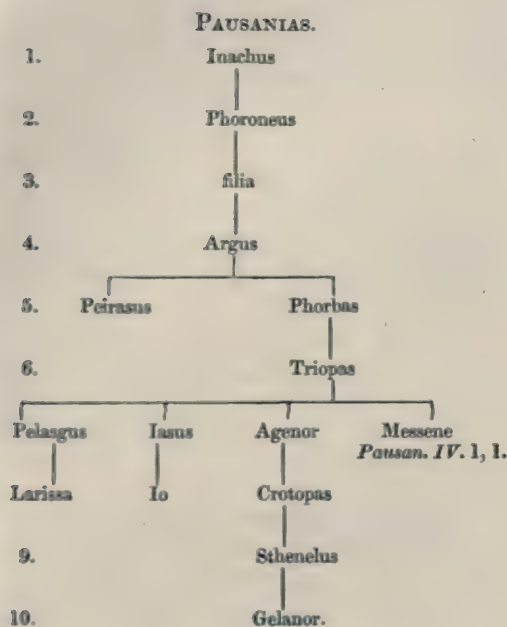
<sup>k</sup> Although Clemens for the most part repeats

Tatian, yet, as he had also other authorities, he is added here for the sake of a comparative view.

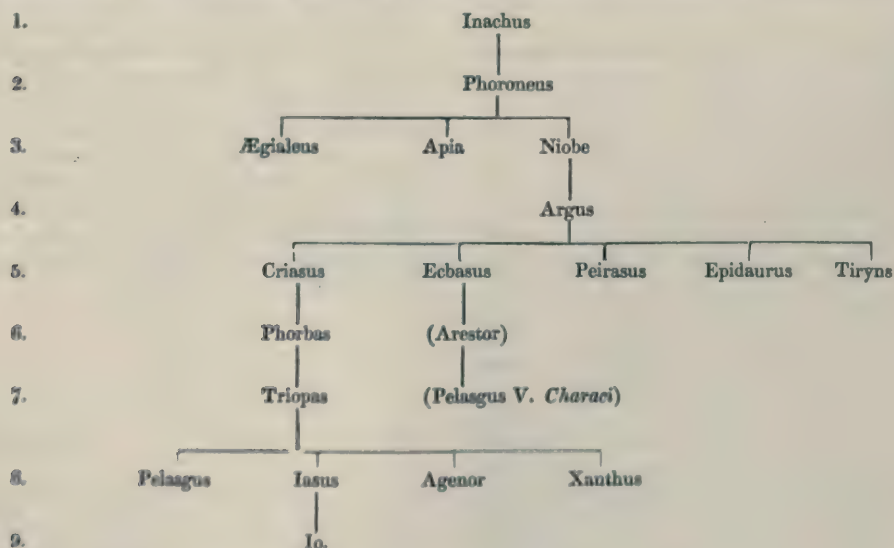
<sup>l</sup> Syncellus p. 124. C. reckons 575 years from *Inachus* to *Acrisius*: ὁ χρόνος τῆς Ἰνάχου βασιλείας ἀσύμφωνος φέρεται παρ' Ἑλλήσι διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα—ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου Ἰνάχου ἕως τοῦ θ' Σθένελου ἑτῶν ἑξήκοντα. τὴν δὲ Σθένελου Δαναὸς ἐκβαλὼν ἐκράτησε τοῦ Ἀργεῖος, ὡς μαρτυροῦσι πάντες ἱστορικοὶ, σὺν τοῖς ἀπογόνους ἕτη ἑξήκοντα. ὁμοῦ ἔτη φοι' ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου ἐπὶ Ἀκρίσιον πέμπτον ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ.







The Scholiast on Euripides<sup>p</sup> gives the genealogy with other variations :



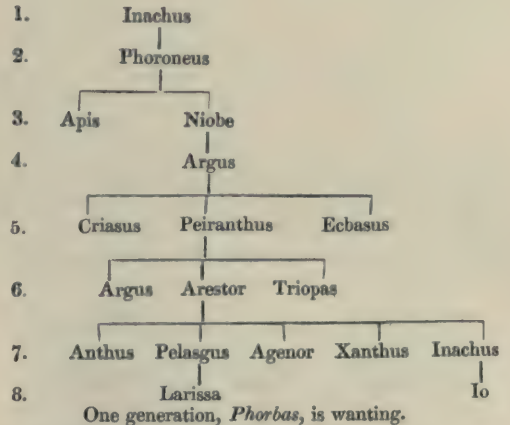
<sup>p</sup> Schol. Eur. *Orest.* 920. "Ἰναχος αὐτόχθων πρῶτος βασιλεὺς Ἀργεῖος, δεύτερος Πελασγός, τρίτος Δαναός ὁ Βῆλον. μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν ἐν ἔρεσιν οἰκοῦνται τῶν Ἀργείων, πρῶτος αὐτοῖς συνέψισεν Ἰναχος, καὶ λιμναζόμενον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἰναχὸν ποτὶν αὐτὸς ἐκαθάρισεν — Ἰνάχῳ δὲ καὶ Μελίας Φορωνεύς καὶ Πηγεῖς ἐγένετο Φο-

ρωνεύς δὲ καὶ Πειθεύς ἐγένετο Αἰγιαλεύς, Ἀπία δὲ Εὐρώπης Νιόβη· Νιόβης δὲ Ἀργος Ἀργεῖος δὲ Κρίασος, Ἐκβάσος, Πείρασος, Ἐπίδαυρος, Τίρυνς· Κρίασος δὲ ἀπὸ Μελανθεύς ἐγένετο Φόρβας καὶ Κλεόβοια· Φόρβαντι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐγένετο Τριόπας· Τριόπα δὲ ἐκ Σωίδος ἐγένοντο δίδυμοι μὲν Πελασγός καὶ Ἴασος νεώτεροι δὲ Ἀγήνωρ καὶ

Some of these names are illustrated by Hyginus<sup>q</sup>, although corrupted. *Pelagus*, *Iasus*, and *Agenor*, were made the sons of *Triopas* by Hellanicus<sup>r</sup>: Ἰάσος καὶ Πελασγὸς Τριόπα παῖδες. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς διείλοντο τὴν βασιλείαν. λαχὼν δὲ Πελασγὸς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἑρασίῳν ποταμὸν ἔκτισε Λάρισσαν Ἰάσος δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἥλιν. τελευτήσαντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ νεώτατος ἀδελφὸς Ἀγήνωρ ἐπεστράτευσεν τῇ χώρᾳ.—ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς. *Pelagus* son of *Triopas* is mentioned by Pausanias: Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Πελασγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Τριόπα<sup>s</sup>. And by Hyginus<sup>t</sup>: *Ædem Jovi Olympio primum fecit Pelagus Triopæ filius in Arcadia*. Pausanias<sup>v</sup> mentions his daughter *Larissa*: τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Λάρισσαν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρὸς. *Xanthus* occurs in Diodorus<sup>w</sup>. A son of *Niobë* is called *Pelagus* by Dionysius<sup>x</sup>; and that chief who passed into Thessaly in the sixth generation after *Pelagus* son of *Niobë* is also named *Pelagus*<sup>y</sup>. *Æschylus*<sup>z</sup> gives this name to the king whom *Danäus* displaced. Another *Pelagus* according to Pausanias founded a dynasty of kings in Arcadia, and was contemporary with *Danäus*, *Cecrops*, and *Deucalion*. Accordingly the combined accounts of *Æschylus*, *Hellanicus*, *Apollodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Pausanias*, establish five *Pelagis*<sup>a</sup>. 1. *Pelagus*, brother of *Argus*, son of *Niobë*. 2. *Pelagus*, father of *Larissa*, son of *Triopas*. 3. *Pelagus* son of *Larissa*, who planted Thessaly. 4. *Pelagus* displaced by *Danäus*. 5. *Pelagus* the ancestor of *Echemus* and *Agapenor* of Arcadia. The mistaking these, and the confounding them together, has produced much confusion. *Dionysius* and *Apollodorus* have confounded the Arcadian *Pelagus* with that earlier *Pelagus* who flourished seven ge-

Ἐάνθος. ὁ δὲ Πελασγὸς πρῶτος ἀγροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐξεῦρε, πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς δράγμασι σιτουμένων, καὶ Πελασγικὸν τὸ Ἄργος ἀνόμασεν. Ἰάσου δὲ καὶ Λευκάνης ἰὸ ἐγένετο. *Arestor* and *Pelagus V.* are added from *Charax* quoted below.

<sup>q</sup> Hygin. fab. 145. *Ex Phoroneo et Cinna nati Apis et Nioba. Hanc Jupiter mortalem primam compressit: ex ea natus est Argus qui suo nomine Argos oppidum cognominavit. Ex Argo et Evadne Crinus, Peiranthus, et Basus nati: ex Peirantho (et) Callirhoe Argus, Arestorides, Triopas; hic \* ex hoc Eurisabe Anthus, Pelagus, Agenor: ex Triope et Oreaside, Xanthus et Inachus: ex Pelasgo Laris, ex Inacho et Argia Io.* Some of these names have been corrected by the interpreters: *Crinus* is *Criasus*. *Peiranthus* is not a corruption, but another form of *Peirasus*. *Basus* is not *Iasus* but *Ecbasus*: another name of the same person. On the *lacuna*, *Muncker* observes, *Dicamus duas habuisse uxores Triopam: ex priore natos Anthum, &c. ex posteriore Xanthum, &c.* This is likely: for Hyginus fab. 225. mentions *Pelagus* son of *Triopas*. On *Laris*, *Muncker* remarks, *Hic Laris nusquam mihi inventus. An scribendum Lycaon?* But *Laris* is a corruption of *Larissa*, the daughter of *Pelagus* in Pausanias and other authors. *Inachus* is supplied by Hyginus fab. 225. *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Junoni primum fecit* and the genealogy will be this:



<sup>r</sup> Schol. Hom. II. III. 75.

<sup>s</sup> Pausan. II. 22, 2.

<sup>t</sup> Hygin. fab. 225.

<sup>v</sup> Pausan. II. 23, 9. He mentions this *Pelagus* again I. 14, 2. λέγεται ὡς Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξατο οἶκον, καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθίς τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγέσαστο· ὕστερον δὲ Τρόχιλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθρας Ἀγήνωρος ἐλθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος γῆμαι, καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτολεμον. ὅδε μὲν Ἀργεῖων ἐστὶ λόγος.

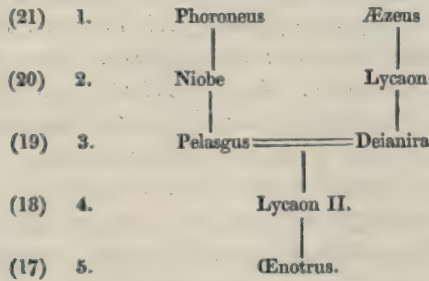
<sup>w</sup> Diod. V. 81. <sup>x</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 30.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ib. p. 46. <sup>z</sup> Æschyl. Suppl. 256.

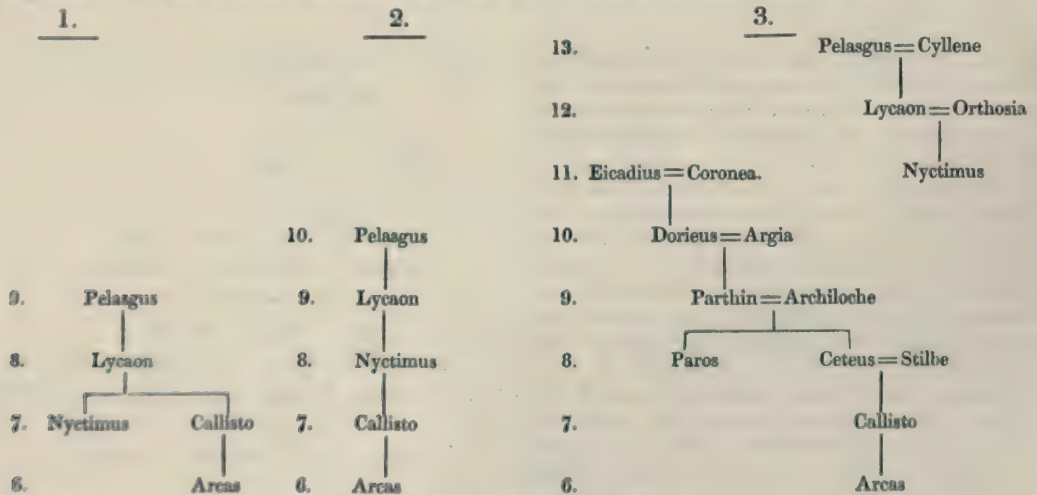
<sup>a</sup> A sixth *Pelagus*, son of *Inachus*, is mentioned, as we have seen, by Schol. Eur. Or. 920.



nerations before him, and was the grandson of *Phoroneus*. Dionysius<sup>b</sup> thus describes the colony to Italy: ᾠκησαν Ἰταλίαν ἄγοντος αὐτοῦς Οἰνῶτρου τοῦ Λυκάονος. ἦν δὲ πέμπτος ἀπὸ τε Αἰζείου καὶ Φορωνέως, τῶν πρώτων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ δυναστευσάντων. Φορωνέως μὲν γὰρ Νιόβῃ ταύτης—Πελασγός· Αἰζείου δὲ υἱὸς Λυκάων· τούτου δὲ Δηϊάνειρα θυγάτηρ. ἐκ δὲ Δηϊανείρας καὶ Πελασγοῦ Λυκάων ἕτερος· τούτου δὲ Οἰνωτρός ἑπτακαίδεκα γενεαῖς πρότερον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσάντων. The genealogy will be this:



This error of Dionysius, which is noticed by Clavier<sup>c</sup> and by Raoul-Rochette<sup>d</sup>, will be manifest if the testimonies concerning the Arcadian *Pelagrus* are examined. *Pelagrus* the founder of the Arcadian dynasty is placed in the sixth or the ninth or the tenth generation after *Phoroneus*. *Arcas* is by a concurrence of authorities in the sixth generation before the Trojan war. The interval between *Pelagrus* and *Arcas* is variously stated thus:



The first is the account of Eumelus, which is adopted by Charon of Lampsacus, and by Pausanias; the second is the account of the poet Asius; the third genealogy is preserved by the scholiast upon Euripides, who seems to follow Charax<sup>e</sup>; a fourth account of *Arcas* was given

and by Schol. Apollon. I. 580. Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Ἰνᾶχου. Perhaps another name for *Phoroneus*.

<sup>b</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 30—33.

<sup>c</sup> Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. des Colonies Grecques tom. I. p. 226.

<sup>e</sup> Apollod. III. 8. Πελασγοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀκεανῶς θυγατρὸς Μελοβίης, ἣ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσι, νύμφης Κυλλήνης, παῖς Λυκάων ἐγένετο.—Ζεὺς Λυκάωνα καὶ τοῦ-

του παῖδας ἐκεραύνωσε χωρὶς τοῦ νεωτάτου Νυκτίμου.—Νυκτίμου δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο.—Εὐμηλὸς δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάωνι καὶ θυγατέρᾳ Καλλιστῷ γενέσθαι Ἡσί-  
οδος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει· Ἄσιος δὲ Νυκτίως· Φερεκύδης δὲ Κητέως—Ζεὺς δὲ ἐρασθεὶς ἀκούσῃ συνευνάζεσθαι—ἀπολομένης δὲ Καλλιστοῦς Ζεὺς τὸ βρέφος ἀρπάσας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δίδωσιν ἀνατρέφειν Μαίᾳ,

by Duris<sup>f</sup>, who made him the son of *Orchomenus*. This account also will place *Pelasgus* in the ninth generation before the Trojan era, because *Orchomenus* is a son of *Lycaon* and a brother of *Nyctimus*<sup>g</sup>. In the third genealogy, that of the scholiast, *Arcas* is not derived from *Pelasgus* at all; and *Pelasgus* is thrown back to the thirteenth generation. But yet he is placed by this account in the sixth generation below *Phoroneus*, being the son of *Arestor*, who was the fifth from *Phoroneus*<sup>h</sup>. The first and second genealogies, however, of Eumelus and Asius, place *Pelasgus* in the ninth or tenth generation before the Trojan war; and the synchronisms agree both in Pausanias and Apollodorus. *Lycaon* is contemporary with *Cecrops* according to Pausanias, which will place him in the ninth generation; and *Nyctimus* with *Deucalion* according to Apollodorus, which refers *Nyctimus* to the eighth. *Pelasgus* therefore was eight or nine generations later than *Phoroneus*; and Clemens, repeated by Eusebius<sup>i</sup>, agrees with this account: παλαιότερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ Ἀργολικὰ, τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου λέγω, ὡς Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις διδάσκει. τούτων δὲ—ἐννέα γενεαὶ νεώτερα τὰ Ἀρκαδικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ οὗτος αὐτόχθων—εἰς δὲ τὸν χρόνον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου γενεαὶ μὲν εἴκοσιν<sup>k</sup> ἢ πλείους διαριθμοῦνται [εἴκοσιν ἢ μιᾷ πλείους Euseb.]. Both Eusebius and Clemens have ἐννέα for the number of generations from *Inachus* to the Arcadian *Pelasgus*<sup>l</sup>. *Nyctimus*, then, and *Enotrus* are eight generations before the Trojan war instead of seventeen; and it is manifest that Dionysius and Apollodorus, making the Arcadian *Pelasgus* grandson of *Phoroneus*, have confounded a later with an earlier *Pelasgus*; or rather have followed those who

προσαγορεύσας Ἀρκάδα.—Ἀρκάδης δὲ καὶ Λεανείρας τῆς Ἀρκάδος, ἡ Μεγανείρας τῆς Κράκωνος, ὡς δὲ Εὐμηλὸς λέγει, νύμφης Χρυσοπελείας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἐλατος καὶ Ἀφείδας· Tzet. ad Lycophr. 480. Ἀρκὰς ὁ Διὸς ἡ Ἀπόλλωνος παῖς καὶ Καλλιστοῦς τῆς Λυκάωνος θυγατρὸς, ὡς φησὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνός. Pausan. VIII. 2—4. Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγοῦ—δοκῶ δὲ ἔργω Κέκροπι ἡλικίαν τῇ βασιλεύσαντι· Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λυκάωνι εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν—τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μετὰ Πελασγὸν ἔς τε πόλεον καὶ ἀνθρώπων πληθὺς ἐπέδωκεν ἡ χώρα. Νύκτιμος μὲν γὰρ πρσβυτάτος τε ἦν καὶ εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παῖδες τοῦ Λυκάωνος πόλεις ἐκτίζον—ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γένει πάντι τῇ ἄρσενι θυγάτηρ Λυκάωνι ἐγένετο Καλλιστώ· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Καλλιστῷ (λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων) συνεγένετο ἑρασθεὶς Ζεὺς—μετὰ δὲ Νύκτιμον ἀποθανόντα Ἀρκὰς ἐξεδέξατο ὁ Καλλιστοῦς τὴν ἀρχήν—ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρκαδία τε ἀντὶ Πελασγίας ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀντὶ Πελασγῶν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. συνοικῆσαι δὲ οὐ θνητῇ γυναικὶ αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ νύμφῃ Δρυάδι· ἔλεγον—καὶ ἐκ ταύτης φασὶν Ἀρκάδι Ἀζῆνα καὶ Ἀφείδαντα γενέσθαι καὶ Ἐλατον. Schol. Eur. Orest. 1642. Πελασγὸς αὐτόχθων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρέστορος τοῦ Ἰάσου ἰλθὼν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν θηριώδεις ὄντας τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς τὸ ἡμερότερον μετέβαλε, καὶ πόλιν ἐκτίσεν ἢν Παρβάσιαν ἀνόμασεν. γυναικὰ δὲ ἀγαγόμενος ἐπιχωρίαν Κυλλήνην, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὄρος οὕτω καλεῖται, υἱὸν ἔσχε Λυκάωνα—ὅς παῖδα ἰσχυρῶς ἐξ Ὀρθωνίας Νύκτιμον τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῇ καταλείπει. ἐφ' οὗ ὁ κατακλισμὸς ἐγένετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλεύει Δωριεὺς υἱὸς Εἰκαδίου καὶ Κορωνείας. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀργίας ἔσχε Παρθίνα. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀρχιλόχης Κητέα καὶ Πάρον. Κητεὺς δὲ ἐκ Στίλβης ἔσχε Καλλιστώ. ταύτην φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς Ἀρκάδα πεποιηκέναι· ὅς ἄρξας τῆς χώρας Ἀρκαδίαν ἀνόμασε. γήμας δὲ Λεάνειραν ἔσχε

Ἐλατον, Ἀφείδαντα, Ἀζῆνα. The nymph *Cyllene* (from whom the mount *Cyllene* received its name: Steph. Byz. Κυλλήνη), who is the mother of *Lycaon* in these accounts, was called by *Phercydes* the wife of *Lycaon*: *Dionys. Ant. I. p. 35*. Λυκάων—γαμῆ Κυλλήνην, Νηῖδα νύμφην, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὄρος ἡ Κυλλήνη καλεῖται.

<sup>f</sup> Schol. Apollon. IV. 264. Δουρὶς ἐν πέμπτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν Ἀρκάδα φησὶν, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀρκὰδία καλεῖται, Ὀρχομενοῦ υἱόν· διὸ καὶ πόλιν τῆς Ἀρκαδίας Ὀρχομενόν. conf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 397. where for διὸ καὶ ποταμὸν read διὸ καὶ πόλιν.

<sup>g</sup> Apollod. III. 8, 1. Pausan. VIII. 3, 1. Schol. Lycophr. 481.

<sup>h</sup> Steph. Byz. Παρβάσις—Χάραξ κτίσμα Πελασγοῦ ἐν πρώτῳ χρονικῶν οὕτω· “Πελασγὸς Ἀρέστορος· παῖς τοῦ Ἐκβάσου τοῦ Ἀργου μετακλήσας ἐξ Ἀργους· εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου μὲν τότε Πελασγίαν ὕστερον δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν κληθεῖσαν ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι πέντε, καὶ πόλιν Παρβάσιαν ἐκτίσε.” *Ecbasus* son of *Argus* (called also *Ecbasus* in Schol. Eur. Or. 920. and in *Hyginus*: see p. 11. q.) is the same person as *Iasus* son of *Argus*, in Apollod. II. 1. From the mention of *Parrhasia* and of *Arestor*, it seems likely that the account in the scholiast is derived from *Charax*.

<sup>i</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 320. D. Euseb. Præp. X. 12. p. 497. v.

<sup>k</sup> Tatian. p. 131. ο' δ' ἀπ' Ἰνάχου χρόνος ἄχρι τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως ἀποπληροῖ γενεὰς εἴκοσι.

<sup>l</sup> Clavier Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 34. has observed this strong testimony of Clemens.



endeavoured to give the Arcadians a high antiquity, and to place their founder in the remotest period<sup>m</sup>. Dionysius appears to have blended together two opposite traditions concerning the Ænotrian colony to Italy. Apollodorus is inconsistent with himself; for he himself places, as we have seen, *Nyctimus* in the time of *Deucalion*, and *Pelasgus* in the ninth generation before the fall of Troy<sup>n</sup>; and yet he had already referred *Pelasgus* son of *Niobë*, to the seventh generation before *Danaüs*, consequently the sixteenth before the fall of Troy<sup>o</sup>. We are not to solve this difficulty by observing that *Pelasgus*, being not an individual but a nation, in reality existed through all these generations; for the question is, what was the opinion of the ancients themselves. They believed *Pelasgus* to be a real person; and we are to inquire how far their account is consistent with itself. The son of *Niobë* in the seventeenth generation before the Trojan war could not be the father of *Lycæon* eight generations after *Niobë*.

The Argive original of the Arcadian *Pelasgus* is obscure. He was made the son of *Arestor* by those who proposed to derive him from the *Inachidæ*<sup>p</sup>. But that account must be rejected, if we accept the other traditions which bring him down to the fifth generation before *Arcas*. This tradition however, which derives him from *Arestor*, shews that he was of the same race with the *Pelægi* of Argos. We may arrange the times of these early Pelægic establishments in this manner: a migration under a Pelægic chief, represented by *Xanthus*, son of *Triopas*, planted a colony first in Lycia and then in Lesbos<sup>q</sup>. Two generations later

<sup>m</sup> Ephorus apud Strabon. V. p. 221. reckoned the *Pelægi* to originate in Arcadia: τῷ γ' Ἐφόρῳ τῷ δὲ Ἀρκადίας εἶναι τὸ φύλον τοῦτο ἤρξεν Ἡσιόδος φησὶ γὰρ

οἷαίς ἐξηγόντο Λυκάωνος ἀντιθέου,  
ὅν ποτε τίκετ Πελασγός.

That Hesiod called *Pelasgus* ἀντίθεον is attested by Apollodorus. See above p. 9. n. Asiæ, following the Arcadian tradition, also made the Arcadian *Pelasgus* earth-born: Pausan. VIII. 1, 2. φασὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ὡς Πελασγὸς γένετο ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρῶτος—πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίῃ τοιαύτη ἐς αὐτὸν ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμεσιν ἔρποντι

γαῖα μέλαι' ἀνέδκεν, ἵνα θηγῶν γένος εἴη.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 12. e.

<sup>o</sup> See above p. 9. n. Having mentioned *Pelasgus* son of *Niobë*, II. 1, 1. he adds, ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων πάλιν ἔρῳμεν. He names *Pelasgus* again, III. 8, 1. ἐπαύγουμαι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πελασγὸν κ. τ. λ. and then proceeds to make him the father of *Lycæon*. On this occasion, then, he has confounded two of the same name. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 481. has the same mistake: Πελασγὸς ἦν παῖς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Νιόβης, ὃ Λυκάων παῖς ἐκ Μελαιοῖας κόρης, εἴτ' εἰς Κελύφης κρήνης. Apollodorus, upon other occasions, has confounded two of the same name; as the two *Hyacinthi* and the two *Nauplii*; and *Apis* son of *Phoroneus*, with an Arcadian *Apis*: compare Apollod. I. 7, 6. with Pausan. V. 1, 6. The Arcadian *Apis* was four or five generations after *Deucalion*. *Atalanta* daughter of *Schæneus* of Bœotia is confounded with *Atalanta*

daughter of *Iasus* of Arcadia: Conf. I. 8, 2. III. 9, 2. Two *Sarpedons* are confounded III. 1, 2. Hence the fable ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς κ. τ. λ. is rightly explained by Heyne Apollod. tom. II. p. 215. ed. 80. *Orta videtur ex confusis avo et nepote Sarpedone, qui bello Trojano interfuit.*

<sup>p</sup> *Arestor* is the son of *Ecbasus*, or *Iasus*, in the fifth generation from *Phoroneus*. We have seen *Arestor* son of *Phorbas*, in the sixth generation in Pherecydes, and *Arestor* son of *Peiranthus* in the fifth generation in Hyginus. The two last are probably the same person, since they are both sons of *Triopas*. *Arestor* was mentioned in the Ἡοῖα μεγάλα; Pausan. II. 16, 3. Μικήνῃ θυγατέρα Ἰνάχου γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀρέστορος τὰ ἔπη λήγει δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν Ἡοῖας μεγάλας. But which *Arestor*, is doubtful.

<sup>q</sup> Diodorus V. 81. mentions this migration, which he places seven generations before *Deucalion*; and then describes a second colony under *Macareus*, which he dates after the time of *Deucalion*: Εὐάνθος ὁ Τρίπτα τῶν δὲ Ἀργεῶν Πελασγῶν βασιλείων καὶ κατασχὼν μέρος τι τῆς Λυκίας χώρας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικῶν ἐβασίλευε τῶν συνακολουθησάντων Πελασγῶν ἕτερον δὲ περαιωθείς εἰς τὴν Λέσβον εἶσαν ἔρημον τὴν μὲν χώραν τοῖς λαοῖς ἐμέρισε τὴν δὲ νῆσον ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν Πελασγίαν ἀνέμασε, τὸ πρῶτον καλουμένην Ἴσσαν. ἕτερον δὲ γενεαῖς ἑπτὰ γινομένου τοῦ κατὰ Δευκαλίωνα κατακλισμοῦ—συνέβη καὶ τὴν Λέσβον διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἐρημωθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μακαρεὺς εἰς αὐτὴν ἀφικόμενος—κατῆκεσεν αὐτήν. ἦν δ' ὁ Μακαρεὺς υἱὸς μὲν Κρυάκου τοῦ Διὸς, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσιόδος καὶ ἄλ-

a migration to Thessaly proceeded from Argos, represented by *Achæus*, *Phthius*, and *Pelagus*, sons of *Larissa*; nearly contemporary with this, and in the ninth generation from *Phoroneus*, a Pelasgic chief, probably derived from Argos, established himself in Arcadia. Two generations afterwards, the *Ænotrians* and *Peucetians*, Pelasgic tribes, described under the persons of *Ænotrus* and *Peucetius* sons of *Lycaon*, migrated to Italy.

*Achæus* son of *Larissa* and grandson of *Pelagus II.* is sometimes confounded with a later *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*; to whom are ascribed some of the acts performed by the former. *Achæus* and his brothers migrated into Thessaly in the sixth generation after *Pelagus I.* according to *Dionysius*<sup>1</sup>, whose account is to the following effect: "The Pelasgians first inha-

λοι τινές τῶν ποιητῶν, κατοικῶν δ' ἐν Ὀλένῳ τῆς τότε μὲν Ἰάδος νῦν δ' Ἀχαιῶας καλουμένης. Then he mentions that Λέσβος ὁ Λαπίθου τοῦ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἰππότου—πλευσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον καὶ γῆμας τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μακαρέως Μήθυμναν κοινῇ κατέκρησε. *Dionysius Ant. I. p. 47.* agrees with *Diodorus* in the time of this second colony, which he also places after the time of *Deucalion*, and in the name of the leader. After relating the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Thessaly by *Deucalion*, and their dispersion, he adds, οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆλθον κ. τ. λ. οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθέντες—τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Λέσβον, ἀναμιχθέντες τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στέλλουσιν τὴν πρώτην ἀποικίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἄγοντος Μάκαρος τοῦ Κιρασίου. where *Wesseling* ad *Diod. V. 81.* rightly restores Κρινάκου. comparing *Schol. Iliad. ω'. 544.* ἔκτισε τὴν Λέσβον Μάκαρ ὁ Κρινάκου. The colony of *Macar* was then setting forth, when these *Pelasgi* joined it. Another tradition made *Macar* (the author of this second colony) the son of *Ilus*, and brought him from the Troad: *Schol. Hom. Π. ω'. 544.* Λέσβος—Μάκαρος ἑὸς] Μάκαρ ὁ Ἴλου φανεύσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τενάγῃν ἐκτίσσε ἤκτισε, καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνέμασεν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μιτυλήνη ἡ δὲ γυνὴ Λέσβος. This will be somewhat later than the time marked by *Diodorus* and *Dionysius*; *Ilus* was four generations after *Deucalion*. Traces of *Macar* or *Macareus* remained in the island: *Steph. Byz.* Ἀρίσβη, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Ἀρίσβης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς. *Idem* Ἐρεσσος, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Ἐρέσου τοῦ Μάκαρος. *Idem* Μήθυμνα. πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Μηθύμνης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς. *Idem* Μιτυλήνη—ἀπὸ Μιτυλήνης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς, ἡ Πέλοπος. The name *Issa* for this island is recorded by *Eustath.* ad *Hom. Π. ι'. p. 741, 33.* Ἱμερτὴ καὶ Πελασγία [conf. *Plin. H. N. V. 31.* *Eustath.* in *Dionys. Perieg. 347*] ἡ αὐτὴ Λέσβος ἐκλήθη ποτὲ—καὶ ὥσπερ Λέσβος οὕτω καὶ Ἱσσα ἡ αὐτὴ νῆσος ἐκ μιᾶς τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν πέντε πόλεων, ὥς καὶ ὁ Λυκάφρων ἐμφανει [sc. περιβρύτω Ἱσση 220]. Hence *Wesseling* ad *Diod. V. 81.* restores *Stephanus v. Ἱσσα.* πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ κληθείσα Ἱμερτὴ εἶτα Πελασγία καὶ Ἱσση ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱσσης τῆς Μάκαρος. A narrative concerning *Macar*, from *Myrsilus* of Lesbos, is given by *Clemens Prot. p. 19.* *Raoul-Rochette des Colon. Grecques tom.*

*I. p. 181.* reads Μάκαρος τοῦ Κριάσου in *Dionysius*, placing the migration of *Macar* 100 years before the migration of *Xanthus*, and in the reign of *Criasus*, the fifth king of Argos according to *Eusebius*. He quotes *Dionysius l. c.* Quant à la réalité de cet établissement, on ne peut guère en douter d'après le témoignage du *Denys d'Halicarnasse*, qui avoit fait une étude particulière et approfondie des émigrations du peuple Pélasge. Il est vrai que *Diodore* la rapporte à une époque beaucoup plus récente; mais comme les circonstances de son récit sont absolument contraires à celles du fait raconté par *Denys*, il faut qu'il ait voulu parler d'une seconde émigration, à laquelle il auroit donné par un erreur le même chef que *Denys* assigne à la première. But *Raoul-Rochette* has omitted to observe that *Dionysius* precisely agrees with *Diodorus* in the date of the emigration of *Macar*, which he places after the time of *Deucalion*. His account, then, is totally inconsistent with the time of *Criasus*, who reigned eight or nine generations before *Deucalion*. The only two arguments for *Raoul-Rochette* would be, first, that *Dionysius* calls the colony of *Macar* the first colony from Greece to Lesbos; and, secondly, that in *Diodorus* the name Ἱσσα precedes the name Πελασγία. But to the first it may be answered, that the colony of *Xanthus* proceeded from Lycia, and not from Greece; the statement in *Dionysius* therefore was true: and to the second, that this may be ascribed to a mistake in *Diodorus*; since Πελασγία precedes Ἱσσα in *Stephanus* and *Eustathius*.

<sup>1</sup> *Dionys. Ant. I. p. 45.* ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον—πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον νῦν Ἀχαικὸν Ἀργὸς ἤκισαν αὐτόχθονες ὄντες ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγουσι. τὴν δὲ ἐπανυμίαν ἔλαβον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγοῦ βασιλέως. ἦν δὲ ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐκ Διὸς, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τῆς Νιόβης τοῦ Φωρωνέως—ἔκτη δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ Πελοπόννησον ἐκλιπόντες εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰμονίαν νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν ὀνομαζομένην μετανέστησαν. ἤγοντο δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Φθῖες καὶ Πελασγοὶ οἱ Λαρίσσης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί [conf. *Schol. Apollon. I. 580*]. ἀφικόμενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Αἰμονίαν τοὺς τε κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ



"bited Argos in Peloponnesus, being an aboriginal race. They had their name from their king *Pelasgus*. This *Pelasgus* was the son of *Niobē* daughter of *Phoroneus*. In the sixth generation leaving Peloponnesus under three leaders, *Phthius*, *Achaus*, and *Pelasgus*, they migrated to *Hæmonia*. Expelling the barbarians who inhabited it, they divided the country into three districts, called from their leaders *Phthiotis*, *Achaia*, *Pelasgiotis*. Remaining there five generations, in which period they attained the greatest prosperity, in the sixth generation they were driven out by the *Curetes*, *Leleges*, and others led by *Deucalion* son of *Prometheus* and of *Clymenē* daughter of *Oceanus*." *Archander* and *Architeles*, grandsons of *Achaus*<sup>s</sup>, returning from Thessaly to Argos, married two daughters of *Danaüs*. *Strabo*<sup>t</sup> confounds him with the later *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*: τῶν δὲ Ξούθου παίδων Ἀχαιῶς—ἐξυγεν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα, καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ἔκει κληθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν. He subjoins, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται μὲν ἦσαν τὸ γένος ᾤκησαν δ' ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι. This last circumstance was true; but the Achæans of *Phthiotis* were not derived from *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*, and Achæans were in *Laconia* before his time, being found there by his contemporary *Tectamus* son of *Dorus*<sup>u</sup>.

Larcher<sup>x</sup> confounds the elder with the later *Achæus*, observing upon *Herodotus*, *Le prince nommé Danaüs ne peut être celui qui vint d'Égypte, et qui régna à Argos. Celui-ci est antérieur. Voyez ma Chronologie p. 321, 322. 428.* The passages referred to are to the following effect: *Erechthée étant mort,—deux des fils d'Achaus fils de Xuthus, Archandre et Archi-*

βαρβάρους ἐξελαιύνουσιν καὶ νέμονται τὴν χώραν τριχῇ, ταῖς ἡμέραις ποιήσαντες ὁμονύμους τὰς χώρας Φθιώτιν καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγιωτίν. πέντε δὲ μέναντες αὐτόθι γενεαί, ἐν αἷς ἐπὶ μέγιστον εὐτυχίας ἤλασαν, τὰ κράτιστα τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τιδίων καρπούμενοι, περὶ τὴν ἕκτῃ γενεᾷ ἐξελαιύνονται Θετταλίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κουρήτων καὶ Δελίγῳ εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλὴν καὶ Λοκροὶ καλοῦνται, καὶ συγχῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὴν Παρνασσὸν ἐκείντων, ἡγουμένου τῶν πολέμων Δουκαλίωνος τοῦ Προμηθεύς μητρὸς δὲ Κλυμένης τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ. *Idem* *Ib.* p. 74. ἔχει δὲ Ἑλλανίκερ ἐν Φερωνίδι ὁ λόγος οὕτως. "τοῦ Πελασγοῦ—καὶ Μενίπης τῆς Πριουῖ ἰγνέτο Φράστορ" τοῦ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ τοῦ δὲ Τενταμίδης τοῦ δὲ Νάσας ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντες οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἦσαν" Ἑλλήνων ἀνίστησαν." The sequel in *Hellanicus* gives one generation less than the summary of *Dionysius*. The numbers, when expanded into a series, will be these:

19. *Phoroneus*.

18. *Niobe*.

17. 1. *Pelasgus*.

16. 2.

15. 3.

14. 4.

13. 5.

12. 6. *Pelasgus*.

11. *Phrastor*.

10. *Amyntor*.

9. *Trutamides*.

8. *Nanas—Deucalion*.

} πέντε γενεαί.

<sup>s</sup> His grandsons, according to *Herodotus* II. 98. τῶν Δαναῶν γαμβροί, Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶς. his sons, according to *Pausanias* VII. 1, 3. Ἀρχαῖδρος Ἀχαιῶς καὶ Ἀρχιτέλης εἰς Ἀργεὶς ἀφίκοντο ἐκ

τῆς Φθιώτιδος, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐγένοντο Δαναῶν γαμβροί, καὶ Αὐτομάτην μὲν Ἀρχιτέλης Σκαίαν δὲ ἔλαβεν Ἀρχαῖδρος. —δυηθέντων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παίδων, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνταῦθα ἐξενίκησεν Ἀχαιῶν κληθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν σφισιν ὄνομα ἦν ἐν κοινῷ, Δαναοὶ δὲ Ἀργείοις ἰδίᾳ. *Automatè* and *Scaea* are both named among the daughters of *Danaüs* by *Apollodorus* II. 1, 4. *Phthius* son of *Achæus* is recorded by *Steph. Byz.* v. Ἑλλάς. In *Schol. Apollon.* I. 284. on the contrary, *Achæus* is son of *Phthius*: Ἀχαιῶν δέσσειν ταῖς Θεσσαλαῖς, ἀπὸ Ἀχαιῶν τοῦ Φθίου.

<sup>t</sup> *Strabo* VIII. p. 383. *Pausanias* VII. 1, 2, 3. also appears to consider *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus* to be the same person as *Achæus* father of *Archander*.

<sup>u</sup> *Diodorus* V. 80. relates that the Dorians settled in *Crete*, ἡγουμένου Τεκτάμον τοῦ Δώρον τοῦτοῦ δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος μὲν πλεῖον ἀποροισθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπον τόπων, τὸ δὲ τι μέρος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἀχαιῶν. *Steph. Byz.* Δώριον. ἱστορεῖ Ἀνδρῶν, Κρητῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύοντες Τέκσαφον τὸν Δώρον [*Wess.* Τέκταμον τὸν Δώρον] τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ὀρηγίσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τότε μὲν Δωρίδος οὖν δὲ Ἰστιαϊώτιδος καλουμένης ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωριέων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ Πελασγῶν τῶν οὐ καταράντων εἰς Τυρρηλίαν. The Achæans found in the states of *Achilles* were in their original seats, among the Pelasgians of Thessaly, of whom they were a part. *Heyne* ad *Apollod.* III. 12, 6. with reason concludes that the *Myrmidons* probably were of Pelasgic race.

<sup>x</sup> Ad *Herodot.* II. 98. tom. II. p. 383.

tèles, quitterent la Phthiotide et se rendirent à Argos, où ils épousèrent deux filles de Danaüs. —Danaüs étoit sans doute un prince de la famille des rois d'Argos; mais ne pouvoit être le même qui vint d'Egypte. J'ai prouvé que Danaüs étoit venu en Grèce avant le règne de Cécrops, &c.—On pourroit présumer que l'époque de l'arrivée de Danaüs est postérieure à celle que je lui ai assignée, parcequ' Archandre fils d'Achæus et petit-fils de Xuthus (Herodot. II. 98. Pausan. VII. 1.) épousa l'une de ses filles. En effet—il résultera qu'Archandre ne pourroit être né que vers l'an &c.—L'époque de l'arrivée de Danaüs et celle du mariage d'Archandre sont donc inconciliables, puisqu'il y a entre elles un intervalle de 198 ans. Mais je suis très-persuadé que le prince qu'Hérodote nomme Danaüs n'est point celui qui passa d'Egypte. But Pausanias does imply that the Egyptian Danaüs is intended, because the daughters there named are two of the Danaïdes; and Herodotus<sup>y</sup> elsewhere mentioning Danaüs simply without any addition, means the Egyptian Danaüs. Nor does any vestige of any other Danaüs anywhere occur. Moreover the words *petit-fils de Xuthus* are added by Larcher himself, and are not expressed in the original authors. The apparent difficulty would have been solved, if Larcher had remembered that he had described a few pages before<sup>z</sup> the passage of Pelasgus and Achæus into Thessaly: *Pelasgus passa en Thessalie accompagné de ses frères Achæus et Phthius: mais un peu plus que cinq générations après ils en furent chassés par Deucalion.*

*Pelasgus III.*, who with his brothers planted Thessaly, is spoken of by Bato of Sinopë<sup>a</sup>:  
 θυσίας κοινῆς τοῖς Πελασγοῖς γινομένης ἀναγγεῖλαι τινα τῷ Πελασγῷ<sup>b</sup> ἄνδρα, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Πέλωρος, διότι ἐν τῇ Αἰμονίᾳ σεισμῶν μεγάλων γενομένων βαγεῖν τὰ Τέμπε ὅρη ὀνομαζόμενα, καὶ διότι διὰ τοῦ διαστήματος ὁρμήσαν τὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι εἰς τὸ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ ῥεῖθρον, καὶ τὴν πρότερον λιμνάζουσαν χώραν ἅπασαν γεγυμῶσθαι, καὶ ἀναξηραινομένων τῶν ὑδάτων πεδία θαυμαστὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει ἀναφαίνεσθαι. ἀκούσαντα οὖν τὸν Πελασγὸν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀφθόως αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην τῷ Πελώρῳ παραθεῖναι· καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ φιλοφρονουμένους ἕκαστον φέρειν ὅ τι ἔχοι παρ' αὐτῷ βέλτιστον,—καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Πελασγὸν προθύμως διακονεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι ὄντας ὑπηρετεῖν καθότι ἐκάστω ὁ καιρὸς παρέπιπτε. διόπερ φασίν, ἐπεὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον, ἀπομίμημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐορτῆς θύοντας Διὶ Πελώρῳ τραπέζας τε λαμπρῶς κοσμοῦντας προτιθέναι—καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἔτι καὶ νῦν Θεσσαλοὺς μεγίστην ἐορτὴν ἄγοντας προσαγορεύειν Πελωρίαν. Larcher<sup>c</sup>, adverting to this passage, introduces it in the following manner: *Pelasgus regnoit alors en Arcadie. On vint lui annoncer que les eaux venant à s'écouler avoient laissé les plaines immenses de la Thessalie, &c.* But no mention of Arcadia occurs in the whole extract from Bato, or in the account of Dionysius. And the Thessalian Pelasgus is distinctly derived from Argos by the Scholiast on Apollonius, by

<sup>y</sup> Herodot. VII. 94.    <sup>z</sup> Tom. VII. p. 317.

<sup>a</sup> Athen. XIV. p. 639. e. Βάτων ὁ Σινωπεὺς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῇ περὶ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Αἰμονίας. See F. H. III. p. 558.

<sup>b</sup> Clavier tom. I. p. 55. supposes Pelasgus of whom Bato speaks to be a later Pelasgus, and not the original leader, because the country is here called *Hæmonia*, and *Hæmon* was son of Pelasgus. But this is not conclusive. This original settler the son of Larissa is in some traditions the son of *Hæmon*: conf. Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 321. Schol. Iliad. II. 681. And besides, we may remark that names of countries are often used by anticipation. Dionysius, when he describes the first settlement, calls the country

*Hæmonia*: τὴν τότε Αἰμονίαν. See above p. 15. r. *Pyrrha* was later than Pelasgus III., or *Hæmon*; and yet Rhianus, in enumerating the appellations of Thessaly, places *Pyrrha* first, neglecting the order of time. See the lines in F. H. III. p. 513.

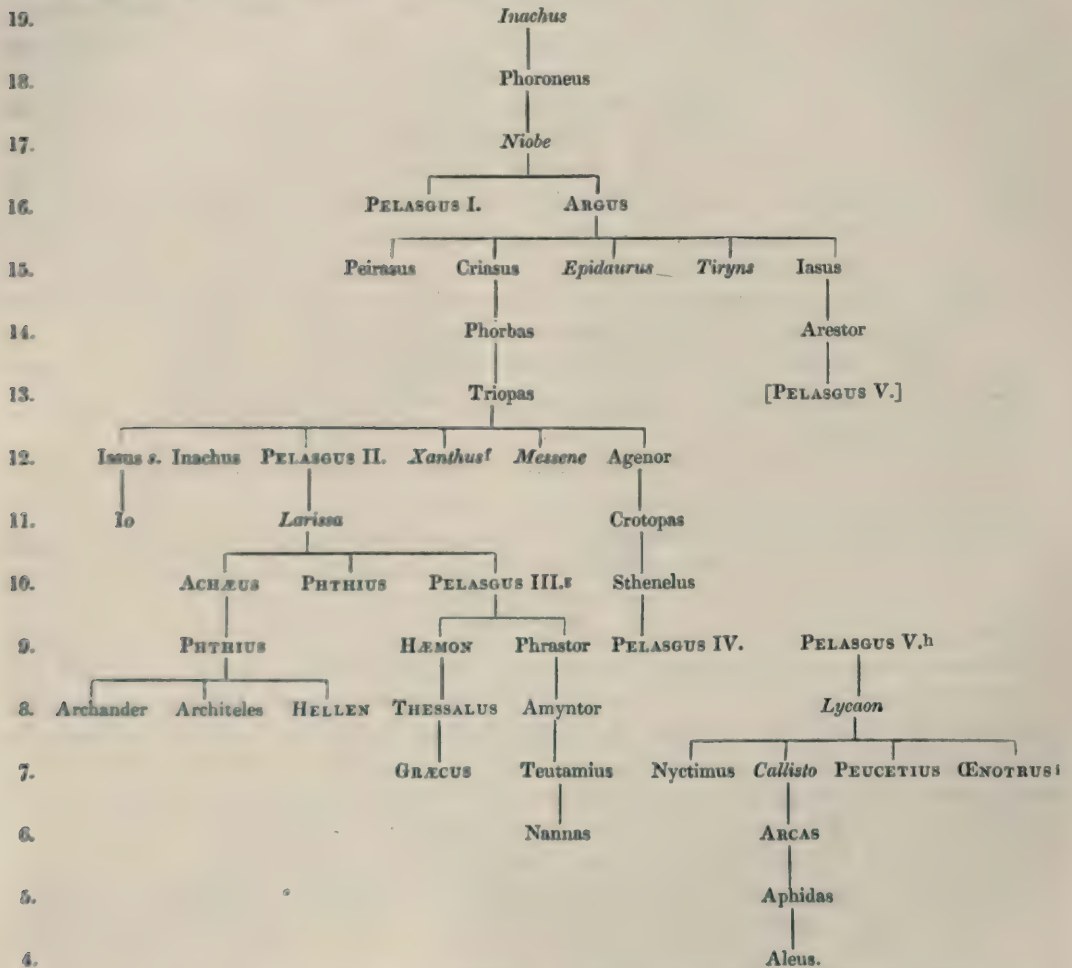
To this Pelasgus III. we may refer the notices in Steph. Byz. v. Δάτιον. p. 330. B. Δάτιον πόλις Θεσσαλίας—Φερεκίδης δὲ ἀπὸ Δάτιος τοῦ Ἀστερίου καὶ Ἀμφικτυόνης τῆς Φθίου. ὥς δὲ Ἀρχῆνος; [Ἀρχίνος Berkel.], ἀπὸ Δάτου τοῦ Νεώνου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος. Μνασείας δὲ ἀπὸ Δάτου τοῦ Πελασγοῦ. p. 331. C. ἐκλήθη δὲ Δάτιον ἀπὸ Δάτου τοῦ Πελασγοῦ παιδός, ὥς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν ἡ' "Δάτος ὁ Πελασγῷ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ Δάτιον πεδίον."

<sup>c</sup> Hérodote tom. VII. p. 316.



Dionysius himself, and by many other testimonies<sup>d</sup>. Larcher, then, has here confounded together *Pelasgus I.* and *Pelasgus V.* and ascribes to *Pelasgus I.* what in reality belonged to *Pelasgus III.*

The following Table<sup>e</sup> exhibits the five *Pelag*i :



<sup>d</sup> Schol. Apollon. I. 580. Πελασγῶν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν, ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Ἰνάχου. ἢ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν, ἰθὺς βαρβαρικῶς, εἰσέσαντες τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος. ἢ ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νιῶ καὶ Λαρίσσης. Στάφυλος δὲ ὁ Ναυκρατίτης Πελασγὸν φησὶν Ἀργεῖον τὸ γένος, μετακτῆσαι δὲ εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Πελασγῶν τὴν Θεσσαλίαν κληθῆναι. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 230. Πελασγῶν οἱ Θετταλῶν καταλιπόντες, Ἀργεῖοι τὸ γένος ὄντες, εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκοντο. Eustath. ad Hom. II. β. p. 321. Αἶμας, ὃ καὶ Λαρίσσης γυναικὸς Ἀργεῖας Πελασγὸς καὶ Φθίως καὶ Ἀχαΐας. conf. Schol. Hom. II. II. 691. Pausanias II. 23, 9. alludes to this Argive original: τὴν δὲ ἀκρότιλιν [at Argon] Λάρισσας μὲν καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Πελασγοῦ θυγατρὸς. ἀπὸ

ταύτης δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλεων, ἣ τε ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τὴν Πηνειὸν, ἀνομάσθησαν.

<sup>e</sup> It is explained in the Introduction that the names in capitals, as PELASGUS, are intended to express the names of nations converted into the names of individuals; and that the names in Italics, as *Larissa*, are designed to mark fictitious persons.

<sup>f</sup> First Pelasgic colony, to Lycia.

<sup>g</sup> Second migration, to Thessaly.

<sup>h</sup> Third settlement, in Arcadia.

<sup>i</sup> Fourth migration, to Italy. Placed at this date by one tradition, the accuracy of which will be considered below.

*Pelagrus IV.* or *Gelanor*, who was the tenth from *Phoroneus*, was contemporary with *Danaüs*, by whom he was displaced; and, *Danaüs* being in the ninth generation before the Trojan war, as will be shewn below, this account will place *Phoroneus* in the eighteenth before that epoch. This agrees with the tradition preserved by Diodorus, that *Alcmena* the mother of *Hercules* was the sixteenth from *Niobë* the daughter of *Phoroneus*<sup>k</sup>. These eighteen generations current, computed at three to a century, will place *Phoroneus* at about 570 years before the fall of Troy<sup>l</sup>.

This genealogy of the sons of *Larissa* and their descendants, connecting all the occupiers of Thessaly into one family, establishes that it was possessed by kindred races; and that all these were to be referred to a Pelasgic stock. *Thessalus* in this genealogy is represented according to the account of Rhianus compared with Stephanus and confirmed by Strabo<sup>m</sup>. Another tradition made him son of *Græcus*<sup>n</sup>. Another account makes *Thessalus* the ancestor of *Pelagrus III*<sup>o</sup>. The name *Thessalus* occurs again as the leader of the *Thessali* after the Trojan war<sup>p</sup>. But these various traditions, which made *Thessalus* the son of *Græcus*, or the father of *Græcus*, or the ancestor of *Pelagrus III*., all agree in the fact that the *Thessali* were a Pelasgic people. They first appear in Thesprotia, where this Pelasgic tribe might

<sup>k</sup> Diod. IV. 14. Ζεὺς πρώτη μὲν ἐμὴν γυναικὶ θνητῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνίδει [see p. 11. q.], ἐσχάτῃ δὲ Ἀλκμήνῃ ταύτην δὲ ἀπὸ Νιόβης ἐκαδεκάτῃν οἱ μυθογράφοι γενεολογοῦσιν. In the genealogy given below it will be seen that (*Pelagrus IV.* and *Danaüs* being in the same generation) fourteen generations intervene between *Niobë* and *Alcmena*; which gives the amount of Diodorus, 16 both inclusive. The account of Apollodorus, deriving *Danaüs* from *Io*, adds two generations; for *Io* the seventh from *Niobë*, both inclusive (see above p. 10.), is followed by *Epaphus*: *Libya*: *Belus*: *Danaüs*: II. 1, 3, 4. who is accordingly the eleventh from *Niobë*; and *Alcmena* will be the eighteenth. This genealogy had been adopted by Æschylus, who places *Io* in the sixth generation before *Danaüs*: *Prometh.* 853. and in the thirteenth before *Hercules*: *Ib.* 774. It will carry back *Phoroneus* to the twentieth generation before the fall of Troy, according to the accounts of Clemens and Eusebius already quoted p. 13. We may observe, however, in this Table, that the genealogy which places *Pelagrus V.* (the Arcadian *Pelagrus*) in the thirteenth generation before the era of Troy (see above p. 12.) also confirms *Phoroneus* in the eighteenth.

<sup>l</sup> From the ἀκμὴ of *Phoroneus* to this epoch seventeen generations complete will give 566 years. In F. H. II. p. viii. I have called this period four centuries. I now see no reason for rejecting the accounts which conspire to carry back *Phoroneus* to the eighteenth generation. The reader is accordingly requested to correct that number by substituting as follows: "The Grecian traditions ascend about 570 years above the Trojan war."

<sup>m</sup> See the lines of Rhianus in F. H. III. p.

513. b. Strabo IX. p. 443. πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο Πυρραία ἀπὸ Πύρρας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος γυναικός, Αἰμονία δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰμονος, Θετταλία δὲ ἀπὸ Θετταλοῦ τοῦ Αἰμονος. ἐνίαι δὲ διελόντες δίχα τὴν μὲν πρὸς νότον λαχεῖν φασὶ Δευκαλίῳ, καὶ καλέσαι Πανδώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός· τὴν δ' ἐτέραν Αἴμονι, ἀφ' οὗ Αἰμονίαν λαχθῆναι· μετανομάσθαι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος τὴν δὲ Θετταλίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ Αἰμονος. Steph. Byz. Γραικός, ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ υἱός. ἀφ' οὗ Γραικοὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες. Stephanus interposes another generation between *Pelagrus III.* and *Thessalus*: Αἰμονία. ἡ Θετταλία, ἀπὸ Αἰμονος. Αἴμων δὲ υἱὸς μὲν Χλῶρου τοῦ Πελασγοῦ πατρὸς δὲ Θεσσαλοῦ, ὡς Ῥιανὸς καὶ ἄλλοι. For Χλῶρον, who occurs nowhere else (conf. Berkel. ad loc.), we may substitute Πελάρου, who occurs in the narrative of Bato already quoted p. 17. Some traditions probably made *Pelorus* son of *Pelagrus* and father of *Hæmon*.

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. Chron. II. p. 272. according to Hieronymus: anno 226. *Thessalus Græci filius regnavit in Thessalia*. Hence Syncellus p. 126. Β. κατὰ τοὺτους τοὺς χρόνους [sc. in the reign of *Inachus*] πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε Θεσσαλίας ὁ Γραικοῦ παῖς Θεσσαλδός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα ἕως νῦν ὀνόμασται.

<sup>o</sup> Schol. Hom. II. II. 681. ἔστιν ἡ Θεσσαλία πεδὶον μέγα καὶ κοῖλον πάντοθεν ὄρεσι καλυπτόμενον. τοῦτου πρῶτος ἦρχε Θετταλδός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὀνομάσθη· ὁ ἔκγονος Ἀμμων [Αἴμων Heyn.], ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἀμμωνες [Αἰμονες]· ὁ Πελασγός, Φθίος, Ἀχαιός. ἄρχει δὲ Πελασγός ταύτης τῆς χώρας. Eustath. ad II. β'. p. 321. Θεσσαλδός ἀφ' οὗ ἡ χώρα Θεσσαλία· ὁ Αἴγων ὁ Αἴμων ὅθεν Αἰμονες μοῖρα Θετταλική. ὁ καὶ Παρίσσης γυναικὸς Ἀργείας Πελασγός καὶ Φθίος καὶ Ἀχαιός. ἄρχων δὲ ὁ Πελασγός μοῖρας τῆς χώρας Πελασγικὴν Ἀργος ὀνόμασε καὶ πόλιν Λάρισσαν.

<sup>p</sup> Velleius I. 3.



have been established about two generations after the time assigned to *Pelagus III*<sup>9</sup>. Here Aristotle found the *Græci*<sup>r</sup>, who are in the genealogies the parents or the offspring of the *Thessali*. Both these traditions mark them as kindred races. From Thesprotia the *Thessali* returned in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy into Thessaly<sup>s</sup>, which then received their name. But in occupying this region they returned into the original country from whence their progenitors had issued about eight generations before the Trojan war.

*Teutamius*, a second of the name, reigned at Larissa in the time of *Acrisius*<sup>t</sup>. This *Teutamius*, or *Teutamides*, was a Pelasgian<sup>u</sup>; and Pelasgic princes remained in Thessaly down to the period of the Trojan war. For of the nine states of Thessaly enumerated in the Ho-

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. Pyrrh. c. 1. Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Μολοσσῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλισμὸν ἱστοροῦσι Φαίθοντα βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον, ὅσα τῶν μετὰ Πέλασγῶ παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ἠπειρὸν. Herodot. VII. 176. Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκίσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν περ ὧν ἐκτέταται. From these two passages combined we may collect that the *Thessali* proceeded out of Thessaly after the settlement which *Pelagus III*, established there; and returned thither again out of Thesprotia. *Pelagus* in Plutarch will be a later *Pelagus*, in the time of *Deucalion*.

<sup>r</sup> Aristot. Meteorolog. I. 14. p. 352. α. ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλισμός· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο μάλιστα τόπων, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶν· οὗτος γὰρ πελλαχού τὸ ρεύμα μεταβέβηκεν· ἔκκειν γὰρ οἱ Σελῶι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δ' Ἕλληνες. Conf. Mar. Par. N<sup>o</sup>. 6. Apollod. I. 7, 3. Ἑλλην—ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς καλούμενοις Γραικοῖς προσηγόρευσε Ἕλληνας. Conf. Tzet. ad Lyc. 532. Plin. H. N. IV. 7. *Æmonia*—*eadem Thessalia et Dryopis, semper a regibus cognominata. Ibi genitulus rex nomine Græcus, a quo Græcia*. Syncell. p. 153. C. Ἕλλην υἱὸς Δευκαλίωνος ἐγνωρίζετο, ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες οἱ Γραικοὶ μετεκλήθησαν. p. 157. B. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος Ἕλληνες οἱ Γραικοὶ καλοῦνται. The traditions preserved in these testimonies concur with Aristotle in recording that the name *Γραικοὶ* preceded that of Ἕλληνες, but they err in placing the *Græci* in Thessaly; their proper seat is assigned by Aristotle in Thesprotia, which was the seat of the kindred race the *Thessali*.

<sup>s</sup> Thucydides I. 12. marks the time: Βοιωτοὶ οἱ νῦν ἔχουσιν ἔτι μετὰ Ἰλίου Διῶσιν ἐξ Ἀργεῖς ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν—ἔκτισαν. And Velleius I. 3. *Achæi ex Laconica pulsi eas occupare sedes quas nunc obtinent: Pelasgi Athenas commigravere: acerbique bello juvenis nomine Thessalus natione Thesprotius cum magna civium manu eam regionem armis occupavit quæ nunc ab ejus nomine Thessalia appellatur, ante Myrmidonum vocitata civitas. Quo nomine migrari convenit eos quæ Iliaca componentes tempora*

*de ea regione ut Thessalia commemorant.—Quod si quis a Thessalo Herculis filio eos appellatos Thessalos dicet, reddenda erit ei ratio cur nunquam ante hunc insequentem Thessalum ea gens id nominis usurpaverit.* This is confirmed by the silence of Homer, who never mentions Thessalians in the country afterwards named from them. Eusebius quoted above errs in placing *Thessali* in Thessaly. If *Thessali* existed in the time to which he ascribes them, they existed in another region of Greece. *Thessalus* the leader is named Polyæn. I. 12. Θεσσαλός, Βοιωτῶν τῶν Ἀργὴν οἰκόντων Θεσσαλοῖς πολεμοῦντων, τέχνη ἐκράτησεν ἄνευ μάχης κ. τ. λ. According to another tradition Polyæn. VIII. 44. *Thessalus* is the son of the original leader: ἐπὶ Βοιωτοῖς οἱ πάλαι Θεσσαλίαν ἔκκειν ἐστράτευσεν Αἴατος ὁ Φιλίππου Πολύκλειαν ἀδελφὴν ἔχων, Ἡρακλείδαι τὸ γένος ἄμφω. χρησμὸς ἦν ἄρξειν ὅς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ γένους πρῶτος διαβάς τὸν Ἀχελῶν ἐπιβῇ τῆς πολεμίας. ἡ μὲν στρατιὰ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐμελλε κ. τ. λ.—καὶ ὁμοῦ βασιλεύοντες παῖδα Θεσσαλὸν ἐποίησαντο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θεσσαλίαν προσηγόρευσαν. The persons described here by Polyænus are the same whom Strabo mentions IX. p. 443. ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἀπογόνους Ἀντίφου καὶ Φειδίππου τῶν Θετταλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· and perhaps in Polyænus for Φιλίππου we may read Φειδίππου. Another leader, *Hæmon*, is named Phot. v. πένεσται repeated by Suidas: πένεσται. οἱ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς μὴ γόνυ δοῦλοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ Αἴμονος ἐν Ἀργῇ [male Phot. ἐν Αἰγῇ] νικηθέντων Βοιωτῶν οὐ φηγόντων τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ δουλείαν ἀλλὰ μινάντων μέχρι τῆς τρίτης γενεᾶς. Probably more attempts than one were made by the *Thessali*, which led to this variation in the names of the leaders.

<sup>t</sup> Apollod. II. 4, 4. Ἀκρίσιος ἀπολιπὼν Ἀργεῖς εἰς τὴν Πελασγιῶτιν ἐχώρησε γῆν. Τευταμίῳ δὲ τοῦ Λαρισσαίων βασιλέως ἐπὶ κατοχομένην τῇ πατρὶ διατιθέντος γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ Περσεύς. Tzet. ad Lycophr. 838. Ἀκρίσιος εἰς Πελασγιάν ἐχώρησε. Τευταμίῳ δὲ τοῦ Λαρισσαίων βασιλέως πένταθλον θέντος ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῇ, Περσεὺς ἀγωνιζόμενος δίσκῳ βαλὼν τὸν Ἀκρίσιον πῆδα ἄκων αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ.

<sup>u</sup> Schol. Apollon. IV. 1091. Ἀκρίσιος ὑπεχώρει εἰς τοὺς Πελασγοὺς εἰς Λάρισσαν.

meric Catalogue, four were led by chiefs of Pelasgic race<sup>x</sup>. Whence it appears that the expulsion of the *Pelasgi* by the *Hellenes* was not complete.

The wide extent of the Pelasgian dominion under the early kings of Argos is confirmed by many testimonies. In the reign of the father of *Io*, according to Herodotus<sup>y</sup>, τὸ Ἄργος προεῖχεν ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένην χώρῃ. *Pelasgia* was the name for the whole country<sup>z</sup>. According to Acusilaüs<sup>a</sup>, the whole tract as far as Pharsalia and Larissa in Thessaly, and including all Peloponnesus, was called *Pelasgia*. Æschylus<sup>b</sup> describes the extent of their dominion at the arrival of *Danaüs*, and extends their rule over all the country through which the Alpheus flows, and to the west of the Strymon. He affirms the land of the Perrhæbians and the districts beyond Pindus, near Pæonia, and the mountains of Dodona, to be the limit on one side, and the sea to be the boundary on the other. The *Pelasgi* may be traced in every part of Greece. We have seen them in Peloponnesus and Thessaly and Thesprotia<sup>c</sup>; they also inhabited Attica, Bœotia, and Phocis<sup>d</sup>. The oracles of Delphi<sup>e</sup> and Dodona<sup>f</sup> were originally Pelasgic. *Pelasgi* were in *Emathia*<sup>g</sup>. *Dardanus* the ancestor of

<sup>x</sup> These four were under chiefs of Pelasgic race, descended from *Myrmidon* and *Lapithus*:

1. Hellas, Phthia, Alus, Alopië, Trachis.
2. Argissa, Gyrtonë, Orthë, Elonë, Oloosson.
3. Tricca, Ithomë, Æchalia.
4. Perrhæbia and Dodona.

The other five were Æolian.

<sup>y</sup> Herodot. I. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Herodot. II. 56. τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλεομένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης.

<sup>a</sup> Tzet. ad Lycophr. 177. Νιόβης καὶ Διὸς Ἄργος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ χώρα. κατὰ δὲ Ἀκουσίλαον καὶ Πελασγὸς σὺν Ἄργῳ, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ τῆς Πελοποννήσου χώρα, ἡ καὶ Ἀπία λεγομένη, μέχρι Φαρσαλίας καὶ Λαρίσσης Πελασγία ἐκλήθη. Steph. Byz. Πελασγία. ἡ χώρα τοῦ Ἀργεῖος. Idem Πελοπόννησος. τρεῖς ἐπωνυμίας· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀπείῳ τοῦ Φωρωνέως ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀπία, ἐπὶ δὲ Πελασγοῦ Πελασγία, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀργεῖο ὀνομαζομένη Ἀργος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν Πελοπόννησος. Thucyd. I. 3. πρὸ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος—κατὰ ἔθνη ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι. Argos is called *Pelasaugia* by Æschylus Prom. 860.

<sup>b</sup> Æschyl. Suppl. 250.

τοῦ γηγενοῦς γὰρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Παλαίχθονος  
ἱνὶς Πελασγὸς, τῇσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης.  
ἐμοῦ δ' ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον  
γένος Πελασγῶν τῇδε καρποῦται χθόνα.  
καὶ πᾶσαν αἶαν ἥς δὲ Ἄλγος ἔρχεται  
Στρώμων τε πρὸς δύναντος ἡλίου κρατῶ.  
ὀρίζομαι δὲ τῇδε Περγαίῳ χθόνα  
Πίνδου τε τάτεκιναι, Παίωνων πέλας,  
ὅρη τε Δαδωναία· συντέμνει δ' ὄρος  
ἱγρᾶς θαλάσσης· τῶνδε τὰν τε τάδε κρατῶ.

In the second line the copies have *Πελασγοῦ*, corrected by Canter into *Πελασγός*. That this king himself was called *Pelagus* appears from v. 3. 4. If *Πελασγοῦ* is the true reading, both his father and himself were called *Pelagus*. The father,

however, of this king is twice named *Palæchthon*: v. 250. 347.

<sup>c</sup> Hence Alexander Ephesius apud Steph. Byz. Χανονία.—Πελασγίδα Χανονίαν.

<sup>d</sup> For Greece generally see Strabo VII. p. 321. for Attica in particular, see Herodot. VIII. 44.

<sup>e</sup> Strab. IX. p. 402. τὸ ἱερὸν Πελασγικὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπῆρξεν.

<sup>f</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 48. Strabo VII. p. 327. ἔστι δὲ ὧς φησὶν Ἐφορος Πελασγῶν Ἰδρυμα—ὁ δ' Ἡσιόδος· “Δωδώνην φηγὴν τε Πελασγῶν ἔδρανεν ἦεν.” conf. Herodot. II. 52. Eustathius ad Dionys. 347. Δαδωναῖος ἔστι Ζεὺς Πελασγικὸς παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ. sc. Iliad. π'. 233. quoted by Strabo l. c.

<sup>g</sup> Justin. VII. 1. *Macedonia—Emathia cognominata est.—Populus Pelasgi, regio Pæonia dicebatur.* Macedon or Macednus was among the sons of *Lycæon*: conf. Apollod. III. 8, 1. Steph. Byz. Ὀρωπός. πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἐξ ἧς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ. καὶ ἄλλη Βοιωτίας, περὶ ἧς Εὐφώριον. Κλυτρίς, αὐλητὴς Ὀρωπός τε, καὶ Ἀμφιάρεϊα λωστρά. κέκληται ἀπὸ Ὀρωποῦ τοῦ Μακεδόνα τοῦ Λυκάονος. The sentences have been transposed: κέκληται—Λυκάονος belongs to the Macedonian Oropus. In the words of Euphorion, the MSS. have κλυτορὶς αὐληστῆς. The passage may be partly amended thus: Ὀρωπός. πόλις Μακεδονίας, ἐξ ἧς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Ὀρωποῦ τοῦ Μακεδόνα τοῦ Λυκάονος. καὶ ἄλλη Βοιωτίας, περὶ ἧς Εὐφώριον.

—[κλυτρίς]

Αὐλὶς τ' Ὀρωπός τε καὶ Ἀμφιάρεϊα λωστρά.  
Ælian. H. A. X. 48. Λυκάονι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἡμαθίας γίνεται παῖς ὄνομα Μακεδών, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα κέκληται—τούτῳ δὲ ἄρα παῖς ἀνδρείος ἦν καὶ κάλλι διαπρεπὴς Πίνδος ὄνομα. Tzetzes Chil. IV. 331.

τῆς Ἡμαθίας βασιλεὺς ἐπῆρξεν ὁ Λυκάων,  
οὗ παῖς τὴν κλησὶν Μακεδών· ἀφ' οὗ Μακεδονία.  
τῷ Μακεδόνι Πίνδος παῖς ὠραίος καὶ γενναῖος.  
Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 499. considers this le-



*Priam* was a Pelasgian<sup>h</sup>. The *Pelasgi* remained in possession of Arcadia till the latest period, and a Pelasgian dynasty reigned there till the second Messenian war<sup>i</sup>.

They were gradually expelled or subjected in most other parts of Greece. In the eighth generation before the Trojan war, according to Dionysius<sup>k</sup>, they began to be expelled from many parts of Thessaly<sup>l</sup>. This was the epoch of a general movement throughout the tribes

gend of *Lycaon* the father of *Macedon* as "signifying merely the succession, according to the order of time, of the *Pelasgi* and *Macedonians* in the occupation of the country, expressed by placing the respective races in a genealogical connexion." It seems to me to mean something more; and to express that the *Macedonians* were of Pelasgic race. And Niebuhr *Roman Hist.* vol. I. p. 27. is of the same opinion; for he considers "the name of *Macedonius* among the *Lycaonids*," as one proof that the *Macedonians* were Pelasgic. *Macedon*, however, is reckoned by another tradition a son of *Æolus*: Eustath. ad Dionys. 427. Μακεδόνες λέγονται ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Διὸς. οἱ δὲ παῖδας Αἰόλου δέκα παραδίδωσιν ὡς εἰς Μακεδὸν, φασίν, ἐξ οὗ ἡ Μακεδονία. This was the account of Hellanicus: conf. Sturz. fragm. Hellan. p. 79.

<sup>h</sup> *Dardanus* was the son of *Electra* daughter of *Atlas*, and born in Peloponnesus: Apollod. III. 10, 1. Ἀτλαντος ἐγένοντο θυγατέρες ἑπτὰ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. III. 12, 1. Ἠλέκτρας δὲ τῆς Ἀτλαντος—Ἰασίῳ καὶ Δάρδανῳ ἐγένοντο. Strabo VIII. p. 346. adopts this tradition: ἐπὶ ταύτοις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ δύο ἄντρα [on the coast of Elis] τὸ μὲν νεμφῶν Ἀνγκιῶν, τὸ δὲ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἀτλαντίδας καὶ τὴν Δαρδάνου γένεσιν. Hellanicus treated of the seven daughters of *Atlas* and their offspring: Schol. Hom. Iliad. XVIII. 486. Schol. Apollon. I. 916. τὴν Σαμοθράκην—ἡκεῖ γὰρ ἦκει Ἠλέκτρα ἡ Ἀτλαντος, καὶ ὠνομάζετο ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργχωρίων Στρατηγίς· ἦν φησιν Ἑλλάνικος Ἠλεκτρώνην καλεῖσθαι. ἐγέννησε δὲ τρεῖς παῖδας, Δάρδανον τὸν ἐς Τροίαν κατοικήσαντα—καὶ Ἠτίωνα, ὃν Ἰασίωνα ὠνομάζουσι· καὶ φασὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐβρίχοντα ἀγάλμα τῆς Δήμητρος, τρίτην δὲ ἔσχευ Ἀρμυρίαν ἣν ἡγάγετο Κάδμος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Ἠλεκτρίδας πόλιν τῆς Θήβης ὠνομάσαι [ἀπὸ Ἠλέκτρας ἀνελκῆς Κάδμου Pausan. IX. 8, 3.] ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωϊκῶν καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωϊκῶν. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 153. ὅτι τὸ τῶν Τρώων ἔθνος Ἑλληγκιὸν ἐν τοῖς μέλυσσιν ἦν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ποτὲ ὀρμημένον, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τοῖς πάλαι, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ πρὶς ὧν δὲ ἔλθω. ἔχει δὲ ὁ λόγος—δεῖ. Ἀτλας γίνεσθαι βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νῦν Ἀρκαδίᾳ· ἦκει δὲ περὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον Θαιμάσιον ἱερὸς [Καικάσιον Dionys.]. τούτῳ θυγατέρες ἦσαν ἑπτὰ—ὃν μίαν μὲν Ἠλέκτραν Ζεὺς γαμέει, καὶ γυναικὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰασίον καὶ Δάρδανον. Ἰασίος μὲν ὡς ἡθελίος μένει Δάρδανος δὲ ἀγεται γυναῖκα Χρῆστον Πάλατος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῇ γίνονται παῖδες Ἰθαῖος καὶ Δειμάς, οἱ τέως μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ παρα-

λαβόντες τὴν Ἀτλαντος δυναστείαν ἐβασίλευον. ἔπειτα κατακλυσμῷ γενόμενον μεγάλου περὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν—γένεσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διχῆ, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἱπομένουσι βασιλεία Δείμαντα στησάμενοι τὸν Δαρδάνου· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπανίστανται Πελοποννήσου στόλῳ μεγάλῳ κ. τ. λ. As a commentary on this passage consult Lobeck *Aglaopham.* p. 1204. The connexion with Peloponnesus is marked in the tradition of *Zacynthus* of Psophis, son of *Dardanus*: Pausan. VIII. 24, 2. ἔστι Ζακυνθίων τῇ ἀκροπόλει Ψωφίς ὄνομα, ὅτι ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπεραιώθη πρῶτος καὶ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς ἀνὴρ Ψωφίδιος Ζάκυνθος γὰρ ὁ Δαρδάνου. Steph. Byz. Ζάκυνθος. πόλις, ἀπὸ Ζακύνθου τοῦ Δαρδάνου. Mnaseas apud Steph. Byz. Δάρδανος conducts *Dardanus* to Samothrace, and thence to Asia. According to Diodorus V. 48, 49. he was born in Samothrace. This passage from Samothrace to Asia is mentioned by Arrian apud Eustath. ad Iliad. β'. p. 351, 30. by Conon *Narrat.* 21. by Cephalon apud Steph. Byz. Ἀρίσβη, by Eustath. ad Dionys. *Perieg.* 524. and in the epitome of Strabo VII. p. 331.

<sup>i</sup> Herodotus II. 171. attests the Pelasgic race of the Arcadians: αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν Δήμητρος τελετὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιάτιδας γυναῖκας. μετὰ δὲ, ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ Δαριέων, ἐξαπάλετο καὶ ἡ τελετὴ· οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μύθοι. Idem I. 146. Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί. Idem VIII. 73. ἔθνεα δύο αὐτόχθονα ἔοντα κατὰ χάριν ἰδρυταὶ νῦν τῇ καὶ πάλαι οἴκον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι. Conf. Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* p. 424, 30. Pausan. V. 1, 1. Xenoph. *Hellen.* VII. 1, 23.

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 16. r.

<sup>l</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 47. σκεδασθέντες κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπῆλθον οἱ δὲ τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσον τινὰς κατέσχον οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν τε καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν τὴν καλουμένην Ἑστιάωτιν ἦκον· ἄλλοι δὲ εἰς τε Βαιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Εὐβοίαν διεκομίσθησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιωθέντες τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον παραλίῳ πολλὰ χωρία κατέσχον, καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων νῆσαν ἄλλας τε συγχὰς καὶ—Λέσβον [see p. 15. q.]—τὸ δὲ πλεῖον αὐτοῖς μέρος διὰ τῆς μεσογαίου τραπέμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Δαδάνῃ κατοικοῦντας σφῶν συγγενεῖς, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἤξιον ἐπιφέρειν πόλεμον ὡς ἱεροῖς, χρόνον μὲν τινα σύμμετρον αὐτοῖς διέτριψαν· ἔπει δὲ λυπηροὶ ὄντες αὐτοῖς ἠσθάνοντο, οὐχ ἰκανῆς εὐσεῖς ἀπαντας τρέφειν τῆς γῆς, ἐκλείπουσι τὴν χώραν χρησμοῖ πειθόμενοι κελύοντι πλεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.



of the Greek nation. At this period new dynasties began to arise, and a new order of things to commence in various provinces of the country. Within the space of a century the *Hellenes* were established in Thessaly, a new dynasty was founded in Arcadia, another in Laconia; *Danaüs* appeared at Argos, *Cecrops* at Athens, and *Dardanus* in Phrygia laid the foundations of the Trojan kingdom. Dionysius describes the countries which the Pelasgians occupied in their dispersion. Some remained in possession of the North and North-eastern quarters of Thessaly, some migrated Westward to their brethren of Dodona. Others occupied Bœotia and Phocis and Eubœa. But many passed over into Asia, or settled in Crete, and the coasts and islands of the Ægean. They may be traced in these countries by many testimonies. Homer<sup>m</sup> attests that they were found in Crete. Menecrates<sup>n</sup> marks their position on the whole line of coast afterwards called *Ionian*, and in the adjacent islands. Hence the Chians derived themselves from the *Pelasgi* of Thessaly<sup>o</sup>; and the other islanders were of Pelasgic race till the Ionians subdued them<sup>p</sup>. The country afterwards named *Æolis* was occupied by Pelasgians<sup>q</sup>. Like the *Pelasgi* of the Ionian states, they were conquered or expelled by the colonists from Greece after the Trojan war<sup>r</sup>.

Diodorus, enumerating the states which had held the dominion of the sea after the Trojan war, ascribes 85 years to the Pelasgian empire. These 85 years are placed by Eusebius<sup>s</sup> at B. C. 1088—1004, which would agree with the period of their flourishing condition in Asia and the islands noticed by Strabo, before the period of the Ionic migration.

<sup>m</sup> Hom. Odyss. XIX. 172—177. They had accompanied *Tectamus* the son of *Dorus*: see above p. 16. u.

<sup>n</sup> Strab. XIII. p. 621. Μενεκράτης ὁ Ἐλαίτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ κτίσεων φησὶ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν νῦν Ἰωνικὴν πᾶσαν ἀπὸ Μικᾶλης ἀρξαμένην ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκίσθαι πρότερον, καὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους.

<sup>o</sup> Strabo Ibid. Χῖοι οἰκιστὰς ἑαυτῶν Πελασγούς φασὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Θερταλίας.

<sup>p</sup> Herodot. VII. 95. ἡσιῶται—καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ δωδεκά πόλεις Ἰανες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Valckenæer ad loc. comparing VIII. 46—48. and Thucyd. VII. 57. has shewn that the islands intended by Herodotus were Ceos, Naxos, Siphnus, Seriphus, Andros, Tenos. Samos was also Pelasgian: Πελασγιδοὶ ἐδρανεν Ἡρῆς Dionys. Perieget. 534. conf. Eustath. ad loc.

<sup>q</sup> Herodot. VII. 95. καὶ Αἰολεὶς δὲ—τοπάλαι καλεόμεναι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Hence Ἄντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα Herodot. VII. 42. These *Pelasgi* were among the forces of *Priam*: Hom. Iliad. β'. 840—843. Schol. ad loc. Λάρισαν: ταύτην οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰολιδῶν μεταναστάντες ἔκτισαν διὰ Πελασγούς φησιν, ὡς ἄνωθεν Ἑλλήνας ὄντας. The *Æolidæ* are the *Hellenes* of Thessaly by whom they were expelled. *Cretheus*, a son of *Æolus*, had driven them from *Iolcos*: Schol. Hom. II. β'. 591. ἐξ Αἰόλου Κριθεὺς, ὃς Ἰωλκὸν κατέσχε Πελασγούς ἐκβαλὼν. Their expulsion from Thessaly, which Dionysius ascribes singly to *Deucalion*, we must suppose to have been gradual, and to have been partly accomplished by his successors.

<sup>r</sup> Strab. XIII. p. 621. πολὺπλανεν καὶ τάχῃ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἐπαναστάσεις, ἡξήθη τε ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀθρόαν ἔλαβε τὴν ἐκλείψιν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰολιδῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων περαιώσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. 36. Ex Diodori libris breviter de temporibus maria imperio tenentium. Maris imperium post Trojanum imperium tenuerunt:

1. *Lydi et Mæones annis 92.*
2. *Pelasgi annis 85.*
3. *Thracæ annis 79.*
4. *Rhodiî annis 23.*
5. *Phrygæ annis 25.*

Lib. II. p. 299. Anno 848 [B. C. 1169]. *Primi Lydi maris imperium tenuerunt annis 92.* p. 303. Anno 928 [B. C. 1089]. *Secundo loco Pelasgi maris imperium tenuerunt annis 85.* p. 311. ex Hieronymo: Anno 1099 [B. C. 918]. *Quarto mare obtinuerunt Rhodiî annis 23.* p. 312. Eusebius ipse: Anno 1113 [B. C. 904].—*Phrygæ annis 25.* Syncell. p. 172. B. Αἰολεὶ οἱ καὶ Μαίονες ἑθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη 4β'. p. 180. D. Πελασγοὶ β' ἑθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη πέ'. p. 181. B. τρίτοι ἑθαλασσοκράτησαν Θρᾷκες ἔτη θ'. Ibid. τέταρτοι—Ῥόδιοι, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς πέμπτοι, ἔτη κγ'. Ibid. Φρύγες πέμπτοι ἑθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη κδ'. κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἔτη ε'. forte κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ε'. i. e. ἔκτοι. Cf. Casaub. ad Polyb. t. I. p. 849. This fifth period will terminate anno 1137 B. C. 880, and the five periods = 304 years reckoned upwards from this point would commence anno 834 B. C. 1183, or fourteen years above the earliest date in the Tables of Eusebius.



Bishop Marsh<sup>t</sup> infers from Strabo<sup>u</sup> that the original seat of the Pelasgians was in Asia; and he supposes Thrace to be pointed out by Greek writers as their original establishment in Europe. But we have seen that the evidence of Strabo and of other Greek writers respecting Thrace and Asia refer to this subsequent occupation of those countries by the *Pelasgi* after their expulsion from Thessaly. The earliest accounts, beyond which tradition could not reach, found them in Peloponnesus: their migrations from thence are recorded, but no mention occurs of the *Pelasgi* in any other quarter preceding their appearance in Peloponnesus. In observing, then, the wide diffusion of the *Pelasgi*, we must distinguish between their original and more ancient occupancy during their dominion in Greece, and the later periods during their depression. The Pelasgians at Dodona in Herodotus belong to the first period, but the Pelasgians in Asia Minor belong to the second. The colony indeed to Lycia and Lesbos is of the former period. But this migration was six generations below *Phoroneus*.

We may now add some particulars respecting the *Pelasgi* in Italy. Dionysius names three Pelasgic colonies; the first under *Ænotrus* and *Peucetius*, the second from Thessaly, the third under *Evander* from Arcadia. A short abstract of the account of Dionysius<sup>x</sup> will shew the sources from whence he derived it. "The *Aborigines* of Italy were accounted by "some an indigenous race; others considered them as a wandering people collected from various countries, and interpreted their name to mean *wanderers*: others accounted them a "branch of the Ligurians, a race which is seated near the Alps and in many other parts of "Italy. The best Roman antiquaries, Cato, C. Sempronius<sup>y</sup>, and many others, consider the "*Aborigines* to be Greeks, who migrated from their own country many generations before the "Trojan war. But these writers do not define the particular Grecian people, or the state "from whence they came; nor do they cite any Grecian authorities for their accounts<sup>z</sup>. "What the truth is cannot be pronounced; but if the conjecture of these writers be just, "the *Aborigines* must have been derived from an Arcadian colony, since that was the first "Grecian people who passed into Italy, under the conduct of *Ænotrus*<sup>a</sup>, seventeen generations before the Trojan war. With *Ænotrus* came *Peucetius*, one of his brothers, from "whom a part of the country was named *Peucetia*, as from *Ænotrus* the name of *Ænotria* "was given to the region in which he settled<sup>b</sup>. Antiochus, an ancient historian<sup>c</sup>, relates "that the *Ænotrians* were the first settlers who were known to come to Italy; that one of "this race was a king called *Italus*; that he was succeeded by *Morges*, from whom the "Ænotrians were called *Morgetes* and Italians<sup>d</sup>. Pherecydes<sup>e</sup> mentions *Ænotrus* and *Peu-*

<sup>t</sup> *Horn. Pelasgiæ* c. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Strab. XIII. p. 621.

<sup>x</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 27—87.

<sup>y</sup> On Cato see F. H. III. p. 97. on Sempronius, F. H. III. p. 113. 115.

<sup>z</sup> Dionys. p. 29.

<sup>a</sup> Pausan. VIII. 3, 2. Οἰνωτρος δὲ τῶν παίδων νεώτατος Λυκίῳ τῶν ἀρσένων Νύκτιμον τὸν ἀδελφὸν χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας αἰτήσας ἐπεραιώθη ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ ἡ Οἰνωτρία χώρα τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχευ ἀπὸ Οἰνώτρου βασιλεύοντος. Δίπαι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς ἀπικνίαν στήλας πρῶτος ἐστάνη ἀναριθμημένων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, εἰδὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲνς πρότερον ἢ Οἰνωτρος ἀφίκαντο ἐς τὴν ἀλλοδαπήν. Pausanias, like Dionysius (whose error has been considered already p. 12.), confounded two op-

posite traditions concerning this Italian colony. He represents it as of the most remote antiquity, and yet his own genealogy places it in the same age with *Dardanus* and *Cadmus*, and below *Danaüs* and *Cecrops*.

<sup>b</sup> Dionys. p. 33.

<sup>c</sup> See F. H. II. p. 372.

<sup>d</sup> Dionys. p. 34.

<sup>e</sup> Pherecydes apud Dionys. p. 35. "Πελασγοῦ καὶ Δηϊανείρας γίνεταί Λυκάων· ὅστος γαμῶι Κυλλήνην "Νηίδα νόμφην, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὄρος Κυλλήνη καλεῖται." ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεννηθέντας διεξιών καὶ τινὰς τόπους ἑκάστοις τούτων φησαν, Οἰνώτρου καὶ Πευκετίου μιμησκέται λόγων ἔδει. "Καὶ Οἰνωτρος ἀφ' οὗ Οἰνωτροὶ καλεῖνται "οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκόντες, καὶ Πευκέτιος ἀφ' οὗ Πευκέτιοι "καλεῖνται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰονίᾳ κώλην."

"*cetius* sons of *Lycaon* and grandsons of *Pelagrus* as the leaders; that they settled in Italy; that from *Enotrus* the people were called *Enotrians*, and from *Peucetius* another part of the country was named *Peucetia*. If therefore the *Aborigines* were a Grecian people (as Cato and other Roman writers affirm), they must have been descended from the settlers under *Enotrus*. The Pelasgian colonies from Thessaly came later, and this was the first that passed from Greece into the west.

"By these *Aborigines* the Sicels were pressed on all sides, and long and bloody wars ensued between them<sup>f</sup>. During the continuance of these contests, a band of Pelasgians came from Thessaly into the neighbourhood of the *Aborigines*, who received them for the benefit of their aid in their war with the Sicels, and perhaps also on account of their consanguinity; since, if the *Aborigines* were *Enotrians*, they were of the same race as the new settlers; the Pelasgians also being Greeks from Peloponnesus<sup>g</sup>. They remained in Thessaly five generations; in the sixth *Deucalion* drove them out, and they passed first to Dodona, then into Italy<sup>h</sup>. They propitiate the *Aborigines* by producing an oracle, and a settlement is assigned them in Velia. These Pelasgians, with the help of the *Aborigines*, seize upon Croton, a town of the Umbrians (a very ancient people prior to the settlement of the *Aborigines*, and dispersed over many parts of Italy<sup>i</sup>), and, driving out the Sicels, the *Pelasgi* and the *Aborigines* jointly occupy Cære, or Agylla<sup>k</sup>, Pisa, Saturnia, Alsium, and other towns, which they gradually took from the Tuscans; and Falerii and Fescennina (originally towns of the Sicels) retained to my time some vestiges of the Pelasgian race<sup>l</sup>. The *Pelasgi* also penetrated into Campania, and drove from thence a race called *Aurunci*<sup>m</sup>, by whom that tract was possessed. There they founded among other towns *Larissa*, so called from a *Larissa* of their own in Peloponnesus<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Dionys. p. 44.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 45.

<sup>h</sup> See above p. 15. r.

<sup>i</sup> Dionys. p. 49.

<sup>k</sup> Strabo V. p. 220. "Αγύλλα ἐλεγίζετο τὸ πρότερον ἢ τῶν Καίρεα, καὶ λέγεται Πελασγῶν κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφιγμένων. Scymnus 217. of the Tuscan coast:

μετὰ τὴν Λιγυστικὴν Πελασγοὶ δ' εἰσὶν, οἱ πρότερον κατοικίσαντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κοινὴν δὲ Τυρρηνίοισι χώραν νεμόμενοι.

Diodorus XIV. 113. refers to this migration from Thessaly: τινὲς δὲ φασὶ Πελασγούς πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας φυγόντας τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος γενόμενον κατακλισμὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ [sc. between the Alps and the Apennines] κατοικῆσαι.

<sup>l</sup> Dionys. p. 53. 54.

<sup>m</sup> Strabo however V. p. 233. places the *Ausones* and *Osci* in Campania: Αὔσωνες—ὡπερ καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν εἶχον—μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὀσκοι· καὶ τούτοις δὲ μετῆν τῆς Καμπανίας.

<sup>n</sup> Dionys. p. 55. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφῶν μητροπόλεως ὄνομα θέμεναι αὐτῇ. He means *Larissa* the citadel of Argos. The *Pelasgi* marked their presence by a *Larissa* wherever they formed a settlement. Seventeen places bearing this name may be traced, most of which, probably all, were founded by the *Pelasgi*.

1. Steph. Byz. Λάρισσα πόλις πρώτη Θεσσαλίας

ἢ πρὸς τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἣν Ἀκρίσιος ἔκτισε. Conf. Pausan. II. 23, 9. Schol. Apollon. I. 40.

2. Steph. δευτέρα ἡ Κρεμαστή· ὑπὸ τινων δὲ Πελασγία. Conf. Strab. IX. p. 435. 440. Liv. XXXI. 46. XXXIII. 13. Ptol. Geogr. III. 13. Supposed by Siebel. ad Pausan. II. 23, 9. to be Λάρισσα ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ in Pausanias.

3. Strabo IX. p. 440. Λάρισσα δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ὀσση χωρίον. Steph. τρίτη ἐν τῇ Ὀσση χωρίον.

4. Steph. τετάρτη τῆς Τρωάδος, ἣν φησιν Ὀμηρος "τῶν οὐ Λάρισσαν ἐριβόλακα" [II. β'. 841]. Conf. Strab. IX. p. 440. XIII. p. 621.

5. Steph. πέμπτη Αἰολίδος περὶ Κύμην τὴν Φρικανίδα. Herodot. I. 149. αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικανὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισσαι. Velleius I. 4. Smyrnam, Cymen, Larissam. Strabo IX. p. 440. ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἡ τε Φρικανὶς ἡ περὶ τὴν Κύμην καὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἀμαζιτὸν τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ἡ Ἐφεσία Λάρισσα ἐστὶ. Idem XIII. p. 620. τριῶν οὐσῶν, ἡ μὲν καθ' Ἀμαζιτὸν ἐν ὄψει τελείως τῷ Ἰλίῳ—τῆς περὶ Κύμην—τρίτη δὲ Λάρισσα κώμη τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐν τῷ Καῦστρίῳ πεδίῳ—ἔχουσα ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Λαρισηνοῦ. Strabo thinks *Larissa* near Cymē to be the *Larissa* of Homer II. β'. 841.

6. Steph. ἕκτη Συρίας. Xenoph. Anab. III. 4, 6. ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα. ἔκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. This town, on the north-eastern



"The Sicels, being driven by the *Aborigines* and *Pelasgi* out of their original seats, pass over into Sicily<sup>o</sup>, which was at that time possessed by the *Sicani*, an Iberian tribe, who had a little before been driven to seek refuge there from the Ligurians. The Sicels settled at first in the western parts of the island, and gradually spread till it began to be called from them Σικελία P. This migration of the Sicels into Sicily happened according to Hellanicus in the third generation before the Trojan war, in the 26th year of the priesthood of *Alcyonē* at Argos. Hellanicus reckons two distinct bodies of emigrators; the first of *Elymi*, who fled before the *Ænotrians*; the second, five years later, of Ausonians, who fled before the *Iapyges*; and he derives their name of Sicels from a king *Sicelus* q. Philistus reckons the date of this migration to be the 80th year before the Trojan war, and supposes that the people who passed into the island were Ligurians, under the command of *Sicelus* son of *Italus*; and that these Ligurians were driven into Sicily by the *Umbri* and *Pelasgi*. Antiochus of Syracuse does not attempt to fix the date of this event, but supposes the emigrants to have been Sicels driven out by the *Ænotrians* and *Opici*†. Thucydides calls the colony Sicels, and their enemies *Opici*, but dates the event after the Trojan war<sup>s</sup>.

"Meanwhile the *Pelasgi*, being established in Italy, after some short time fell into great calamities, and made a second migration back again to Greece, and to many other countries†. The causes of this migration, and the circumstances, are told by Myrsilus of Lesbos; except that for *Pelasgi* he substitutes *Tyrrhenes* u. These *Pelasgi*, from their residence in the neighbourhood of the Tuscans, had acquired a skill in navigation, and were exercised in war. Hence, from their coming out of the country of the Tyrrhenians, the appellations of *Pelasgi* and *Tyrrhenes* were indifferently applied to them, as by Thucydides<sup>x</sup>, and by Sophocles in the *Inachus* y. The period at which the misfortunes of the *Pe-*

border of Mesopotamia, 35 English miles direct distance south of Nineveh, corresponds with the description πόλις Συρίας in Stephanus. Raoul-Rochette tom. I. p. 154. ascribes this *Larissa* to an Argive colony. This name appears to prove that the *Pelasgi* had penetrated to the Tigris; but whether the *Pelasgi* from Argos or from Thessaly, or the *Pelasgi* from the coasts of Asia Minor were the founders, cannot be shewn by any certain arguments.

7. Steph. ἰββίμη Λιβίας. Strabo IX. p. 440. τῶν Τραλλέων διέχουσα κόμη τριάκοντα σταδίους.

8. Steph. ὁδὸς Θεσσαλίας πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. Schol. Apollon. I. 40. Λάρισσα ἐν τῇ Πελασγικῇ τῇς Θεσσαλίας, ἣν Ὅμηρος Ἀργισσαν φησὶ, πλησίον τῇς Γκιτόνης.

9. Steph. ἐκτὴ Κρήτης. Strabo IX. p. 440. Λάρισσα ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ πόλις ἣ οὖν εἰς Ἱεράπυτταν συνεικοινοῦσα, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὑπακείμενον πεδῖον οὖν Λαρίσσαν καλεῖται. Steph. Γόρτυν, πόλιν Κρήτης — ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Λάρισσα. As Hierapytna and Gortys were not contiguous places, it is evident that there were two *Larissa* in Crete; which might have been named by the *Pelasgi* who accompanied the Dorians thither two generations before *Minos*. See above p. 16. u.

10. A second Cretan *Larissa*: see No. 9.

11. Steph. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐστὶ Λάρισσα. Conf. Strab. IX. p. 440. et Tzschuck. ad locum.

12. Steph. ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἀργεῖος Λάρισσα. Strabo IX. p. 440. ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἡ τῶν Ἀργείων ἄκρα. Schol. Apollon. I. 40. Λάρισσα ἀρχαιοτάτη μὲν ἡ Ἀργεῖωτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀκρόπολις. Conf. Pausan. II. 23, 9.

13. Steph. Στράβων δὲ κόμην φησὶν Ἐφέσου. sc. XIII. p. 620. See No. 5.

14. Strabo IX. p. 440. ὁ τὴν Ἥλειαν ἀπὸ Δύμης διορίζων Λάρισος ποταμός· Θεόπομπος δὲ καὶ πόλιν λέγει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μεθορίᾳ κειμένην Λάρισσαν.

15. Strabo Ibid. ἐν Σίνῃ τῇς Μιτυλήνης ἀπὸ πενήκοντα σταδίων εἰς Λαρισαῖαι πέτραι κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Μηθύμης ὁδόν.

16. Strabo Ibid. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς δὲ τοῦ πόντου κόμῃ τις καλεῖται Λάρισσα πλησίον τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Αἴμου.

17. *Larissa* in Italy.

<sup>o</sup> Dionys. p. 56.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 57.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 59.

<sup>s</sup> Thucyd. VI. 2. where he relates that in his time some few Sicels still remained in Italy, which was so called from *Italus*: ἀπὸ Ἰταλοῦ βασιλέως τινὸς Σικελῶν. So edited by Bekker from eleven manuscripts: vulgo βασιλέως τινὸς Ἀρκάδων.

<sup>t</sup> Dionys. p. 60.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 62.

<sup>x</sup> Thucyd. IV. 109.

<sup>y</sup> Dionys. p. 68.

"*lasgi* led them to this second migration was about the second generation before the Trojan war; and it continued after that war till the Pelasgians gradually declined in Italy: for, except Croton in the Umbrian territory and a few towns among the *Aborigines*, the Pelasgian establishments in Italy decayed<sup>z</sup>.

"Among those who occupied the vacant seats of the *Pelasgi* in Italy, the *Tyrrhenes* were the chief; a race considered by some as indigenous in Italy. Others consider them as foreigners, who migrated thither under the conduct of *Tyrrhenus*, a Lydian. They think that *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus* were brothers, sons of *Atys*; that *Lydus* remained in Asia Minor in the region named from him Lydia; that *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into Italy. This is the account of Herodotus<sup>a</sup>. According to others, *Tyrrhenus* was the son of *Telephus*, and came thither after the Trojan war<sup>b</sup>. Xanthus of Lydia makes no mention of any settlement of Lydians in Italy, and makes the sons of *Atys* to be *Lydus* and *Torybus*, who both remained in Asia<sup>c</sup>. Hellanicus, after mentioning that the Pelasgians were driven out of Greece by the *Hellenes*, relates that they settled in Italy, seized upon Croton, and occupied that country which was afterwards called *Tyrrhenia*. Myrsilus, on the contrary, says that the Tyrrhenians, when they emigrated, were called *Pelasgi* from their wandering habits<sup>d</sup>. My own opinion is, that those are in an error who account the Tyrrhenians and *Pelasgi* to be the same people; that these names were naturally confounded and applied indifferently to those who belonged to the same region, as often happens in such cases. Thus the names of Trojan and Phrygian are used as synonymous, and the Latins, Umbrians, and Ausonians, are all indifferently called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks. That the *Tyrrhenes* and *Pelasgi* were a different people is proved by their languages, which had no resemblance<sup>e</sup>. Neither do I think the *Tyrrhenes* a colony of Lydians; for there is no resemblance here in language. These two people differ in laws, in manners, and institutions. That opinion, then, seems the most probable, which supposes these people an indigenous race in Italy<sup>f</sup>.

"The Pelasgian settlers, then, who remained after these successive emigrations, were intermixed with the *Aborigines* in Latium, till their descendants in process of time founded Rome<sup>g</sup>. But in the 60th year before the Trojan war another Grecian colony settled in those parts of Italy under *Evander* of Arcadia, according to the accounts of the Romans themselves<sup>h</sup>. *Evander* emigrated from Arcadia in consequence of a faction in his own country. *Faunus* at that time was king of the *Aborigines*<sup>i</sup>, who received the Arcadians amicably, and they were admitted to seat themselves on the Palatine hill, a space sufficient for the crews of two ships, the whole number of the followers of *Evander*. *Evander*

<sup>z</sup> Dionys. p. 69.

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. I. 94. Whence Velleius I. 1. *Per hæc tempora* (after the time of *Orestes*) *Lydus et Tyrrhenus fratres, cum regnarent in Lydia, sterilitate frugum compulsi sortiti sunt uter cum parte multitudinis patria decederet. Sors Tyrrhenum contigit. Pervectus in Italiam et loco et incolis et mari nobile ac perpetuum a se nomen dedit.* Strabo V. p. 219. οἱ Τυρρῆνοὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Ἐτροῦσκοι καὶ Τούσκοι προσαγορεύονται. οἱ δ' Ἑλληνες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρῆνοῦ τοῦ Ἀττος κ. τ. λ. Idem Ibid. as amended by Ruhnken. ad Velleium I. c. δ' Ἀττις—κλήρῳ Λυδὸν μὲν κατέσχε τὸν

δὲ Τυρρῆνον, τὸν πλείων συστήσας λαὸν, ἐξέστειλεν.

<sup>b</sup> Dionys. p. 69—72.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 75.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 77.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 78.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 80.

<sup>h</sup> Strabo V. p. 230. ἄλλη δὲ τις προτέρα (τῆς Ῥώμης κτίσεως) καὶ μυθώδης Ἀρκαδικὴν λέγουσα γενέσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν ὑπὸ Εὐάνδρου· τοῦτο δ' ἐπιξενωθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα κ. τ. λ.—καὶ ὁ Κεκίλιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεὺς τοῦτο τίθεται σημεῖν τοῦ Ἑλληνικὸν κτίσμα εἶναι τὴν Ῥώμην, τὸ παρ' αὐτῇ τὴν πάτριον θυσίαν Ἑλληνικὴν εἶναι τῇ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>i</sup> Dionys. p. 82.



"brought with him into Italy the use of letters, which had been lately acquired by the Arcadians<sup>k</sup>. This second colony of Greeks (after the Pelasgians from Thessaly<sup>l</sup>) dwelt on the spot on which afterwards Rome was founded, in common with the *Aborigines*."

These testimonies in Dionysius establish the fact that *Pelasgi* from Greece emigrated to Italy; but the circumstances and the time of that earliest migration are lost in remote antiquity. In the account of the Ænotrian colony there appear to have been two traditions; one which placed it seventeen generations before the Trojan war; another which derived it from Arcadia. Dionysius and Pausanias have both confounded these two traditions together. It is not likely that the Ænotrians proceeded from Arcadia; but, if they are rightly referred to the seventeenth generation, they proceeded from Peloponnesus during the period when the whole of Greece was under one dominion, of which Argos was the head; and long before the Arcadian dynasty existed. If the tradition which calls these colonists the children of *Lycaon* rightly marks their time, they proceeded to Italy in the seventh generation before the Trojan war. But *Ænotrus* and *Peucetius*, like *Macedon* and *Thesprotus*, are called sons of *Lycaon* only because these were all Pelasgic tribes, and because Arcadia was by some considered as the source of the *Pelasgi*. This genealogy, then, cannot be wholly trusted as any sure indication even of their time. The time assigned, however, is probable; for if the *Ænotri* and *Peucetii* proceeded from Peloponnesus in the seventh generation before the war of Troy, this emigration would coincide with the period of that general movement in Greece which we have already noticed<sup>m</sup>, and in which so many new dynasties arose: it would also agree with the time of that other Pelasgic migration, which proceeded from Thessaly to Italy upon the rise of the *Hellenes*<sup>n</sup>.

According to the account of Dionysius, the *Pelasgi* might begin to decline in the south of Italy about B. C. 1170. We have evidence, however, that the country was still occupied by a Pelasgic population near 500 years after that period: for when the Greek colonies were planted in *Magna Græcia* they found the inhabitants to be *Pelasgi*, whom they reduced to the condition of vassals<sup>o</sup>.

Contemporary with the Pelasgic kings of Argos another Pelasgic dynasty reigned at Sicyon. *Ægialeus* the founder is made contemporary with *Phoroneus*, and placed in the nineteenth

<sup>k</sup> Dionys. p. 87. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρῶτοι διακομίσαι νεωστὶ φανίσαν Ἀρκάδας. So Cod. Vat. But the edd. have Ἀρκάσι.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 86. δεύτερον ἔθνος Ἑλληνικὸν μετὰ Πελασγῶς. These two were exclusive of the first colony of Ænotrians. The Greek or Pelasgic colonies in the whole were three. Dionysius I. p. 230. II. p. 235. recapitulates these three sources of the Greek original of the Latin people.

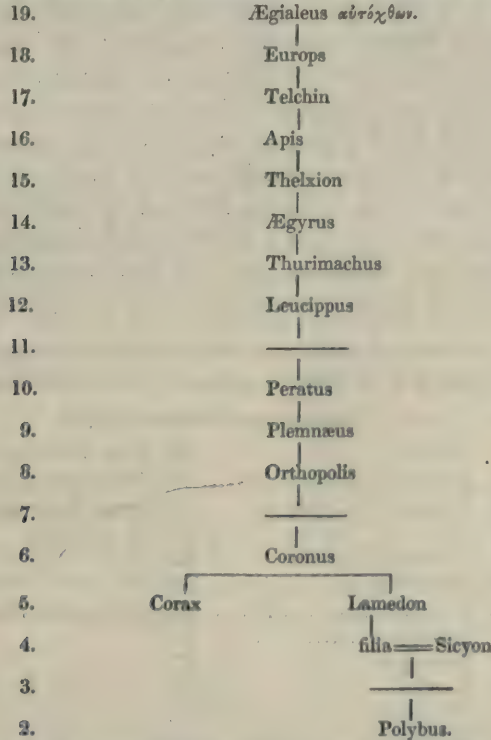
<sup>m</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>n</sup> It is possible that an earlier Pelasgic migration to Italy really occurred, which was confounded with the Ænotrian colony, although it preceded that colony by ten generations.

<sup>o</sup> Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. 533. ἱστορεῖται ἐν Χίῳ πρῶτους τοὺς ἐκτὶ θεράπονσι χρῆσασθαι, οὗτοι καλεομένους κατ' ὄνομα τῶν ἀλλῶν δουλευτικῶν ἢ δουλικῶν ὡς

καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντό ποτε Εἰλωσι, καὶ Μακεδόνες Πενέσταις, καὶ Ἀργεῖοι Γυμνησίους, καὶ Σικυώνιοι Κορυνηφόροις, καὶ Κρήτες Μνωῖταις, καὶ Ἰταλιῶται Πελασγοῖς ὅστε κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην δουρικὰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὀνόματα εἶναι τοὺς Εἰλωτας, τοὺς Πενέστας, τοὺς Γυμνησίους, τοὺς Κορυνηφόρους, τοὺς Μνωῖτας, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, τοὺς Θεράπωντας. Less fully in the epitome of Stephanus v. Χίος. οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐχρήσαντο θεράποντων, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Εἰλωσι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς Γυμνησίους καὶ Σικυώνιοι τοῖς Κορυνηφόροις καὶ Ἰταλιῶται τοῖς Πελασγοῖς καὶ Κρήτες Μνωῖταις. These passages may be added to those already given upon this subject in F. H. II. p. 412. c. The correction Μνωῖταις, which Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 52. ascribes to Meineke, had been already made in Steph. Byz. by Salmasius ad locum. The *Pelasgi* as a subordinate race in Italy are named by Cicero Fin. II. 4.

generation before the Trojan war by Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, from whom we obtain the following genealogy:



Of *Apis* the fourth king Pausanias observes: ἐς τοσόνδε ἡξήθη δυνάμειος ὡς τὴν ἐντὸς ἰσθμοῦ χάραν Ἀπίαν καλεῖσθαι. Between *Corax* the thirteenth king and *Lamedon Epopeus* intervened. *Lamedon* was succeeded by *Sicyon*, and he by *Polybus* the seventeenth king of Sicyon<sup>9</sup>. With *Polybus* the original dynasty failed; for he was succeeded by *Adrastus* king of Argos. After *Adrastus* followed *Janiscus*, of Attic descent; then *Phæstus* a son of *Hercules*; then *Zeuxippus*, upon whose death *Agamemnon* subjected Sicyon. *Hippolytus*, who reigned at

p Pausan. II. 5—8.

4 Pausan. II. 6. Κόρακος ἀποθανόντος ἄπαιδος, ἐπὶ  
 τούτων τὴν καιρὸν Ἑπωπεὺς ἀφικόμενος ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἔσχε  
 τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ—στρατὸν σφισι πολέμου λέγουσιν  
 εἰς τὴν χώραν τότε ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον—Ἀντιόπην τὴν Νυκτέας  
 —Ἑπωπεὺς ἀρπάζει. After *Eropeus, Lamedon*  
*reigned: Ibid. Lamédon* ὁ Κοριννῶ βασιλεύσας μετὰ  
 Ἑτωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀντιόπην—Λαμῆδον δὲ βασιλεύσας  
 ἔγχευεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν γυναῖκα Φηνῶ Κλυτίου· καὶ ὕστερον  
 γενομένου οἱ πολέμου πρὸς Ἀρχαύδρον καὶ Ἀρχιτέλῃ τοὺς  
 Ἀχαιοὺ συμμαχῆσονται ἐπηγάγετο Σικυνῶνα ἐκ τῆς Ἀττι-  
 κῆς· καὶ θυγατέρα τε συνήκισεν αὐτῷ Ζευξίππην· καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τούτου βασιλεύσαντος ἡ γῆ Σικυννία καὶ Σικυνὴ ἀντὶ Ἀλ-  
 γιᾶλης ἡ πόλις ἀνομασίτω. Σικυνῶνα δὲ οὐ Μαραθῶνος τοῦ  
 Ἑπωπέως, Μητίονος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἑρεχθέως φασιν. ὁμολο-  
 γεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἄσιος· ἐπεὶ Ἡσιόδός γε καὶ Ἰβυκος, ὁ  
 μὲν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ἑρεχθέως εἶναι Σικυνῶν, Ἰβυκος δὲ εἶναι Πέ-  
 λοπόν· φησιν αὐτόν. The account which places *Ar-*  
*chander* and *Architeles* in the time of *Lamedon*  
*and Metion* is inconsistent with the tradition al-  
 ready mentioned p. 16. which places them in the

time of Danaüs, and three generations before Lamedon. Polybus was the grandson of Sicyon: Pausan. Ibid. Σικυῶνος δὲ γίνεταί Χθονοφύλης· Χθονοφύλης δὲ καὶ Ἐρμού Πολύβου γενέσθαι λέγουσι—Πόλυβος δὲ Τηλεφῶ Βίαντος βασιλεύοντι Ἀργείων Λυσιάνασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἔθηκε· καὶ ὅτε Ἀδράστου ἔφηνεν ἐξ Ἀργείων, παρὰ Πόλυβου ἦλθεν ἐς Σικυῶνα· καὶ ὑστερον ἀποθανόντος Πόλυβου τὴν ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. Ἀδράστου δὲ ἐς Ἀργος κατελθόντος Ἰανίσκος ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Κλυτίου τοῦ Λαμείοντι κηδεύσαντος ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασιλεύειν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰανίσκου, Φαῖστος τῶν Ἡρακλέους λεγόμενος παῖδων καὶ οὗτος εἶναι. Φαῖστος δὲ κατὰ μαντείαν μετοικήσαντος ἐς Κρήτην, βασιλεύσαι λέγεται Ζεῦξ-ἴππος—μετὰ δὲ Ζεῦξίππου τελευτήσαντα Ἀγαμέμνων στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα Ἰππόλυτον Ῥοπάλου παῖδα τοῦ Φαίστου—Ἰππολύτου δὲ ᾗν τούτου Λακεδαιμόνης. Φάλακς δὲ ὁ Τημένου καταλαβὼν νύκτωρ Σικυῶνα σὺν Δωριεῦσι κακὸν μὲν αἶε Ἡρακλείδην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν, κοινὰν δὲ ἔσχε τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ Δωριεῖς μὲν Σικυῶνιοι γεγνάσθιν ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ μῆτρα τῆς Ἀργείας.



the time of the expedition of *Agamemnon*, was grandson of *Phæstus*. He was succeeded by his son *Lacestades*, in whose time *Phalces* son of *Temenus* occupied Sicyon.

Of the twenty-one kings who reigned before the Trojan war, the eight last were included within a century; for *Epopeus*, the fourteenth king in this account, was contemporary with *Labdacus*<sup>†</sup>. The thirteen reigns which preceded *Epopeus*, estimated at thirty years to each, would give only 390 years; and the first king of Sicyon would be placed less than 500 years before the Trojan era. According to Castor, *Zeuxippus* is the twenty-sixth king; and to these twenty-six reigns are ascribed 959 years. They are followed by six Carnean priests for thirty-three years, and these terminate 352 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*. This chronology, which is followed by Eusebius and Syncellus, places *Ægialeus* 940 years before the Trojan war, and eight or nine generations before *Phoroneus*<sup>‡</sup>. The account of Castor is evidently

<sup>†</sup> Pausan. II. 6, 2.      <sup>‡</sup> The sum of the p. 546. The two lists of reigns in Pausanias and computations of Castor has been given F. H. III. Castor may be here compared:

PAUSANIAS.	CASTOR apud Euseb. p. 126.
1. <i>Ægialeus</i> .	1. <i>Ægialeus</i> ..... 52. circa 15 <sup>um</sup> annum <i>Beli</i> .
2. <i>Europs</i> .	2. <i>Europs</i> ..... 45. <i>Nino</i> coætaneus.
3. <i>Telchin</i> .	3. <i>Telchin</i> ..... (29. S.) ... 20. <i>ætate Semiramidis</i> .
4. <i>Apis</i> .	4. <i>Apis</i> ..... 25. <i>ex quo Apia</i> .
5. <i>Thelxion</i> .	5. <i>Thelxion</i> ..... 52.
6. <i>Ægyrus</i> .	6. <i>Ægydrus</i> ..... 34.
7. <i>Thurimachus</i> .	7. <i>Thurimachus</i> ..... 45. <i>hujus ætate Inachus</i> .
8. <i>Leucippus</i> .	8. <i>Leucippus</i> ..... 53.
9. <i>Peratus</i> .	9. <i>Messapus</i> ..... 47.
10. <i>Plemnæus</i> .	10. <i>Eratus</i> ..... 46.
11. <i>Orthopolis</i> .	11. <i>Plemnæus</i> ..... 48.
12. <i>Coronus</i> .	12. <i>Orthopolis</i> ..... 63.
13. <i>Corax</i> .	13. <i>Marathonius</i> ..... 30. <i>quo tempore Cecrops</i> .
14. <i>Epopeus</i> .	14. <i>Marathon</i> ..... 20.
15. <i>Lamedon</i> .	15. <i>Chyreus</i> ..... 55. <i>eo tempore Danaüs</i> .
16. <i>Sicyon</i> .	16. <i>Corax</i> ..... 30.
17. <i>Polybus</i> .	17. <i>Epopeus</i> ..... (32. S.) ... 35.
18. <i>Adrastus</i> .	18. <i>Laomedon</i> ... (43. S.) ... 40.
19. <i>Janiscus</i> .	19. <i>Sicyon</i> ..... (42. S.) ... 45. { <i>Desiverunt Argivorum reges</i>
20. <i>Phæstus</i> .	20. <i>Polybus</i> ..... (43. S.) ... 40.
21. <i>Zeuxippus</i> .	21. <i>Inachus</i> ..... (45. S.) ... 40.
22. <i>Hippolytus</i> .	22. <i>Phæstus</i> ..... (10. S.) ... 8.
23. <i>Lacestades</i> .	23. <i>Adrastus</i> ..... (7. S.) ... 4.
	24. <i>Polyphides</i> ..... 31. <i>hujus ætate Ilium captum</i> .
	25. <i>Pelagius</i> ..... 20.
	26. <i>Zeuxippus</i> ... (30. S.) ... 31.
	959
	Summa regum 26 a quibus regnatum est annis 959. Exin non
	reges sed Carnii Sacerdotes, quorum
	1. <i>Archelaus</i> ..... 1
	2. <i>Automedon</i> ..... 1
	3. <i>Theoclytus</i> ..... 4
	4. <i>Euneus</i> ..... 6
	5. <i>Theonimus</i> ..... 9
	6. <i>Amphichyes</i> ..... 12 (18)
	33 (39)
	7. Denique <i>Charidemus</i> , qui impensis exhaustus fugit. Ab hoc
	ad Ol. 1. anni 352. Sicyoniorum regum et Sacerdotum
	temporibus anni conflantur 998.

formed upon the artificial schemes of chronologers after chronology had become a system. The years of every reign are assigned upon no authority, and his interpolated reigns, *Messapus*, *Marathonius*, *Marathius*, *Inachus*, *Pelagrus*, bear the marks of fiction. The account of Pausanias appears to have been drawn from the early traditions, and to represent the narrations of the early poets. Apollodorus follows traditions which agree with the times assigned by Pausanias, making *Ægialeus* son of *Inachus*<sup>t</sup>, *Thelxion* and *Telchin* contemporary with *Apis*, and *Epopæus* contemporary with *Antiopa* and *Lycus*<sup>u</sup>.

Mr. Lewis<sup>x</sup> properly distinguishes between the names of imaginary kings derived from popular tradition and the lists which were fabricated by chronologers to adapt dynasties to their own schemes of chronology. The reigns interpolated by Castor belonged to the latter class: many names in this account of Pausanias belong to the former. *Ægialeus* son of *Inachus*, *Thelxion*, *Apis*, *Telchin*, *Coronus*, *Corax*, *Sicyon*, were imaginary kings, but they were derived from ancient traditions; and some of them represent the connexion between Sicyon and Argos, and establish that these cities were inhabited by the same race of people.

The LELEGES were widely diffused over various parts of Greece and the adjacent countries. Their station in Megara and Locris and the west of Greece has been already noticed<sup>y</sup>. Other testimonies concur in assigning them to Locris<sup>z</sup>. They were the early inhabitants of Eubœa<sup>a</sup>, and are enumerated with the *Aones*, *Temmices*, and *Hyantes*, as the original possessors of Bœotia<sup>b</sup>. That they inhabited Magnesia may be collected from the tradition that

Castor, who reckoned 33 years to the priests, appears to have made the sum of the years 992. Eusebius, who made it 998, computed for the priests 39 years; which verifies the number 18 for 12 in the Greek copy. Eusebius, in quoting Castor, has a slight variation. In p. 126. Castor is made to say that *Charidemus* is the sixth priest: *Carnii sacerdotes sex—annis 33. quorum postremus Charidemus*. But in p. 301. *Charidemus* is the seventh: *Carnii sacerdotes sex qui sacerdotio annis 33 perfuncti sunt. Deinde sacerdos fuit Charidemus*. The contemporary notices of time are probably added by Eusebius himself. They agree, however, with the Chronology of Castor. Syncellus p. 97. adopts the account of Castor: conf. p. 102. B. 104. D. 109. C. 124. B. 148. A. 152. A. He has some variations in the years of some reigns, and reckons the whole period p. 152. A. to be 967+33=1000: ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔτη χίλια. He differs in the synchronisms, making *Orthopolis*, the eleventh king, contemporary with *Inachus*: p. 68. D. Varro seems to have followed the longer computations adopted by Castor: Augustin. C. D. XVIII. 2. *Ninus jam secundus rex erat Assyriorum—erat etiam tempore illo regnum Sicyoniorum admodum parvum, a quo ille undecunque doctissimus M. Varro scribens de gente populi Romani velut antiquo tempore exorsus est*.

<sup>t</sup> See above p. 10.

<sup>u</sup> Apollod. II. 1, 1. Ἄπις—ἐπὶ Θελέξιονος καὶ Τελχῖνος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάραπις. Idem III. 5, 5. ἡ δὲ Ἀντιόπη—εἰς Σικυῶνα ἀποδιδράσκει πρὸς Ἑπωπεία καὶ τούτῳ γαμῆται—ὁ δὲ Λύκος στρατευσάμενος Σικυῶνα χειροῦται, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἑπωπεία κτείνει τὴν δὲ Ἀντιόπην ἤγαγεν αἰχμάλωτον. The tale is differently told by Pausanias; but Apollodorus agrees in the Thessalian origin of *Epopæus*: conf. I. 7, 4.

<sup>x</sup> Philological Museum vol. II. p. 47.

<sup>y</sup> See above p. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Dicaearchus 70. p. 78.

οὔτοι κατοικοῦσιν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν  
Αἰτωλίας, Λέλεγες τὸ πρὶν κεκλημένοι,  
ἔπειτα Φωκεῖς ἐκ Λελέγων φερόμενοι—

Steph. Byz. Φύσκος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Λέλεγες οἱ νῦν Λακροί. Scymnus 590.

— Φύσκος ὃς γενεῇ Λακρόν,  
ὃς τοὺς Λέλεγας ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ Λακρούς.

<sup>a</sup> Scymnus 571.

πρώτους δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φασὶν οἰκῆσαι προτοῦ  
μιγάδας συνόικους Λέλεγας—

<sup>b</sup> Strabo IX. p. 401. ἡ δ' οὖν Βοιωτία πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἦκετο Ἀνών καὶ Τεμνίκων ἐκ τοῦ Σούνιου πεπλανημένων, καὶ Λελέγων καὶ Τάντων· εἴτα Φοίνικες ἔσχον οἱ μετὰ Κάδμου. Another ancient tribe is mentioned by Steph. Byz. v. Προνάσται. ἔθνος Βοιωτίας \* “Βοιωτῶν δὲ τινες παλαιὸν ἔθνος Προνάσται καλοῦνται.”



the Centaurs were *Leleges*<sup>c</sup>. But their most powerful seat was in Laconia, called from them *Lelegia*; which they possessed for about nine generations down to the time of the Trojan war. The genealogy of this Lelegian dynasty is thus delivered by the ancient mythologists<sup>d</sup>:

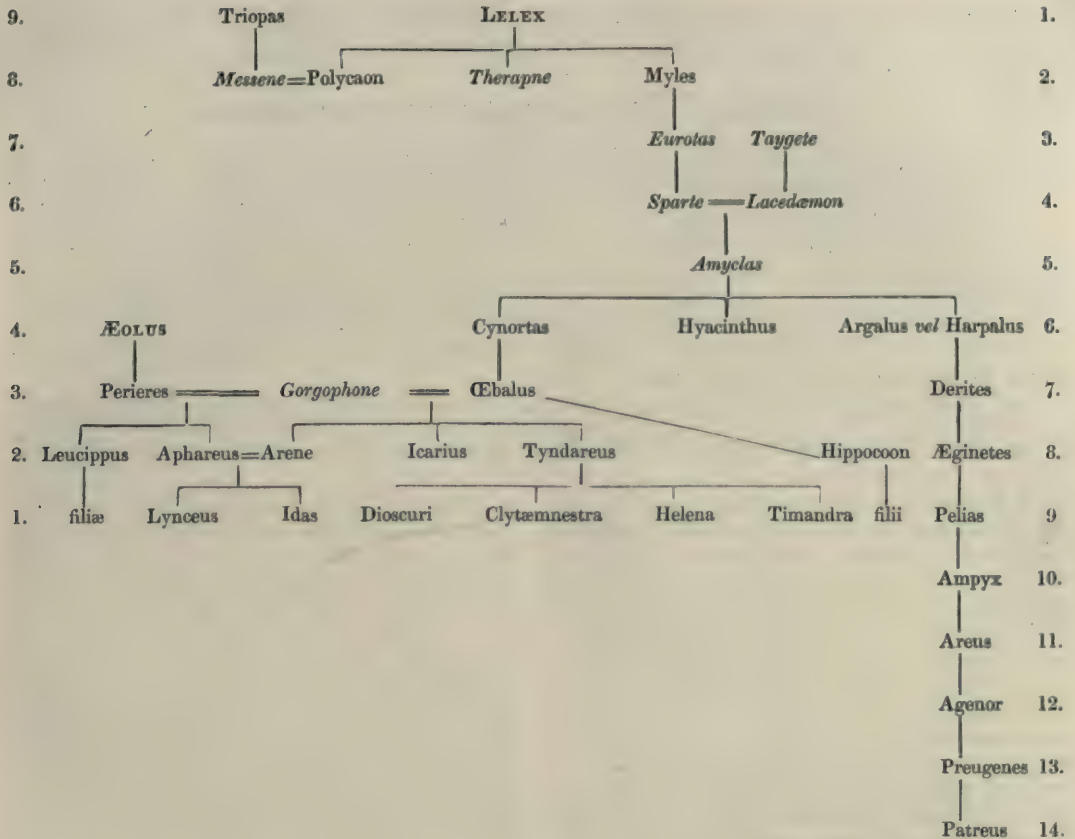
<sup>c</sup> Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 78. εἰσὶ γὰρ μὴν οἱ τὸν ὅλον μῦθον [de Centauris] παρεγκεχειρήκασιν ὥς οὐ διφυῶν γενομένων. Δέλεγας γὰρ φασὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς προσαγορευομένους διὰ τὸ ἀποκεντῆσαι τοὺς ταύρους προσαγορευθῆναι ἱπποκενταύρους· οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἵππους κέλῃσιν ἐποχθηέντες πρῶτον πάντων τοῦτο διεκράζαντο. Steph. Byz. Ἀμυκλῆς, πόλις Θεσσαλίας.—Σουΐδας ἐν ταῖς γενεαλογίαις ἔτι αἰτεῖ ἐκαλεῖντο Ἑυρόλῃ· ὕστερον δὲ Δέλεγες οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ Κένταυροι καὶ Ἱπποκενταυροὶ· καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἀμυρικὴν καλεῖ.

<sup>d</sup> Pausan. III. 1, 1. Δέλεξ αὐτόχθων ἐν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Δέλεγες ἐν ἤρχον ἀνομάσθησαν. Δέλεγος δὲ γίνεται Μύλης, καὶ νεώτερος Πολυκάων. Idem IV. 1, 1. ἀποθανόντος Δέλεγος, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν τῇ νῦν Λακωνικῇ τότε δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Λεληγία καλεομένη [Hesych. Λεληγιή· ἡ Λακεδαίμων πάλαι], Μύλης μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἀν' τῶν παίδων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, Πολυκάων δὲ νεώτερός τε ἦν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δι' αὐτὸ διώτης, ἐς ὃ Μεσσήνην τὴν Τριόπα τοῦ Φόρβαντος ἔλαβε γυναῖκα ἐξ Ἀργεῶς. Schol. Eur. Or. 615. Λακεδαίμονος πρῶτος ἦρξε Δέλεξ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Δέλεγες ἀνομάζοντο. ἔσχε δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Περιδίας Μύλην, Πολυκλῆνα [sic], Βασιλόλοχον, Θεράπην [Pausan. III. 19, 9. Θεράπην ὄνομα τῇ χωρὶς γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς Δέλεγος θυγατρὸς]. τούτων ὁ Μύλης ἐκ Τριπιδίης ἵσχυι Εὐρώταν καὶ Κηπεδίαν.

Pausan. III. 1, 2. Μύλητος δὲ τελευτήσαντος, παρέλαβεν ὁ παῖς Εὐρώτας τὴν ἀρχήν· αὐτός τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ λιμναῖον ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ διώρυγῃ κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν· ἀποφύοντος δὲ (ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ ὑπόλιπον ποταμοῦ ρεῖμα) ἀνόμασεν Εὐρώταν. αἱ δὲ οἱ οὗτοι αὐτῷ παῖδαν ἀβρέων βασιλείᾳ καταλείπει Λακεδαίμονα, μητρὸς μὲν Ταυγέτης ὅσα ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνομάσθη, ἐς Δία δὲ πατέρα ἀνήκοντα κατὰ τὴν φήμην. συνέκει δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων Σπάρτην θυγατρὶ τοῦ Εὐρώτα. Schol. Eur. Or. 615. Εὐρώτας δὲ ἀρχὰς μετὰ τὸν κατακλισμὸν λιμναζόμενον ἐργασάμενος καὶ ποταμὸν ἐπιήσας Εὐρώταν ἀνόμασεν. αὐτός ἐκ Κλήτης ἵσχυι θυγατέρα Σπάρτην, ἣν ἀγαγόμενος Λακεδαίμων ὁ ταύτης ἀρχὰς τοῖς μὲν Δέλεγας Λακεδαίμονιους τὸ δὲ ὄρος Ταυγέτην καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἔκτισε Σπάρτην ἀνόμασε. Apollodorus III. 10, 3. omits Myles: Ταυγέτη δὲ ἐκ Διὸς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἡ χώρα καλεῖται. Λακεδαίμονος δὲ καὶ Σπάρτης τῆς Εὐρώτα, ὃς ἦν ἀπὸ Δίλεγος αὐτόχθονος καὶ νύμφης Νηίδος Κλειοχαρείας, Ἀμύκλας καὶ Εὐρώτας, ἦν ἔγγηνη Ἀκρίσιος. Ἀμύκλα δὲ καὶ Διμήκης τῆς Λαπίθου Κυνύρτης καὶ Τάκυνθος. According to some accounts Sparta was founded by Spartus son of Phoroneus: Syncell. p. 149. B. derived from Euseb. Chron. anno 300. Another Spartus may be traced in Steph. Byz. Λακεδαίμων—ἡ Σπάρτη πρότερον, ἀπὸ Σπάρτη τοῦ Ἀμύκλαντος τοῦ Δέλεγος τοῦ Σπάρτη· ἡ δὲ τὸ τοῖς πρώτοις συνικήσαντας τὴν πόλιν Δέλεγας διωπαρμόνους εἰς τμητὲ συνελθεῖν

καὶ μίαν οἰκήσιν ποιήσασθαι. Spartus the father of Lelex, in the tenth generation before the Trojan war, is scarcely intended for the same person as Spartus son of Phoroneus in the seventeenth. Four persons, then, appear to have been fabricated out of the name of the city of Sparta: 1. Spartus son of Phoroneus. 2. Spartus father of Lelex. 3. Spartus son of Amyclas. 4. Spartē daughter of Eurotas.

The descendants of Lacedæmon are given in the following testimonies: Apollod. III. 10, 3. Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρης, ὃς γαμεῖ Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως, καθάπερ Στησίχορός φησι, καὶ τίκτει Τυνδάρεων, Ἰκάριον, Ἀφαρέα, Λευκίππον. Ἀφαρέως μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀρήνης τῆς Οἰβάλου Δυγκείας τε καὶ Ἰδας καὶ Πείσοος—Λευκίππου δὲ—θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο Ἰλαίρα καὶ Φοῖβη· τούτας ἀρπάσαντες ἔγμησαν Διόσκοιροι—εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἀφαρέα μὲν καὶ Λευκίππον ἐκ Περιήρους γενέσθαι τοῦ Αἰόλου· Κυνόρτου δὲ [Περιήρη] τοῦ δὲ Οἰβάλου· Οἰβάλου δὲ καὶ Νηίδος νύμφης Βατείας Τυνδάρεων, Ἱπποκλῶντα, Ἰκαρίωνα. Idem I. 9, 5. Περιήρης δὲ (ὁ Αἰόλου) Μεσσήνην κατασχὼν Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως ἔγμησεν ἐξ ἧς Ἀφαρέως αὐτῷ καὶ Λευκίππος—παῖδες ἐγένοντο. Πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν Περιήρη λέγουσιν οἰκᾶν Αἰόλου παῖδα ἀλλὰ Κυνόρτου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα. Pausan. III. 1, 3. Ἀμύκλας ὁ Λακεδαίμονος βουλόμενος ὑπολιπέσθαι τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς μνήμην πόλισμα ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ· γενόμενον δὲ οἱ παῖδαν, Τάκυνθον μὲν νεώτατον ὄντα καὶ τὸ εἶδος κάλλιστον κατέλαβεν ἡ πεπωμένη πρότερον τοῦ πατρὸς—ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἀμύκλα, ἐς Ἀργαλὸν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν Ἀμύκλα παίδων καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Κυνόρταν, Ἀργαλὸν τελευτήσαντος, ἀφίκετο ἡ ἀρχή. Κυνόρτα δὲ ἐγένετο Οἰβάλος, αὐτός Γοργοφόνην τε τὴν Περσέως γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἐξ Ἀργεῶς, καὶ παῖδα ἔσχε Τυνδάρεων, ὃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἱπποκλῶν ἡμφεσβήτην, καὶ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἔχεν ἡξίον τὴν ἀρχήν. προσλαβὼν δὲ Ἰκάριον καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ πολὺ τε ὑπερεβάλετο δυνάμει Τυνδάρεων, καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἀποχωρῆσαι δεῖσαντα, ὥς μὲν Λακεδαίμονιοι φασιν, ἐς Πελλάνας Μεσσηνίαν δὲ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος Τυνδάρεων φεύγοντα ἐλθεῖν ὡς Ἀφαρέα ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν, εἶναι τε Ἀφαρέα τὸν Περιήρους ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεων πρὸς μητρός· καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε αὐτὸν τῆς Μεσσηνίας φασὶν ἐν Θαλάμαις, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατήλθε τὸ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους Τυνδάρεως καὶ ἀνενοώσατο τὴν ἀρχήν. Apollodorus III. 10, 5. has a slight difference: Ἱπποκλῶν Ἰκαρίωνα καὶ Τυνδάρεων ἐξέβαλε Λακεδαίμονος· οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες πρὸς Θέστιον καὶ συμμαχοῦσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἰμύρους πύλῃον ἔχοντι, καὶ γαμεῖ Τυνδάρεως Θεστίου θυγατέρα Λήβαν. αἰθὺς δὲ, ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς Ἱπποκλῶντα καὶ τοὺς τούτου παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, κατέρχονται, καὶ παραλαμβάνει Τυνδάρεως τὴν βασιλείαν. With whom Strabo X. p. 461. agrees: φασὶ δὲ Τυνδάρεων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν



αὐτοῦ Ἰκάριον ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ Ἰπποκόωντος τῆς οἰκείας ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Θεστίου τὸν τῶν Πλευρονίων ἄρχοντα, καὶ συγκαταστήσασθαι τῆς περαιῆς τοῦ Ἀχελφίου πολλὰ ἐπὶ μέρει τὸν μὲν οὖν Τυνδάρεω ἐκπελθεῖν οἴκαδε γήμαντα Λήδαν τὴν τοῦ Θεστίου θυγατέρα. And Schol. Hom. II. β'. 581. Οἰβάλος δὲ Περιήρους ἤρχε Λακεδαιμονίων, οὗ Τυνδάρεως, Ἰκαρος, Ἀρη, καὶ νόθος Ἰπποκόων, δὲ συμφρασάμενος Ἰκάρῳ τὸν Τυνδάρεω ἀπελαύνει. Schol. Eur. Or. 447. Οἰβάλου τοῦ Περιήρους παῖδες οὗτοι Τυνδάρεως, Ἰκαρος, Ἀρη, [καὶ Νῆθος] καὶ ἐκ Νικοστράτης [1. καὶ νόθος ἐκ Νικοστράτης] Ἰπποκόων. οὗτοι μετὰ θάνατον Οἰβάλου ἐστασίασαν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ἰκαρος δὲ συνθέμενος μετὰ Ἰπποκόωντος ἐξελαύνει τὸν Τυνδάρεω τῆς Σπάρτης· ὁ δὲ οἰκεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας καὶ γαμῇ Λήδαν κ. τ. λ. Diodorus IV. 33. relates the expulsion of Tyndareus, and his restoration by Hercules, but without naming Icarus.

Patreus the founder of Patræ was descended from Lacedaemon: Pausan. VII. 18, 3, 4. Ἀχαιοὶν ἐκβαλόντων Ἰωνας, Πατρεὺς δὲ Πρευγένους τοῦ Ἀγήνορος κ. τ. λ. — Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Πρευγένους Ἀρέως παῖς ἦν τοῦ Ἀμπικος· ὁ δὲ Ἀμπίς Πελίου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τοῦ Δηρείτου τοῦ Ἀρπάλου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμόνος. Clavier H. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 105. and Siebelis ad

Pausan. III. 1, 3. conclude Harpalus and Argalus to be the same person; perhaps rightly: and yet, if Argalus had left children, he would scarcely have been succeeded by his brother Cynortas. Some accounts, as we have seen, interposed Perieres between Cynortas and Æbalus; but as Apollodorus omits Myles, Lelex would still be in the ninth generation before the war of Troy.

Of Polycaon the following account is given: Pausan. IV. 2, 1—3. πρῶτοι βασιλείουσι Πολυκάων τε ὁ Λέλεγος καὶ Μεσσήνη—χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὡς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάωνος οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπογόνων ἐς γενεὰς πέντε (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) προελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας, Περιήρη τὸν Αἰόλου βασιλεῖα ἐπάγονται—Περιήρη δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐκ Γοργοφώνης τῆς Περσέως Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ Λευκιππος. καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε Περιήρης ἔσχον οὗτοι τὴν Μεσσηνίων ἀρχήν· κυριώτερος δὲ ἔτι Ἀφαρεὺς ἦν. οὗτος βασιλεύσας πόλιν ᾤκισεν Ἀρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς Οἰβάλου θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφῆς ὁμομητρίας. καὶ γὰρ Οἰβάλη συνέκχησε Γοργοφόνῃ. Idem II. 21, 8. πρώτην αὐτὴν φασὶ τελευτήσαντας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Περιήρους τοῦ Αἰόλου (τούτῳ γὰρ παρθένος συνέκχησε) τὴν δὲ αὖθις Οἰβάλην γήμειναι.



According to this genealogy *Tyndareus* was of Lelegian race, and the *Leleges* possessed Messenia as well as Laconia <sup>e</sup> till the *Æolidae* came into that province about three generations before the Trojan war.

The *Leleges*, like the *Pelasgi*, were found in Asia Minor and the islands. According to Herodotus <sup>f</sup> they held the islands in the time of *Minos*. According to Strabo <sup>g</sup> they were anciently intermixed with the Carians, and found in many parts of Asia Minor. They were in the Troad down to the time of the Trojan war, and occupied Ionia till the Ionian colonists expelled them. This last particular is also recorded by Pausanias <sup>h</sup>, and their residence in these countries is attested by occasional notices in the early poets <sup>i</sup>. The *Leleges*, like the *Pelasgi*, of whom they seem to have been a part, disappeared gradually before the *Hellenes*, by whom they were reduced to the condition of vassals. Hence Eratosthenes <sup>k</sup> reckoned them among the extinct races of Asia.

With the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges* the *CAUCONS* and *DRYOPES* are named by Strabo among the early inhabitants of Greece. Of these the *Caucons* are traced in the west of Peloponnesus <sup>l</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Palmerius, however, without sufficient authority (Græc. Ant. p. 65.) supposes them to originate in Laconia: *Prima eorum origo non ex insulis sed ex Laconica deducitur*; for which there is no more reason than there is for the opinion that the *Pelasgi* originated in Arcadia.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. I. 171. *Kāres τὸ παλαιὸν ὄντες Μῖω τε κατέκωσι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες ἔχον τὰς νήσους.*

<sup>g</sup> Strabo VII. p. 321. τοῖς δὲ Λέλεγας τινὲς μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Καρσὶν ἐκαθέσθην, οἱ δὲ συνοίκους μόνον καὶ συστρατιώτας διότι ἐν τῇ Μιλήσιᾳ Λελέγων κατοικίας λέγεσθαι τινας, πολλοῦ δὲ τῆς Καρίας τάφους Λελέγων καὶ ἱεράματα ἔρημα, Λελέγια καλούμενα. ἤτε οὖν Ἰωνία λεγομένη πᾶσα ὑπὸ Καρῶν ἡκέτο καὶ Λελέγων ἐκβαλλόντες δὲ τούτους οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτοὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον· ἔτι δὲ πρότερον οἱ τὴν Τροίαν ἰδόντες ἐξήλασαν τοὺς Λέλεγας ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰθρὸν τόπων τῶν κατὰ Πήδασον καὶ τὸν Σατρινόντα τεταμέν. Idem XIV. p. 632. φησὶ Φερεκύδης Μιλήτην μὲν καὶ Μιῦντα καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυκάλην καὶ Ἐφεσον Κᾶρας ἔχον πρότερον τὴν δ' ἐξῆς παραλίαν μέχρι Φωκαίας καὶ Χίου καὶ Σάμου, ἧς Ἀγκαῖος ἤρχε, Λέλεγας ἐκβληθῆναι δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰόνων καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς Καρίας ἐκπεσεῖν. Ib. p. 634. φησὶ δ' Ἐφωρος (τὴν Μίλητον) τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν—Σαρπηλῆος ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος οἰκίτορας καὶ θεμένον τὸντομα τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκτὶ πόλεως ἐπάνωμον, κατεχόμενον πρότερον τὸν τόπον Λελέγων. Hence Miletus was called *Lelegis*: Steph. Byz. Μίλητος—Διδομος δ' ἐν Συμποσιακῇ φησὶν ὅτι πρῶτον Λελεγιῆς ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων Λελέγων. Strabo XIV. p. 640. τὸν δὲ πόλιν (τὴν Ἐφεσον) ἔκουν μὲν Κᾶρες τε καὶ Λέλεγες ἐκβαλόντες δ' Ἀνδρόκλος τοὺς πλείους ἔκωσεν ἐκ τῶν συνελθόντων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ Ἀθήναιον καὶ τὴν Ὑπάλειον. Idem XIII. p. 611. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Μιλήτῃ Λελέγων τάφους καὶ ἱεράματα καὶ ἔρημα κατασκευάζονται. Idem XII. p. 570. (οἱ δ' ὄρενοι Πισιδαι) φησὶν αὐτοῖς τῶν Λελέγων συγκαταμιχθῆναι τινος τὸ παλαιὸν πλάστηας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συμβεῖναι διὰ τὴν ἡμιστροφίαν αὐτίθι.

<sup>h</sup> Pausan. VII. 2, 4. speaking of Ephesus: *Λέλεγες τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ Λυδῶν τὸ πᾶν οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν—Ἀνδρόκλος δὲ—Λέλεγας μὲν καὶ Λυδοὺς τὴν ἅνω πόλιν ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.* Some however remained: *ibid.* τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοῦσι δέμας ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλὰ Ἰωσιν ὄρκους δόντες καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος παρ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πολέμου.

<sup>i</sup> Homer II. v. 96. φ'. 86. quoted by Strabo XIII. p. 605. places the *Leleges* at Pedasus; and enumerates them among the forces of Troy κ'. 429. καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες οἷοί τε Πελασγοί. Alcæus apud Strab. XIII. p. 606. speaks of Antandrus: πρῶτα μὲν καὶ Ἀντανδρος Λελέγων πόλις. Alcman placed them in Gargarus: Steph. Byz. Γάργαρα.—Ἀλκιμᾶν δὲ θηλυκῶς τὴν Γάργαρον φησὶν ἐν ᾗ κατέκουν Λέλεγες. The garment of *Antheus* prince of Halicarnassus, is called by Alexander Ætolus apud Parthen. c. 14. *Λελεγιῶν εἶμα*. And although Alexander is a late poet, he doubtless followed early traditions. The station of the *Leleges* in Caria was recorded by Philippus of Theangala apud Athen. VI. p. 271. b. See F. H. II. p. 412. c. who is also quoted Schol. Eur. Rhes. 508. e cod. Vat. *Τερμέρια κακά· ὑπὲρ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Καρῶν πενρ' φησὶν οὕτως·* “Τέρμερον καὶ Λύκον Λέλεγας “γενέσθαι θηριῶδ[εις] τὴν φύσιν” τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Τέρμερον πόλιν οὐκ[?] [ἐκτίθει] ἦν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τέρμερον ὠνο- “μάσθαι.” τούτους δὲ φησὶ πρώτους ληστεῦσαι καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ Καρίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδίας καὶ ῥίπας ποιήσαντας εἰς Κῶ ἐπλῆν [ἐκπλεῖν]. Steph. Byz. Νινός, ἢ ἐν Καρίᾳ Ἀφροδισιάς κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν Λελέγων, καὶ ἐκλήθη Λελέγων πόλις.

<sup>k</sup> Plin. H. N. V. 30. *Ex Asia interiisse gentes tradit Eratosthenes Solymorum, Lelegum, Bebrycum, Colycantiorum, Trepsedorum.*

<sup>l</sup> Strabo VIII. p. 345. Ἐμφυ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα [Leprea and Cyparissus] Καύκωνες κατέχον, καὶ τὸν Μάκιστον δὲ—φησὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Λεπριάτιδι καὶ Καύκωνος εἶναι μῆμα, εἴτ' ἀρχηγέτου τινὸς εἴτ' ἄλλως ὀνομαζομένου τῷ



Like the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges*, they found their way into Asia, where they appear in the *Iliad* among the forces of Troy<sup>m</sup>, and are placed by Strabo in Paphlagonia<sup>n</sup>. They are considered as an extinct race<sup>o</sup>.

The *Dryopes* inhabited mount *Œta* for three generations before *Hercules*<sup>p</sup>, by whom they were

ἔθνη. πλείους δ' εἰσὶ λόγιοι περὶ τῶν Καυκάνων· καὶ γὰρ Ἀρκαδικὸν ἔθνος φασὶ, καθάπερ τὸ Πελασγικόν, καὶ πλα-  
νητικὸν ἄλλως ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο——οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅλην τὴν  
νῦν Ἥλειαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσσηρίας μέχρι Δύμης Καυκωνίαν  
λεχθῆναι φασιν. Ἀντίμαχος οὖν Ἐπειὸς καὶ Καύκωνας  
ἅπαντας προσαγορεύει. τινὲς δὲ, ὅλην μὲν μὴ κατασχεῖν  
αὐτοὺς διχα δὲ μεμερισμένους οἰκεῖν, τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῇ  
Μεσσηρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Τριφυλίαν τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τῇ Δύμῃ κατὰ  
τὴν Βοιωπρασίδα καὶ τὴν κοίλην Ἥλιον. Ἀριστοτέλης δ'  
ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα οἶδεν ἰδρυμένους αὐτοὺς· καὶ δὴ τοῖς ὑφ'  
Ὀμήρου λεγομένοις [*Odys.* γ'. 366] ὁμιλοῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ  
ἰστοῦντι ἀπόφασιν κ. τ. λ. *Ib.* p. 387. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιμά-  
χου Καυκωνίδα τὴν Δύμην εἰπόντος, οἱ μὲν ἐδέξαντο ἀπὸ  
τῶν Καυκάνων ἐπιθέτας εἰρήσθαι αὐτόν, μέχρι δὲυρο καθη-  
κόντων——οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Καύκωνος ποταμοῦ τινός. In *Apollod.* III. 8, 1. *Caucon* is named among the sons  
of *Lycaon*; which gives him an Arcadian and  
therefore a Pelasgic original.

<sup>m</sup> Hom. II. κ'. 429. ν'. 329.

<sup>n</sup> Strabo XII. p. 542. τοὺς δὲ Μαριανθουὺς καὶ τοὺς  
Καύκωνας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες λέγουσι· τὴν γὰρ δὴ Ἡρά-  
κλειαν ἐν τοῖς Μαριανθουῖς ἰδρῆσθαι φασι——τοὺς δὲ Καύ-  
κωνας, οὓς ἰστοροῦσι τὴν ἐφεξῆς οἰκῆσαι παραλίαν τοῖς  
Μαριανθουῖς μέχρι τοῦ Παρθενίου ποταμοῦ, πόλιν ἔχοντας  
τὸ Τίειον, οἱ μὲν Σκύθας φασὶν οἱ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τινάς  
οἱ δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν——Καλλισθένης δὲ καὶ ἔγραφε τὰ ἔπη  
ταῦτα εἰς τὸν διάκοσμον μετὰ τὸ “Κρῶμναν τ' Αἰγία-  
“ λὸν τε [*Iliad.* β'. 855]” τιθεῖς

Καύκωνας αὐτ' ἦγε Πολυκλῆος υἱὸς ἀμύμων,

οἱ περὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δόματ' ἔβαιον.

—— τὸ δὲ τῶν Καυκάνων γένος τὸ περὶ τὸ Τίειον μέχρι  
Παρθενίου——καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι Καυκωνίτας εἶναι τινὰς περὶ  
τῶν Παρθενίων.

<sup>o</sup> Strabo VII. p. 322. ἐκλειπομένην τὸ γένος (τῶν  
Λελέγων)· ἅπερ ἂν τις καὶ περὶ Καυκάνων λέγοι νῦν οὐδα-  
μοῦ ὄντων, πρότερον δ' ἐν πλείοσι τόποις κατακτισμένων.  
*Idem* VIII. p. 355. Πισατῶν δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ  
Καυκάνων μὴδ' ὄνομα λειφθῆναι.

<sup>p</sup> *Diod.* IV. 37. Φύλατος τοῦ Δρύπων βασιλέως  
δόξαντος εἰς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν παρανενομηκέναι, στρα-  
τεύσας μετὰ τῶν Μηλιέων τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Δρύπων  
ἀνείλε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξαναστῆσας Μηλιεῦσι  
παρέδωκε τὴν χώραν.——τῶν δ' ἐκπεσόντων Δρύπων οἱ μὲν  
εἰς τὴν Εὐβοίαν καταστήσαντες ἐκίσταν πόλιν Κάρυστον οἱ  
δ' εἰς Κύπρον τὴν νῆσον πλεύσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀνα-  
μιχθέντες ἐνταῦθα κατέκταναν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν Δρύπων  
καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα βοηθείας ἔτυχον διὰ τὴν  
ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλέα. τούτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνεργούν-  
τος τρεῖς πόλεις ᾤκισαν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Ἀσίην καὶ Ἑρ-  
μιόνην ἔτι δ' Ἡϊόνα. In *Schol. Apollon.* I. 1212.  
is somewhat a different account of the con-  
test: Ἡρακλῆς ὥς κατὰ τὴν Δρυοπῖαν ἐγένετο——ἐντυ-

χὼν Θεοδάμαντι ἦντι ὀλίγην τροφήν· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδου,  
ἀρπάσας ἕνα τῶν βοῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἔθυσσε καὶ εὖω-  
χεῖτο. Θειοδάμας δὲ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Δρύπων πό-  
λιν εἰς πόλεμον διήγειρεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους· γε-  
νομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν  
Ἡρακλῆς ὥστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ (Δηϊάνειραν) ὀπλί-  
σαι——τέλος δὲ περιγενόμενος αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ ἀνελὼν  
τὸν Θειοδάμαντα τὸν μὲν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τλαν ἀνεδέξατο τὸ δὲ  
ἔθνος ἅπαν μετῴκισεν εἰς Τραχίνα πόλιν Θεσσαλικήν, καὶ  
τὴν Οἴτην. *Apollodorus* II. 7, 7. seems to men-  
tion two wars: διεξιών δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Δρύπων χώ-  
ραν ἀπορῶν τροφῆς, ἀπαντήσαντος Θεοδάμαντος βοηλα-  
τούντος, τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων λίσας εὐωχῆσάτο· ὥς δὲ  
ἦκεν εἰς Τραχίνα πρὸς Κήκυκα, ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δρύ-  
πας καταπολέμησεν. αὐθις δὲ ἐκείθεν ὀρυμηθεὶς Αἰγίμῳ βα-  
σιλεὶ Δωριέων συνεμάχησεν——ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ Λαογόραν  
μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, βασιλεῖα Δρύπων, ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει  
δαινύμενον, ὑβρίστην ὄντα καὶ Λαπιθῶν σύμμαχον. Pau-  
sanias IV. 34, 6. describes their original station  
on mount *Œta*, their expulsion by *Hercules*,  
and their settlement in Peloponnesus: Ἀσιναιοὶ  
τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Λυκαρείταις ὅμοροι περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν  
ᾤκουν· ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς δὴ καὶ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διεσώ-  
σαντο ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ Δρύopes. γενεᾷ δ' ὕστερον τρίτῃ,  
βασιλεύοντες Φύλατος, μάχη τε οἱ Δρύopes ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους  
ἐκρατήθησαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνάθημα ἤχθησαν ἐς Δελ-  
φούς· ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον, χόρησαντος Ἡρακλεῖ  
τοῦ θεοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πρὸς Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίην ἔσχον, ἐκεί-  
θεν δὲ ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Ἀργείων [in the reign of Ni-  
cander king of Sparta: *Pausan.* II. 36, 5.] οἰκοῦ-  
σιν ἐν Μεσσηρίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίων δόντων.——Ἀσιναιοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ  
περὶ σφῶν οὕτω λέγουσι· κρατήθησαν μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους  
μάχῃ συγχαροῦσιν ἀλῶναι τε τὴν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ πόλιν·  
αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀχθῆναι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
οὐ φασιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ τεῖχος  
ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀναφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τὸ Παρ-  
νασσῷ· διαβάντες δὲ ὕστερον ναυσὶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον γε-  
νέσθαι φασὶν Εὐρυσθέως ἰκέται, καὶ σφίσι Εὐρυσθέα,  
ἅτε ἀπεχθανόμενον τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, δοῦναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργο-  
λίδι Ἀσίην. μόνον δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρύπων οἱ Ἀσιναιοὶ  
σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ ὀνόματι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως Εὐ-  
βοέων οἱ Στύρα ἔχοντες· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Στυρεῖς Δρύopes  
τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅσοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα οὐ μετέσχον μά-  
χης, ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντες τὰς εἰρήσεις. We  
learn from *Pausanias* that *Diodorus* gave the  
tradition of the *Asineans*. Both *Pausanias* and  
*Diodorus* agree in *Phylas* king of the *Dryopes*.  
*Phylas* also occurs in a fragment quoted by  
*Heyne* ad *Apollod.* p. 465. καὶ Δρύπας τελείως πάν-  
τας ἔλαβε Φύλанта τὸν βασιλεῖα ἀποσφάζας. The  
*Scholiast* and *Apollodorus* describe a war distinct  
from that second war which was carried on with



expelled and transplanted into Peloponnesus. Their settlement in Peloponnesus is marked by Herodotus<sup>9</sup>. They may also be traced in the early times in the neighbourhood of Ambracia<sup>r</sup>.

*Phylas*, and which ended in the deportation to Peloponnesus. *Laogoras*, named in Apollodorus, is in none of the other accounts.

<sup>9</sup> Herodot. VIII. 43. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύορες, ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεσμένης χώρας ἐξαναστάτες. Hence called *Dryopis*: Idem I. 56. τὸ Δωρικὸν—ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη. VIII. 73. οἰκέει τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτὰ· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτίχθονα—τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ—τέσσαρα ἐπὶ λυδὰ ἔστι, Δωριεὺς τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύορες καὶ Ἀχαιοί. Δωριεὺς μὲν πολλοὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἡλίας μῆνη, Δρύων δὲ Ἑρμῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίνης ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ. Conf. Pausan. V. 1, 1. Strabo IX. p. 434. describes their original seat: Δρυοπίδα τε τράπεζαν γεγενημένην πατε, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Δωρίδα, μητρόειον δὲ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Δρύωνων νομιζομένην. And Steph. Byz. Δρύπη. πόλις περὶ τὴν Ἑρμιόνα· γράφεται καὶ Δρύπα. ὁ πολὺ τῆς Δρυοπαΐας, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος, ἀν παρατίθεται Ἐσχαφροδίτας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Οἴτην Δρύορες ἀπὸ Δρύπης τῆς Εὐρυπύλου θυγατρὸς. ἔστι καὶ Δρυοπίδα τῶν Δρύωνων περὶ Τραχίνα. Herodorus doubtless mentioned the *Dryopes* in his Ἡρακλῆς. For Herodorus, see F. H. III. p. 560. In Steph. Byz. for Εὐρυπύλου Verheyk ad Antonin. Lib. p. 215. with much probability corrects Εὐρύτου, from Ovid Met. IX. 356. 395. *Hercules* was said to have assigned the boundaries of the Dryopian settlement in Argolis: Pausan. II. 28, 2. ἐς δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀνιῶσι τὸ Κόρυμφον ἔστι καθ' ὃδὸν στρεπτή· καλουμένης θλαΐας φυτῶν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σπήμα. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀσιναιοὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἔθνηκεν ὅρον τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε εἰδείην. Etym. Magn. p. 154. also ascribes their establishment to *Hercules*: Ἀσινεῖς· οἱ Δρύορες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίνην κατοικοῦντες—ἱσθται ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς τοὺς Δρύορας ληστούοντας ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Πυθῶ χωρίων ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετέφικεν, ἵνα διὰ τὴν πολυπληθίαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων εἰργαστο τῷ κακουργεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀσινεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀνομάσθαι, ὡς μικροὶ κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σινιμένους. Aristotle, however, ascribed their settlement at Asinē to *Dryops*: Strabo VIII. p. 373. Δρύπων δ' αἰετήριον φασὶ (τὴν Ἑρμῶν) καὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην· εἴτε ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σπέρχειον τέκων ἵσταται αὐτοὺς Δρύοπος τοῦ Ἀρκάδος κατοικίσαντος ἐνταῦθα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν, ἢ Ἡρακλέους ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωρίδος ἐξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς. Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 287. ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος λέγει—ὅτι Ἀσίνη καὶ Ἑρμῶν Δρύπων αἰετήριον, Δρύοπος τοῦ Ἀρκάδος κατοικίσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σπέρχειον τέκων.

<sup>r</sup> Dicaearchus p. 76. v. 24—30.

τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν Ἀμβρακία πρώτη πόλις  
ἐπιμακίς

ἢ ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ λιμὴν  
αἰσινότης· κληθεῖται Δρυοπίς ἡ χώρα δ' ἔλη.

Pliny H. N. IV. 1. places them in Epirus: *Epirus—in ea primi Chaones—dein Thesproti—Perrhæbi, quorum mons Pindus, Cassiopæi, Dryopes, Selli, Hellopes, Molossi, apud quos Dodonæi Jovis templum.* Palmerius Græc. Ant. p. 313. quotes Dicaearchus and Pliny doubtfully: *Regio circa Ambraciam tota a Dicaercho Δρυοπίς dicta est, nescio quam bene: nullus enim alius habitationem Dryopum qui montani erant ad maris littus usque extendit; Plinius—eorum ordinem et situm non notavit. Omnes vero alii qui de Dryopibus verba fecerunt eos in montibus ponunt juxta Cetaos; nullus maritimos facit aut Ambraciæ collimitaneos. Ab antiquissima, credo, et jam deleta memoria id nomen revocavit Dicaearchus.* But the connexion of the *Dryopes* with Ambracia is confirmed by Antonin. Liber. c. 4. whom Palmerius has overlooked: ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ἐαυτῷ προσήκειν ἔλεγε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι Μελανεὺς υἱὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας μὲν Δρύωνων καὶ πολέμῳ λαβὼν τὴν πᾶσαν Ἠπειρον, γεννησᾶς δὲ παιδᾶς Εὐρυτον καὶ Ἀμβρακίαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις Ἀμβρακία καλεῖται. Steph. Byz. in his present text v. Νεμέα mentions *Dryopes* in Elis: Νεμέα χώρα τῆς Ἠλίδος ἐν ταύτῃ Δρύορες ὄκουν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Νέμεος καὶ Νεμεαῖος. Στράβων ὁγδόῃ κ. τ. λ. But as this passage is evidently mutilated (conf. Berkel. ad loc.) the *Dryopes* were perhaps referred in the original passage to Nemea in Argolis. That the *Dryopes* settled in Eubœa at Carystus, is attested not only by Diodorus already quoted, but by Thucydides VII. 57. Καρυστίων· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Δρύορες. Their settlement at Styra (Pausan. IV. 34, 6) is confirmed by Herodotus VIII. 46. who also places them in Cythnus: Στυρές—Κύθνιοι—ἐόντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύορες. According to Strabo XIII. p. 586. the *Dryopes* had occupied the neighbourhood of Cyzicus and Abydos soon after the Trojan war: τότε μὲν οὖν [in the time of Priam] τοιαῦτα ἐπῆρχον. ὕστερον δὲ ἠκολούθησαν μεταβολαὶ παντοῖαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κύζικον Φρύγες ἐπέβησαν ἕως Πρακτίου, τὰ δὲ περὶ Ἀβυδὸν Θρᾷκες, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τούτων ἀμφοῖν Βέβρυκες καὶ Δρύορες. They appear however even before the Trojan war to have found their way into the Troad; for *Dryops* occurs Apollod. III. 12, 5. among the sons of *Priam*. In the Iliad v. 455. *Dryops* is named among the warriors on the part of Troy, but is not called the son of *Priam*. Diodorus, already quoted, has shewn that the *Dryopes* after their dispersion by the victory of *Hercules* penetrated to Cyprus; and Raoul-Rochette Colonies Grecques tom. I. p. 441. traces them there in Asinē, mentioned by Steph. Byz. Ἀσίνη Κύπρου. This settlement, however, at Asinē



The genealogies concerning the *Dryopes* all attest a Pelasgic original<sup>s</sup>. They are mentioned by Aristides with the *Pelasgi* as an obsolete race<sup>t</sup>.

The AONES, HYANTES, and TEMMICES, have been already mentioned<sup>u</sup>. These tribes are found in Bœotia in the time of *Cadmus*. The two former are described by Pausanias<sup>x</sup>: γῆν τὴν Θηβαΐδα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον λέγουσιν Ἑκτήνας, βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ἑκτήνων ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα Ὠγυγον<sup>y</sup>.—καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπολέσθαι λοιμῶδες νόσῳ φασίν, ἐσοικίσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἑκτήνας ἐς τὴν

in Cyprus was probably later than their establishment at Asinē in Argolis, and may be perhaps referred to the period of their expulsion by the Argives, when part of the *Dryopes* seem to have proceeded to Cyprus, and a part to have settled in Messenia.

<sup>s</sup> According to Aristotle, already quoted, the Dryopians were planted in Asinē by *Dryops*, an Arcadian. In Homer Hymn. Pan. 34. the mother of the god *Pan* is an Arcadian nymph, daughter of *Dryops*: νύμφη εὐπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος. In Pherecydes, *Dryops* who reigned in Ceta was sprung from the river Sperchius and a daughter of *Danaüs* king of Argos: Antonin. Lib. c. 32. Δρύοψ ἐγένετο Σπερχεῖο παῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Πολυδώρης μίας τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων. αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν τῇ Οἰτῇ, καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ μονογενὴς ἐγένετο Δρύπη, καὶ ἐποίμεινεν αὐτῇ τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς. From *Apollo* and *Dryopē* is born *Amphissus* the founder of *Amphissa*: Antonin. Ibid. From this passage Schol. Apollon. I. 1212. has been properly corrected: Φερεκιδῆς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὅτι Πολυδώρῳ τῇ Δαναοῦ μίσγεται Πηνειὸς ὁ ποταμὸς [l. Σπερχεῖος: conf. Sturz. ad fr. p. 93]. τῶν δὲ γίνεται Δρύοψ ἀφ' οὗ Δρύοπος καλοῦνται· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σπερχεῖῳ ποταμῷ. According to another account, he was the son of *Apollo* and of a daughter of the Arcadian *Lycæon*: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 480. Ἀγαπήνωρ ἀπὸ Δρύοπος ἔσχε τὸ γένος· ὁ δὲ Δρύοψ υἱὸς ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δίας τῆς Λυκάωνος—ἡ δὲ τεκούσα τὸ βρέφος ἐκρυπτε δρύος στελέχει, ὅθεν καὶ Δρύοψ ἐκλήθη. καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δρύοπος οἱ περὶ Παρνασσόν. Etymol. Magn. Δρύοψ, ὄνομα ἐθνικόν. τοὺς Δρύοπας ὑπὸ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκοῦντας μετέστησεν Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον. καλοῦνται δὲ ἀπὸ Δρύοπος υἱοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δίας τῆς Λυκάωνος. Pausan. IV. 34, 6. παῖδα τὸν Δρύοπα Ἀπόλλωνος εἶναι λέγοντες, whence Schol. Apollon. I. 1212. may be corrected: Δρύοπας δὲ κληθῆναι ἀπὸ Δρύοπος τοῦ Λυκάωνος καὶ Δίας τῆς Λυκαονείας. for Λυκάωνος—Λυκαονείας read Ἀπολλωνος—Λυκάωνος. with Berkel. ad Steph. Byz. v. Δρύπη.

<sup>t</sup> Aristid. Panath. p. 177. Dindorf. = 111. Jebb. ἔστι δ' αἱ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκεχωρηκότα νῦν γῆν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταφεύγοντα εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνέλαβεν [sc. Athens], ὥσπερ Δρύοπας καὶ Πελασγοὺς· ἃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν σημεῖα τῆς σωτηρίας λείπεται. αἱ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπωνυμίαι σύμβολον ὄσαι τῆς οἰκήσεως αὐτῶν ἔμα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας εἰσίν. On what occasion the *Dryopes* applied to Athens for aid is not preserved to us: conf. Schol. ad locum. But as Herodotus I. 146. attests that

some of the *Dryopes* accompanied the Ionian colonists to Asia, we may conjecture that they sought and found refuge at Athens after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus. It may be remarked that Aristides does not scruple to call the *Dryopes* and *Pelasgi* Ἑλλήνων γένη.

<sup>u</sup> See above p. 31. <sup>x</sup> Pausan. IX. 5, 1.

<sup>y</sup> Lycophr. 1206—1213.

ὅπου σε πεισθεὶς Ὀγύγου σπαρτὸς λεῶς

ἄξει Καλίδων τύρσιν Ἀόνων τε γῆν  
σωτήρ', ἔταν κάμωνσιν ἐπλήτη στρατῷ  
πέρθοντι χώραν Τηνέρου τ' ἀνάκτορα.  
κλέος δὲ σὺν μέγιστον Ἑκτήνων πρόμοι  
λαβραῖσι κῦδανόσιν—

*Tenerus* is explained by Strabo IX. p. 413. τὸ Τηρικὸν πεδῖον ἀπὸ Τηνέρου προσηγόρευται· μυθεύεται δ' Ἀπόλλωνος υἱὸς ἐκ Μελλίας, προφήτης τοῦ μαντείου κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. v. Βοιωτία recites the early appellation of Bœotia: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀονία, καὶ Μεσαπία, καὶ Ὠγυγία, καὶ Καδμυῆς ὡς Θεοκλιδῆς [sc. I. 12]. Idem Ἀονες. ἔθνος Βοιωτίας ἀφ' ὧν ἡ Ἀονία, καὶ Ἄων τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ Ἀόνιος καὶ Ἀονία. Schol. Hom. Il. β'. 494. ἡ Βοιωτία τὸ πρότερον Ἀονία ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀόνων· μετονομάσθη δὲ Βοιωτία κατὰ τινὰς ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀρνης. Hence Thebes is Ἀονίη in Callimachus Hymn. Del. 75. And Bœotian steel is Ἀονίη σιδήρην in Dionys. Perieg. 476. conf. Eustath. ad loc. Schol. Apollon. III. 1178. Ἀονίαις: ἀντὶ τοῦ, Βοιωτικῶν. Ἀονία γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἡ Βοιωτία. Ὠγυγίας δὲ τὰς Θήβας ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. Κορίννα δὲ τὸν Ὠγυγον Βοιωτοῦ υἱὸν εἶπεν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ Ὠγύγιοι τῶν Θηβῶν πύλαι· The *Aones* are named by Euripides Phœn. 653. πεδία—πυροφόρ' Ἀόνων. *Ogygus* who reigned at Thebes seems to have been the same person as *Ogygus* who founded Eleusis, and reigned in Attica in the time of the flood, and who is made by Acusilaüs contemporary with *Phoroneus*: see above p. 7. Attica and Bœotia seem in the earliest times to have been one province. The Bœotian tribes the *Aones* and *Temmices* inhabited Attica, since they came from Sunium: Strabo IX. p. 401. *Cecrops* reigned over both provinces: Strabo IX. p. 407. κατὰ Κέκροπα, ἥνικα τῆς Βοιωτίας ὑπῆρξε, καλουμένης τότε Ὠγυγίας. The term *Ogygian* is applied by Æschylus to Thebes in Egypt: τὰς Ὠγυγίους Θήβας Pers. 37. to Thebes in Bœotia: πόλιν δὲ Ὠγυγίαν Sept. Th. 321. and



χώραν "Ταντας καὶ Ἀονας, Βοιωτία (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) γένη καὶ οὐκ ἐπηλύδων ἀνθρώπων. Κάδιου δὲ καὶ τῆς Φοινίκων στρατιάς ἐπελθούσης μάχῃ νικηθέντες οἱ μὲν "Γαντες ἐς τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἐκιδιδράσκουσι, τοὺς δὲ Ἀονας ὁ Κάδμος γενομένους ἰκέτας καταμεῖναι καὶ ἀναμιχθῆναι τοῖς Φοινίξιν εἶασεν. The *Hyantes* thus ejected from the country may be traced in Phocis and Ætolia<sup>z</sup>. The *Temmices* occur in Strabo<sup>a</sup>, in Stephanus, and Lycophron<sup>b</sup>. It will be shewn below that *Cadmus* may be placed about an hundred and thirty years before the fall of Troy; whence it will follow that these tribes, the *Aones*, *Temmices*, and *Hyantes*, were still found in Bœotia after the period at which the Dorians and Æolians were established in Thessaly.

The *CARIANS*, who were considered by Herodotus and many other writers the same people as the *Leleges*, were masters of the southern islands of the Ægean sea till *Minos* subdued them<sup>c</sup> in the third generation before the Trojan war. They had also occupied the eastern coast of Peloponnesus<sup>d</sup>. How long they retained possession of the islands is not delivered to us; but Isocrates implies that they did not appear there earlier than the times of *Danaüs* and *Cadmus*<sup>e</sup>, five or six generations before *Minos*. They afterwards passed into Asia Minor,

to Athens: τὰς Ὀργυίας Ἀθάνας Pers. 935. Steph. Byz. Ὀργυία—λέγεται καὶ ἡ Βοιωτία καὶ ἡ Θήβη, ἀπὸ Ὀργύου—ἐλέγτο καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ πᾶσα Ὀργυία, ὡς Χάρμαξ φησὶ ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς.

<sup>z</sup> Strabo IX. p. 424. Τάμπελις ἐκλήθη ὑπὸ τινων ἐς ἣν ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐκτεσεῖν τοὺς "Ταντας ἔφαμεν. p. 401. "Γαντες τῆς Φυκίδος Τάμπελιν ἦκισαν. Pausan. X. 35, 4. Τάμπελις.—"Γαντες οἱ ἐκ Θηβῶν Κάδμον καὶ τὴν σὺν ἐκείνῳ φυγόντες στρατὸν ἀφίκοντο ἐν ταῖθα. Steph. Byz. Αἰτωλία—ἀπὸ Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος—πρότερον δὲ Τάντις ἐκαλεῖτο. Eustath. ad II. β. p. 311, 16. Αἰτωλία ἡ χώρα καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπὸ Αἰτωλοῦ καλοῦνται νῦν Ἐνδυμίωνος—πρότερον δὲ φασιν "Γαντες ἐκαλοῦντο. whence it might seem that Steph. had written "Γαντες ἐκαλοῦντο. Strabo X. p. 464. Ἀπελλόμενοι δ' εἰρκαῖον [Heyn. fragm. p. 1114.] ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀπελθόντας "Γαντας ἰστορεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς γενομένους. Palmerius Græc. Ant. p. 426. unnecessarily finds a difficulty in this account, because *Ætolus* was five generations later than *Deucalion*: *At Cadmus qui Hyantes expulit omnium chronologorum consensu Deucalione multo antiquior fuit. Aut igitur Apollodorus graviter peccavit in rationem temporum, vel, ut excusetur, voce Αἰτωλῆς abusus est κατὰ πρόληψιν—nomen Ætolorum scilicet anticipans quod suo tempore notum erat et frequentatum.* In the first place he has himself solved the difficulty, which would in reality be none at all. In the next place, Palmerius has erred in supposing that *Cadmus* was much older—*multo antiquior*—than *Deucalion*; for *Cadmus* was in the seventh generation before the fall of Troy, and *Deucalion* in the eighth. *Cadmus*, therefore, according to the genealogies was later than *Deucalion*, and is placed after him by the Parian marble, which dates the reign of *Deucalion* fifty-five years before the coming of *Cadmus*. We shall see reasons below for

placing *Cadmus* at a still lower date than that which the marble assigns.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Steph. Byz. Τέμμιξ. ἔθνος πρῶτον οἰκῆσαν ἐν Βοιωτία. Λυκάφρων [v. 644]

"Ἀρης παλαιὰς γέννα Τεμμίκων πρόμοι.

τὸ θηλυκὸν Τεμμικία παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ [v. 786]

ἐν Βομβύλειᾳ κλιτὶς ἡ Τεμμικία.

καὶ θηλυκῆς Τεμμικίς καὶ Τεμμικίους τὸ κτητικόν. Μενέλαος δὲ διὰ τοῦ, "—Τεμμίκιον ἄστν—" ἐν πρώτῳ Θηβαϊδος. According to Tzetzes, a mountain in Bœotia was so called: ad Lycophr. 644. Τεμμίκων τῶν Βοιωτῶν, ἀπὸ ὅρου Τεμμίκου. ad 786. ἡ Τεμμικία ὅρος ἐστὶ Βοιωτίας.

<sup>c</sup> Herodot. I. 171. εἰσὶ δὲ Κᾶρες ἀπηνγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὄντες Μῖνω τε κατῆκοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Δέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελείοντες—οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μῖνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. Strabo XIV. p. 661. πολλῶν λόγων εἰρημένον περὶ Καρῶν, ὁ μάλιστα ὁμολογούμενός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οἱ Κᾶρες ὑπὸ Μῖνω ἐτάττοντο τότε Δέλεγες καλοῦμενοι, καὶ τὰς νήσους ἔκουν. Thucyd. I. 4. Μῖνως τε γὰρ—τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἤρξε τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας. Idem I. 8. οὐχ ἥσσον λησται ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται Κᾶρες τε ὄντες καὶ Φοινίκες οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ἦκισαν. μαρτυρίαν δὲ Δῆλον γὰρ καθαυρομένης—καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναίρεθαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνάντων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν—καταστάντες δὲ τοῦ Μῖνω ναυτικοῦ πλείμωτέρα ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους. Conon Narr. 47. τὴν δὲ Ῥόδον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον λαὸς αὐτόχθων ἐνέμοντο, δὲ ἤρχε τὸ Ἡλιαδῶν γένος ὅς Φοινίκης ἀνίστησαν καὶ τὴν νήσον ἔσχον Φοινίκων δ' ἐκπασάντων Κᾶρες ἔσχον ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους τὰς περὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἦκισαν.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo VIII. p. 374. ἡ Ἐπίδαυρος δ' ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐπικάρες φησὶ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης κατασχῆν αὐτὴν Κᾶρας, ὅσπερ καὶ Ἐρμιόνην.

<sup>e</sup> Isocr. Hel. Enc. p. 219. c. Δαναὸς μὲν ἐξ Αἰ-

and dwelt in the country around Miletus till the Ionians expelled them<sup>f</sup> about eight generations after the reign of *Minos*. It seems, however, that at the death of *Minos* the Carians retained, or at least recovered, possession of the *Cyclades*; and that they were not finally expelled till the time of the Ionian colonies; for *Isocrates* and *Plutarch* describe them as possessing the *Cyclades* after the return of the *Heraclidæ* into Peloponnesus, and ascribe their expulsion to the Athenians<sup>g</sup>. After the Ionian settlement, the Carians appear to have been confined to the province called *Caria* from them. The Carians of that province acknowledged a connexion with the Mysians and Lydians<sup>h</sup>. In the time of the Trojan war the Carians, like the *Pelasgi* and *Leleges*, had already been partly expelled from their original seats, and inhabited the neighbourhood of Miletus. They were early considered as barbarians<sup>i</sup>; and yet in a late period it was remarked that many Greek terms were found in their language<sup>k</sup>.

## II.

## HELLENES.

HAVING taken this short survey of the early tribes, we proceed to consider the HELLENES, who traced the beginning of their power to *Deucalion*. The descendants of *Deucalion* down to the Trojan war are delivered to us in the following manner:

γύπτου φυγὼν Ἄργος κατέσχε, Κάδμος δὲ Σιδώνιος Θηβῶν ἐβασίλευσε, Κᾶρες δὲ τὰς νήσους κατέκουν, Πελοποννήσου δὲ συμπάσης ὁ Ταντάλου Πέλοψ ἐκράτησεν.

<sup>f</sup> Strabo XIV. p. 661. εἴτ' ἡπειρώται γενόμενοι πολλὴν τῆς παραλίας καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας κατέσχον, τοὺς προκατέχοντας ἀφελόμενοι· καὶ οἱτοί δ' ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Λέλεγες καὶ Πελασγοί· πάλιν δὲ ταύτους ἀφείλοντο μέρους οἱ Ἕλληνες, Ἰωνεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Δωριεῖς. See above p. 34. g. for their expulsion from Ionia.

<sup>g</sup> *Isocrates* Panath. p. 241. c., having expressed that he should commence his survey from the Return of the *Heraclidæ*, proceeds thus: οἱ μὲν τοῖνυν ἡμετέροι πρόγονοι—πρῶτον μὲν τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους, περὶ αἷς ἐγένοντο πολλὰὶ πραγματεῖαι κατὰ τὴν Μίνω τοῦ Κρητὸς δυναστείαν, ταύτας δὲ τελευταίον ὑπὸ Καρῶν κατεχομένας ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνους οὐκ ἐξιδιώσασθαι τὰς χώρας ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάλιστα βίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεομένους κατέκισαν εἰς αὐτάς· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς πόλεις ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῶν ἡπείρων καὶ μεγάλας ἐκτίσαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀνέστειλαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. *Plutarch*. de Exil. p. 603. B. τὰς Κυκλάδας πρότερον μὲν οἱ Μίνω παῖδες ὕστερον δὲ οἱ Κόδρου καὶ Νείλεω κα-

τέκνησαν. *Isocrates* then refers to the Ionic migration, when the colonists seized upon the *Cyclades*: and this is consistent with the account of *Herodotus* I. 171. that the Carians were not expelled by *Minos*, but only reduced to obedience.

<sup>h</sup> *Herodotus* I. 171. ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσσοις Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῦσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καροῖ· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. *Strabo* XIV. p. 659. ἔχουσιν οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερὰ δύο—τρίτον δ' ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, οὗ μέτεστι καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Μυσοῖς ὡς ἀδελφοῖς.

<sup>i</sup> *Hom.* II. β'. 867.

Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφόνων  
οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον κ. τ. λ.

The epithet βαρβαροφόνων is variously explained. *Conf.* *Strab.* XIV. p. 661. *Schol.* ad II. β'. 867.

<sup>k</sup> *Strabo* XIV. p. 662. ἡ γλῶττα τῶν Καρῶν—πλείστα Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα ἔχει καταμεμνημένα, ὡς φησὶ Φίλιππος [*Philippus of Theangela*: see above p. 34. i] ὁ τὰ Καρικὰ γράψας.



10.

9.

8.

7. Amphictyon

HELLEN

6. Phycus Itonus

Xuthus

DORUS

5. LOCUS BEOTUS ACHAEUS ION Tectamus

Deion

Cretheus<sup>c</sup>

4. Cynus Itonus

Asterion

Actor<sup>b</sup>Phylacus<sup>c</sup>Cephalus<sup>d</sup>

Pheres

Æson

Amythaon

3. Hodredocus

Minos

Menæti<sup>b</sup>

Poeas

Cilleus

Admetus

Jason

Melampus<sup>f</sup>

2. Oileus

Deucalion

Menæti<sup>b</sup>

Iphiclus

Arcisius

Laertes

Idmon<sup>h</sup>

Antiphates

1. Ajax

Idomeneus

Patroclus

Philoctetes

Ulysses

Eumelus

Euneus

Calchas

Alcmæon

Theoclymenus

<sup>a</sup> Pindar. Ol. IX. 81. 'Ιαπετιωνίδος φύτλας: Schol. ad loc. 'Ιαπετιῷ Προμηθεὺς ἐξ οὗ καὶ Κλυμένης γίνεταί Δευκαλίων, ἐξ οὗ Πρωτογένεια· πάλιν 'Ιαπετιῷ Ἐπιμηθεὺς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Πανδώρας Πύρρα· Πύρρας δὲ καὶ Δευκαλίωνος Πρωτογένεια. Apollod. I. 2, 3. 'Ιαπετοῦ καὶ Ἀσίας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ Ἀτλας—καὶ Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Iliad. μ'. 1. Πάτροκλος ὁ Μενoitίου τρεφόμενος ἐν Ὀποιῶντι. Idem π'. 14. Μενoitίης ἀποκρήσας εἰς Ὀποιῶντα Πάτροκλον ἐτέκνωσεν. Idem σ'. 11. Ἄκτωρ Λακρὸς μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Ὀποιῶντος πόλεως, γήμιας δὲ ἐν Οἰδίῳ τῇδε Φθιάτιδι γενεᾷ Μενoitίῳ. Alius: κατὰ τινος τῶν μετ' Ὀμήρου Ἄκτωρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Μενoitίου λέγεται λαβεῖν Αἰγίναν, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ γενέσθαι Μενoitίον. Pindar. Ol. IX. 104. υἱὸν Ἄκτορος Αἰγίνας τε Μενoitίον. Actor is son of Deion in Apollod. I. 9, 4. Μενoitίης ἐξ Ὀποιῶντος Π. ψ'. 85. Μενoitίης Ἄκτορος υἱός Iliad. λ'. 785. He is still living at the action of the Iliad: Π. π'. 14.

Ζῶντα μὲν ἔτι φασὶ Μενoitίον Ἄκτορος υἱόν.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Odys. λ'. 326. Κλυμένη Μινύου—γαμνηθεῖσα Φυλάκῳ τῷ Δηϊῶνι [Apollod. I. 9, 4. 12] Ἰφικλῶν τίκτει ποδώκη παῖδα. Pausan. IV. 36, 3. Ἰφικλῶν τοῦ Πρωτεσιδάνου πατρός. Hom. Iliad. β'. 705. —Ποδάρεξ Ἰφικλῶν υἱὸς πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο, Αἰτωκασίγητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιδάνου. Schol. Iliad. β'. 695. εἰς τῶν Αἰολιδῶν ὁ Δηϊόν, ὃς Φύλακος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Φυλάκη ὃς Ποίας, ὃς Πρωτεσιδάνος καὶ Ἰφικλῶς. I. ὃς Ποίας καὶ Ἰφικλῶς, ὃς Πρωτεσιδάνος. Eustath. p. 323. εἰς τῶν Αἰολιδῶν Φύλακος τίτας πάλιν Φυλάκῳ ἀνέμασεν ὃς Ἰφικλῶς, ὃς Φύλακος, ὃς Ποίας καὶ Ἰφικλῶς, ὃν Ποίαντες μὲν καὶ Μεθόνες Φυλακτῆτες, Ἰφικλῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀστυνόχης Πρωτεσιδάνος καὶ Ποδάρεξ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ζητητέον ποῦτος ἦν ὁ ποδώκεστατος Ἰφικλῶς, περὶ ὃ δηλῶν Ἡσιόδος κ. τ. λ. Conf. Schol. Apollon. I. 45. Apollod. I. 9, 12. παῖς Ἰφικλῶν Ποδάρεξ ἐγένετο. Eustathius is interpolated: read εἰς τῶν Αἰολιδῶν Φύλακος—ἀνέμασεν ὃς Ποίας καὶ Ἰφικλῶς ὃν, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. Iliad. ε'. 330. Κίρκαλος ὁ Δηϊόνος Ἀθηναῖος ὢν [conf. Apollod. II. 4, 7. III. 15, 1] φασὶ τὴν Κεφαλῶντιαν [conf. Strab. X.

p. 461]. Idem β'. 173. Λαέρτου τοῦ Ἀρκείσιον τοῦ Κιλέως τοῦ Κεφαλῶν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Idem β'. 631. Κεφαλῶς ὁ Δηϊόνος—ἐκ τούτου Κίλλεος ὃς Ἀρκείσιος, ὃς Λαέρτης. Eustath. p. 307, 3. Κεφαλῶν Κηλέως, Ἀρκείσιος, ὃς Λαέρτης.

<sup>e</sup> Cretheus and his sons, Æson, Pheres, and Amythaon, as named by Homer Odys. λ'. 258.

<sup>f</sup> The descendants of Melampus were a family of prophets. Hence Hesiod apud Nic. Damasc. p. 239.

ἀλλήν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδῃσι, νοῦν δ' Ἀμυθωνίδασι, πλοῦτον δὲ περ Ἀτρεΐδῃσι.

<sup>g</sup> Hom. Odys. σ'. 242. Μελάμπους—γένεατο δ' Ἀντιφάτῃ καὶ Μάντιῳ, υἱὲ κραταιῶ· Ἀντιφάτης μὲν ἔτικτεν Ὀϊκλήα μεγαθύμον· αὐτὰρ Ὀϊκλήης λαοσσόν Ἀμφιάρῃον·

τοῦ δ' υἱεὺς ἐγένοντο· Ἀλκαίῳ Ἀμφίλοχος τε· Μάντιος αὖ τέκετο Πολυφειδέα τε Κλυτὸν τε·

αὐτὰρ ἐπέρθυμον Πολυφειδέα μάντιν Ἀπόλλων θῆκε βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ θάνεν Ἀμφιάρῃος·

τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' υἱὸς ἐπῆλθε Θεοκλῆμενος δ' ὄνομα ἦεν.

Pausanias VI. 17, 4. makes Oicles the son of Mantius. Siebel. ad locum.

<sup>h</sup> Schol. Apollon. I. 139. Χαμαιλέων φησὶ τὸν Θέστορα Ἰδμονα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις καλεῖσθαι διὰ ἐμπειρίαν—ὃ δὲ Ἰδμων, ὃς Ἰστορεῖ Φερειῶν, παῖς ἦν Ἀστερίας τῆς Κοράνου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος. οὗ καὶ Λαοδόης Θέστορ· τοῦ δὲ Κάλχας.—οὗτος δὲ [sc. v. 142] Ἀβαντος φησὶ νομισθῆναι τὸν Ἰδμονα, συμμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡρόδωρος. Idem ad 143. Ἀβαντὸς δὲ Μελάμπος ἦν τοῦ Ἀμυθῶνος τοῦ Κρηθέως τοῦ Αἰόλου.





1. *Deucalion* is placed 365 years before the fall of Troy by the Parian Marble<sup>q</sup>, and 358 years before it by Eusebius<sup>r</sup>. But as by the genealogies, which were their sole authorities, *Deucalion* is only in the eighth generation before the Trojan war<sup>s</sup>, this period is too long by at least a century; and we may reckon not more than 250 years from *Deucalion* to the fall of Troy. He is the son of *Prometheus*<sup>t</sup>. But *Prometheus* is the brother of *Atlas*<sup>v</sup>, and *Atlas* reigned in Arcadia<sup>w</sup>. *Prometheus* himself was seated in Peloponnesus<sup>x</sup>. The followers of

"Ακτορος δὲ Κτεάτος καὶ Εὐρυτος" ὃν Κτεάτου μὲν Ἀμφίμαχος Εὐρύτου δὲ Θάλαπιος. Apollod. II. 5, 5. ἦν Ἀδγίας βασιλεὺς Ἡλίδος παῖς Ἡλίου, ὡς δὲ τινες, Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ ἔτιοι, Φέρβαντες. Idem II. 7, 2. Εὐρυτον καὶ Κτεάτου—παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν Μολιῶνης καὶ Ἀκτορος, ἐλέγαντο δὲ Ποσειδῶνος. Ἀκτωρ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ἀδγέου. *Epeus* is here the ancestor of *Amarynceus*. In Pausan. V. 1. *Amarynceus* comes from Thessaly, and *Epeus* is the father of *Hyrminē*, who is the mother of *Actor*: "Ἀκτωρ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ γένος ἦν ἐπιχέρων—"Ἀκτωρ γὰρ πατὴρ μὲν Φέρβαντος ἦν τοῦ Λαπίθου μητρὸς δὲ Τρμίνης τῆς Ἐπειῶ. In another account *Epeus* is the son of *Eleus*: Etym. v. Ἡλίδ. Schol. II. λ'. 688. Ἡλείος παῖς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Εὐρυπόλης τῆς Ἐδυμίωνος. Ἡλείου δὲ Ἀλεξίς καὶ Ἐπειὸς βασιλεὺς ἄφ' οὗ Ἐπειὸς οἱ Ἡλείοι, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πέπλῳ. From these traditions we may collect that the *Epei*, *Ætoli*, and *Elei*, tribes represented under the persons of *Epeus*, *Ætolus*, and *Eleus*, first appeared in the west of Peloponnesus about four generations before the Trojan war: that the *Ætoli* passed into *Ætolia*, from whence a part of them returned with *Oxylus* eighty years after the fall of Troy to their original seats in the west of Peloponnesus. To these tribes the Homeric heroes *Augeas*, *Actor*, *Amarynceus*, *Porthæus* or *Porthaon*, and their posterity, belonged. The descendants of *Polyxenus* are in Pausan. V. 3, 4. Πολυξένῳ δὲ ἀνασωθέντι ἐκ Τροίας γένετο υἱὸς Ἀμφίμαχος—"Ἀμφίμαχου δὲ Ἡλείος. καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλείου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἡλίδι τρικοῦντα ὁ Δαρύειος στόλος.

<sup>p</sup> Apollod. I. 7, 7. Αἰτωλοῦ—Πλευρῶν καὶ Καλυδῶν ἐγένετο.—Πλευρῶν μὲν ὃν γῆμας Ξανθόπην τὴν Δώρου παῖδα ἐγέννησεν Ἀγρήνωρ—Ἀγρήνωρ δὲ ὁ Πλευρῶνος—ἐγέννησεν Πορθῶνα—Πορθῶνος δὲ—ἐγένοντο παῖδες Οἰνείας, Ἀγρῖος, Ἀλκάδης, Μίλας, Λευκοπέης. Idem I. 8, 4. ἐγενήθη δὲ Οἰνεί Τυδεΐς. *Diomedes* apud Pind. ζ. 115.

Πρωτὴ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμήμονες ἐξεγένοντο, φῆσιν ὃ ἐν Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰτειῇ Καλυδῶνι, Ἀγρῖος ἦδὲ Μίλας, τρίτατος ὃ ἦν ἱππότεα Οἰνείας, πατὴρ ἑμῶ πατὴρ—

<sup>q</sup> No. 2. 25.

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. Chron. II. annis 477. 835.

<sup>s</sup> Proclus ad Hesiod. Opp. 85. ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ τετάρτου γένους τοῦ ἡρώεω Δευκαλίον, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ κατακλυσμὸς, γαμει Πύρραν τὴν Πανδώρας καὶ Ἐπιμηθέως. Idem ad 156. μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν γένος παρήλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον ἱερὸν, τὸ τῶν ἡμιθέων, ἀρίστα ἕως τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐπὶ

ἑπτὰ ἡ καὶ ὀκτὼ γενεάς. He adds the descent of *Eumelus* through *Cretheus*, and of *Glaucus* through *Sisyphus*. In the twenty descents through *Æolus*, exhibited in the Table at p. 40, 41, there are nine of eight generations, six of seven, two of nine, two of ten, and one of eleven. In the descents through *Amphictyon*, one has eight generations and the other seven. In the line of *Dorus* there are also eight generations. Proclus, then, is justified in limiting the period to seven or eight generations. The mean between seven complete, or 233 years, and eight complete, or 266 years, will place *Deucalion* 250 years before the fall of Troy.

<sup>t</sup> Of *Prometheus* and *Clymenē* according to Dionysius and Schol. Pindar. Ol. IX. 72. Προμηθεὺς καὶ Κλυμένης ὁ Δευκαλίον. but of *Prometheus* and *Pandora* according to Hesiod: Schol. Apollon. III. 1086. ὅτι Προμηθεὺς καὶ Πανδώρας υἱὸς Δευκαλίον Ἡσίοδος ἐν πρώτῳ καταλόγῳ φησί. Apollod. I. 7, 2. Προμηθεὺς παῖς Δευκαλίον ἐγένετο. οὗτος βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ τὴν Φθίαν τόπων γαμει Πύρραν τὴν Ἐπιμηθέως καὶ Πανδώρας. Hesiod Theog. 507—511. makes *Clymenē* the mother of *Prometheus*. Schol. Apollon. III. 1085. 1086. ὅτι Προμηθεὺς υἱὸς Δευκαλίον ἐβασίλευσε Θεσσαλίας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς Δευκαλιωνίας φησί. καὶ ὅτι δώδεκα θεῶν βωμοὺς ὁ Δευκαλίον ἰδρύσατο, Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησί συγγραμμάτι. Strabo IX. p. 443. makes *Pandora* the mother of *Deucalion*: ἔτιοι, διελόντες (τὴν Θετταλίαν) δίχρα, τὴν μὲν πρὸς νότον λαχεῖν φασὶ Δευκαλίῳ, καὶ καλέσαι Πανδώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς.

<sup>v</sup> Hesiod. Theogon. 507—511.

κούρη δ' Ἰαπετὸς καλλίσφυρον Ὀκεανίην ἡγάγετο Κλυμένην καὶ ὁμὸν λίκος εἰσατέβαινε· ἡ δὲ οἱ Ἀτλαντα κρατερόφρονα γένετο παῖδα· τίκτε δ' ὑπερκύβαντα Μενότιον ἦδὲ Προμηθέα ποικίλον, αἰολόμητιν· ἀμαρτίνου τ' Ἐπιμηθέα.

<sup>w</sup> See above p. 22. h.

<sup>x</sup> Hesiod. Theogon. 535.

καὶ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι Μηκῶν κ. τ. λ.

Schol. ad loc. Μηκῶν ἡ ποτὲ Σικυὼν λεγομένη. Strabo VIII. p. 382. τὴν δὲ Σικυῶνα πρότερον Μηκῶνιν ἐκάλεον, ὅτι δὲ πρότερον Αἰγιαλοῦς. Schol. Pindar. Nem. IX. 123. οἰκίαις ἱερὰν τὴν Σικυῶνα [sc. v. 127] προσηγάρυσεν· ἡ γὰρ Μηκῶν ἐστ' αὐτῆς ἔστιν, ἐφ' ἧς οἱ θεοὶ διεβάσαντο τὰς τιμὰς. Ἡσίοδος· "καὶ γὰρ"—κ. τ. λ.

*Deucalion* were *Curetes* and *Leleges*<sup>y</sup>. It seems, then, that *Deucalion*, the reputed founder of the *Hellenes*, may himself be traced to a Pelasgic original.

His kingdom is placed in Thessaly<sup>z</sup>. According to the Parian Marble<sup>a</sup> his seat was at Lycorea in Phocis. Pindar<sup>b</sup> makes Opus his first habitation after the flood: others seated him at Cynus<sup>c</sup>. The flood of *Deucalion* is placed by Aristotle<sup>d</sup> near Dodona. It was generally, however, placed in Thessaly<sup>e</sup>; near mount Othrys by Hellanicus<sup>f</sup>. According to some, it extended to Attica<sup>g</sup>; according to other accounts it reached the neighbourhood of Delphi<sup>h</sup>. It was limited, however, to Thessaly and the adjoining districts, or at least to Northern Greece, by the early accounts. It seems to have been gradually invested with the circumstances of the general deluge<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> See above p. 16.

<sup>z</sup> See note t. Schol. Apollon. IV. 266. οἱ ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος τὸ γένος ἔχοντες ἐβασίλευον Θεσσαλίας, ὡς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἡσίοδος. Strabo IX. p. 432. ἱστορεῖται δὲ Δευκαλίῳ τῆς Φθιώτιδος ἄρξαι καὶ ἀπλῶς τῆς Θετταλίας. Proclus in Timæum Platon. Θετταλίας ἄχρι τούτων ἡ ἀρχαιότης.

<sup>a</sup> Mar. Par. No. 2. ἀφ' οὗ Δευκαλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ἐν Λυκαρείᾳ ἐβασίλευσε . . σιλε . . ντες Ἀθηνῶν Κέκροπος, ἔτη ΧΗΗΗΔ. The flood was forty-five years later: No. 4. That he was supposed to hold authority in Lycorea may be collected from Plutarch Qu. Gr. p. 292. D. who records that at Delphi πέντε εἰσὶν ὅσοι διὰ βίου, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δρῶσιν οὗτοι καὶ συνευρυνγοῦσιν, οἱ γεγονέναι δοκοῦντες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος.

<sup>b</sup> Pindar. Ol. IX. 64=44.

—φέροις δὲ Πρωτογενείας  
ἄσπει γλῶσσαν, ἦν' ἀιολοβρόντα Διὸς αἴσα  
Πύρρα Δευκαλίῳ τε Παρνασσὸν καταβάντε  
δόμον ἔθεντο πρῶτον.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. Pindar. Ol. IX. 64. ἡ δὲ Πύρρα καὶ Δευκαλίῳ ἐκ τοῦ Παρνασσὸν ἐλθόντες ἐν τῇ λάρνακι πρῶτον ἔκησαν ἐν τῇ Ὀπουντί πλησίον Παρνασσῷ. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἐν Ὀπουντί φασιν Δευκαλίῳ καὶ Πύρρᾳ οἰκῆσαι· ὁ γὰρ Ἀπολλοδώρος οὕτω γράφει· “οἰκῆσαι δὲ ἐν Κύνῳ τὸν Δευκαλίῳ λέγεται καὶ τὴν Πύρραν, καὶ τὴν Πρωτογενείαν· ἐκεῖ τετράφθαι φασίν.” ἱστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλλάνικος—ὁ δὲ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ τὴν λάρνακα οὐ τῇ Παρνασσῷ φησι προσενηχθῆναι ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Ὀθρυν τῆς Θεσσαλίας. Cynus, however, was not far from Opus: Strabo IX. p. 425. Κύνος ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον—μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀπουντος καὶ Κύνου πεδῖον εὐδαιμον—ἐν δὲ τῇ Κύνῳ Δευκαλίῳ φασιν ἐκῆσθαι [conf. Schol. Theocr. XV. 141]. καὶ τῆς Πύρρας αὐτόθι δεικνύμενος σῆμα, τοῦ δὲ Δευκαλίωνος Ἀθήνῃσι.

<sup>d</sup> See above p. 20. r.

<sup>e</sup> Apollod. I. 7. 2. τὰ κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν ὄρη διέστη καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἱσθμοῦ καὶ Πελοποννήσου συνεχύθη πάντα. Δευκαλίῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ λάρνακι—τῇ Παρνασσῷ προσίσχῃ. He escapes to Lycorea in Lucian. Timon. c. 3. tom. I. p. 73. μόγις ἐν τι κιβάτιον περιωθῆναι προσοκέϊλαν τῇ Λυκαρείᾳ. In the Parian Marble No. 4. ἔφυγεν ἐκ Λυκαρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας.

<sup>f</sup> See above, note c.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. I. 40, 1. Μέγαρον—ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίῳ ποτὶ ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας. In I. 18, 7., describing the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at Athens, he adds: λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίῳ συμβᾶσαν ἵππου ἦναι ταύτῃ τὸ ἔδαρ κ. τ. λ.—τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίῳ οἰκεδομῆσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερὸν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίῳ Ἀθήνῃσι ἔκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολλὸ ἀφεστηκότα. The Parian Marble No. 4. notices a temple at Athens: ἀφ' οὗ κατακλισμὸς ἐπὶ Δευκαλίῳ ἐγένετο καὶ Δευκαλίῳ—τοῦ Διὸς . . υ'Ο. . . . . μ. οὐ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰδ. . . . . ο . . . τὰ στήθια ἔθυσεν, . τη ΧΗΗ [Δ] ΔΠ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Κρ. ν. οὔ.

<sup>h</sup> Pausan. X. 6, 1. πόλιν δὲ ἀρχαιοτάτην οἰκισθῆναι φασιν ἐνταῦθα [at Delphi] ὑπὸ Παρνασσῷ, Κλειδώρας δὲ εἶναι ἡμίφης παῖδα αὐτόν—ταύτην μὲν οὖν κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων τῶν κατὰ Δευκαλίῳ συμβάντων· τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν τὸν χειμῶνα ἠδυνήθησαν λίκων ὠρυγαῖς ἀπεσώθησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνασσῷ τὰ ἄκρα—πόλιν δὲ ἣν ἐκτίσαν ἐκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Λυκαρείαν. We have here a different tradition from that which represented *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* as the only persons who escaped.

<sup>i</sup> These circumstances were partly at least added after the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Hellanicus, however, mentioned an ark. Lycophron 79. describes a general deluge extending over the Troad,

ὅτ' ἡμάθουε πᾶσαν ὀμβρήσας χθῆνα

Ζηνὸς καυχλάζων νασμὸς—

which Tzetzes ad loc. understands of the flood of *Deucalion*; although Lycophron does not name *Deucalion*. Plutarch Solert. Anim. p. 968. F. mentions the dove: οἱ μὲν οὖν μυθολόγοι τῇ Δευκαλίῳ φασιν περιστέραν ἐκ τῆς λάρνακος ἀφιερμένην δήλωμα γενέσθαι χειμῶνος μὲν, εἰσὼ πάλιν ἐνδομένην, εὐδίας δὲ, ἀποπτᾶσαν. Lucian de Dea Syria tom. IX. p. 93. describes a temple in Syria, which was founded by *Deucalion* the *Scythian*: τοῦτον Δευκαλίῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸ πολλὸν ἔδαρ ἐγένετο. Δευκαλίῳ δὲ περὶ λόγον ἐν Ἑλλήσιν ἤκουσα τὸν Ἑλληνας ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγουσι. ὁ δὲ μῦθος ὧδε ἔχει. ἦδε ἡ γενεὴ, οἱ νῦν ἀνθρώποι, οὐ πρῶτον ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ μὲν ἡ γενεὴ πάντες ὄλοντο.



2. *Hellen* and his sons are acknowledged by Hesiod<sup>k</sup>, and even by Thucydides<sup>l</sup>. Other accounts generally agree that *Hellen* was the son of *Deucalion*, that he reigned in *Phthiotis*, and that from him the Greeks were called *Hellenes*<sup>m</sup>. Some accounts made *Hellen* the son of *Prometheus*<sup>n</sup>, and his authority was extended to *Bœotia*<sup>o</sup>. *Hellen*, the founder of *Hellas* in *Thessaly*, was said by another tradition to be the son of *Phthius* and grandson of *Achæus*<sup>p</sup>.

ἄνθρωποι δὲ γένεες τοῦ δευτέρου εἰσὶν, τὸ αἶθις ἐκ Δευκαλίωνος ἐς πληθὺν ἀπίκετο. ἐκείνων δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάδε μιν λέγονται· ἱβριστοὶ κάρτα ἔντες κ. τ. λ.—Δευκαλίῳ δὲ μῶνις ἀσπιδόω ἐλπίετο ἐς γενεὴν δευτέραν εὐβουλίας τε καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβείας εἴνεκα. ἡ δὲ οἱ σωτηρίῃ ἦδε ἐγένετο· λάρνακα μεγάλην τὴν αὐτὸς ἔχε, ἐς ταύτην ἱσθιβάσας παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐνωτῷ ἐσέβη. ἱσθιβαίνοντι δὲ οἱ ἀπίκοντο σὺν καὶ ἵππῳ καὶ λέοντων γένεα καὶ ὕφες καὶ ἄλλα ὅσῃα ἐν τῇ νέμονται, πάντα ἐς ζεύγεια· ὁ δὲ πάντα ἐδέκετο—καὶ ἐν μῶϊ λάρνακι πάντες ἔπλευσαν ἔστε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεκράτει. τὰ μὲν Δευκαλίωνος περὶ Ἑλλήνης ἱστοροῦσι. Some obscure tradition of the general deluge might have descended through the first successors of *Noah*, and might have been incorporated by the Greeks with their own local traditions concerning *Deucalion*; but the circumstances in *Plutarch* and *Lucian* were derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, which were known to the Greeks from the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

<sup>k</sup> Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 284. Δωριεὺς στρατὸς· ὁ Ἑλληνικός, ἀπὸ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος παιδός· ὡς φησὶν Ἡσιόδος ἐν τῇ Ἡρωικῇ γενεαλογίᾳ·

Ἑλλήνος δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλιν βασιλῆες  
Δῶρος τε Εὐθόης τε καὶ Αἰόλος ἵππιόχαρμος,  
Αἰολίδαι δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστοπόλιν βασιλῆες  
Κρηθεὺς ἢ δ' Ἀθάμας καὶ Σίσυφος αἰολομήτης,  
Σαλμάντις τ' ὀδίκος καὶ ἑτέρθυμος Περιήρης.

The two first lines are preserved by *Plutarch Sympos. IX. 15. p. 747. F.* who has θεμιστοπόλιν βασιλῆες. The three last in *Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 253.* καὶ Ἡσιόδος "Αἰολίδαι—Περιήρης." The second in *Schol. Thucyd. I. 3.*

<sup>l</sup> *Thucyd. I. 3.* πρὸ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάντοις εἶναι ἡ ἐπικλήσις αὐτῇ, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πειλασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπὸ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρίχουσιν· Ἑλλήνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἰσχυράτων, καὶ ἐπαργμένων αὐτοὺς ἐκ' ὀφελείᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἦδη τῇ ἡμιλίᾳ μῶδιον καλεῖσθαι Ἑλλήνας.

<sup>m</sup> *Strabo VIII. p. 383.* φασὶ Δευκαλίωνος μὲν Ἑλλήνας ἵσθαι· τοῖτον δὲ περὶ τὴν Φθίαν τῶν μεταξὺ Πηνειοῦ καὶ Ἀσπιδόω ὑπασταίνοντα τῇ προσβυτάτῃ τῶν παίδων παραδόναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἔξω διατεμέναι ζητήσοντας ἱερῶν ἵκαστον αὐτῶν· ὃν Δῶρος μὲν τοῖς περὶ Παρνασσὸν Δωριέας συνικτίσας κατέλιπεν ἐπὶ νέμους αὐτοῦ, Εὐθόης δὲ τὴν Ἐρεχθίδος θυγατέρα γήμας ἔθηκε τὴν τετράπολιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς. *Conon Narr. 27.* apud Phot. cod. 186. p. 437. τὰ περὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅς ἐβασίλευε τῆς Φθιώτιδος, καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατακλισμῶ· καὶ περὶ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἔναι

τοῦ Διὸς παῖδα εἶναι φασιν, ὃς καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν τελευτήσαντος Δευκαλίωνος, καὶ τίκτει παῖδας τρεῖς· ὃν Αἰόλον μὲν τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεῦεν ἐδικαίωσεν ἥς ἦρχε γῆς, Ἀσπιδόω καὶ Ἐνπιεῖ δυοὶ ποταμοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν διορισάμενος, ἐξ οὗ τὸ Αἰολικὸν κατὰγεται γένος· Δῶρος δ' ὁ δευτέρος μοῖραν τοῦ λαοῦ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίζεται, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Παρνασσὸν τὸ ὄρος κτίζει πόλεις Βοιόν, Κυτίνιον, Ἐρθεον, ἐξ οὗ Δωριεῖς· ὁ δὲ νεώτατος Ἀθίναζε ἀφικόμενος κτίζει τετράπολιν καλουμένην τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ γαμεῖ Κρέουσσαν τὴν Ἐρεχθίδος. *Mar. Par. No. 6.* ἀπὸ οὗ Ἑλλήν ὁ Δευκ. .... ὠτίδος ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Ἑλλήνης . . ὁμώσθησαν τὸ πρότερον Γραικοὶ καλούμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Παν. .... ΧΗΗ [Δ] Π Ι Ι βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτιόνος. Placed in the *Marble* fifty-three years after the reign of *Deucalion*: see No. 2. But as *Deucalion* was a century too high with reference to the Trojan war, *Hellen* is placed too high. For the name Γραικοὶ see above p. 20. r. *Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 312.* has very properly rejected Παναθήναια, which former editors had inserted, and has supplied the lacuna in the *Marble* with Πανελλήνια. The *Panhellenia* celebrated by *Æacus* are in *Pausan. I. 44, 13.* θύσαντος Αἰακῶ κατὰ τὴν δὴ λόγιον τῇ Πανελληνίᾳ· Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. *Conf. II. 30, 3. 4.* *Jupiter Hellenius* was acknowledged at *Sparta* by the direction of the Delphian oracle to *Lycurgus*: *Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 6.* Διὸς Ἑλλανίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἑλλανίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον κ. τ. λ. To the testimonies concerning *Hellen* we may add the following. His tomb was shewn at *Melitæa*: *Strabo IX. p. 432.* τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τάφον τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος υἱοῦ καὶ Πύρρας. *Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 8, 4. p. 730. D.* οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ παλαίου καὶ πατρογενεῖα Περσείδων θύουσιν. *Palæphat. p. 150.* Ἑλλήνης ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνος, καὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἴωνος. *Clem. Al. Strom. VI. p. 679. A.* ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Διὸς [conf. *Conon. l. c.* *Schol. Odyss. v. 2.*] τοῦ κατ' ἐπικλήσιν Δευκαλίωνος τὰς Ἑλληνικάς συνέβη κεκληθῆσαι διαλέκτους.

<sup>n</sup> *Schol. Apollon. III. 1086. cod. Par.* Ἡσιόδος διηγῆται ἐν τῷ α' τῶν καταλόγων—ὅτι Προμηθεὺς ἡ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ Πύρρας Ἑλλήν, ἐξ οὗ οἱ Ἑλλήνης ὀνομάσθησαν καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς.

<sup>o</sup> *Schol. Hom. II. β'. 494. et Eustath. p. 262, 35.* Ἑλλήν ὁ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Βαιωτίᾳ ἔκτισεν.

<sup>p</sup> *Steph. Byz.* Ἑλλὰς· πόλις Θεσσαλίας.—ἐκτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνος, οὗ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Φθίου καὶ Χρυσίπτης τῆς Ἰμερ· ὁ δὲ Φθίος ἦν Ἀχαιοῦ. See above p. 18.

This *Achæus* we have already seen<sup>q</sup> was the son of *Larissa* and the grandson of *Pelasgus* in the tenth generation before the war of Troy. This genealogy accordingly derives *Hellen*, the founder of *Hellas*, from a Pelasgic origin. But, as *Hellen* the son of *Deucalion* or *Jupiter* or *Prometheus* is only known to us as a king of *Phthiotis*, we may conclude that under *Hellen* the son of *Phthius* the same person is described. The name of *Hellen* may in both cases express the Hellenic chief who, about seven generations before the Trojan war, founded an Hellenic state in *Phthiotis*. From this beginning the influence of the *Hellenes* was gradually extended till their name became general for the Grecian people. When the name *Hellenes* became general for the whole nation is not clear. In the *Iliad* this name is only given to the town in *Phthiotis*<sup>r</sup>. But in the *Odyssey* the term is used in a wider sense<sup>s</sup>. Apollodorus remarks that Hesiod and Archilochus used this designation for the Greeks generally<sup>t</sup>. The term Hellenic, then, was gradually extended in its application, and came to be applied to the whole Greek nation some time after the Trojan war and before the time of Hesiod<sup>v</sup>.

3. *Æolus*, after the death of *Hellen*, reigned in *Phthiotis*<sup>w</sup>. Five of his sons are named by Hesiod<sup>x</sup>; seven sons and five daughters by Apollodorus. Others gave him ten sons, one of whom was *Macedon*<sup>y</sup>. From these children of *Æolus* were descended the chief families in every part of Greece. Some of the descendants of *Deion* were seated in

<sup>q</sup> See p. 16.

<sup>r</sup> That is, if we allow with some anc't critics the line *Iliad*. β'. 530. to be spurious: ἔτι—'Ἕλληνας οὐδέποτε εἶρκεν ἀλλ' Ἀργείους ἢ Δαναούς' καὶ οὐδὲ Ἑλλάδα τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ μίαν πόλιν Θεσσαλίας. That verse appears not to have been in the copy of Thucydides: conf. *Thuc.* I. 3.

<sup>s</sup> *Odys.* δ'. 726. 816. —τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἀργυυ. ε'. 80. Εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τρεφθῆναι ἀν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἀργυυ. The Scholiast in the remark at δ'. 726. περιττὸς ὁ στίχος—οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ Ὅμηρος τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἑλλάδα. and at ε'. 80. ἀποπῶς τὸ "ἀν' Ἑλλάδα." κοινὴν [I. cum Porsono μόνην] γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλεῖ Ἑλλάδα καλεῖ Ὅμηρος—felt that in these lines more was implied than the little state near Phthia.

<sup>t</sup> Strabo VIII. 370. Ἀπολλόδορος μόνους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ καλεῖσθαι φησιν Ἕλληνας [sc. in Homer]. "Μυρμιδόνες δ' ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες" [II. β'. 684]. "Ἡσίοδον μέντοι καὶ Ἀρχίλοχον ἥδη εἰδέναι καὶ Ἕλληνας λεγομένους τοὺς σύμπαντας καὶ Πανέλληνας" τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν Πρωϊτῶν λέγοντα ὡς Πανέλληνας ἐμνήστευον αὐτὰς τὸν δὲ ὡς Πανελλήνων ὄντως ἐς Θάσον συνέδραμεν. Hesiod also in the extant poem *Opp.* 526. βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαίνεται.

<sup>v</sup> Mr. Muller *Dor.* vol. I. p. 511. quoting Hesiod. *Opp.* 526. observes that the genealogy of the chief races of the Greeks (given above from Hesiod apud Tzetz.) "could not have been "made before the name *Hellenes* was applied to "the whole nation;" and that "it is first thus "used in the *Works* and *Days* of Hesiod, before "which time therefore the above genealogy can-

"not have been formed." This observation contains two propositions, to which we cannot agree. In the first place we cannot admit that, because the genealogy was invented to express the affinity of the races, this invention was delayed till the name *Hellenes* had become general. If that affinity was a real affinity, which many circumstances concur to prove, that expression of it might have been produced at any time after the Ionians, Achæans, Dorians, and Æolians, had appeared. In the next place, because the extended use of the name *Hellenes* first occurs in the *Works* of Hesiod, it by no means follows that the genealogy was not formed before that poem was composed: for we only know from Hesiod that the term did not come into use later than his time. How long before him it had been in use we have no means of knowing. But there is no reason for assuming that the name *Hellenes* for the Greek nation began to be general precisely at the time when Hesiod composed his poem, and not before.

<sup>w</sup> See above p. 44. m. Apollod. I. 7, 3. Αἰὼλος βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τόπων τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Αἰολεῖς προσηγόρευσε. According to Pindar *Pyth.* IV. 185—195. *Iolcos* was a part of his territory: τὰν ποτε Ζεὺς ὄπασεν λαγέτα Αἰὼλῳ καὶ παῖσι τιμάν. and the right descended from *Æolus* through *Cretheus* to *Æson* the father of *Jason*. conf. Schol. ad loc.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 44. k.

<sup>y</sup> Eustathius quoted above p. 21. g. Constantinus Porphyrog. *Them.* 2. 2. p. 84. ed. Meurs. quoted by Sturz. *Hellanic.* p. 79. Μακεδονία ἡ χώρα ἀνα-



Thessaly<sup>z</sup>; *Cephalus* occupied Cephalenia<sup>a</sup>; *Perieres* son of *Æolus* possessed Mesenia<sup>b</sup>; *Magnes*, Magnesia<sup>c</sup>. The descendants of *Sisyphus* reigned at Corinth<sup>d</sup>. From *Sisyphus* and *Athamas* were sprung the kings of Orchomenus<sup>e</sup>. *Salmoneus* occupied

μάσθη—ἀπὸ Μακεδόνης τοῦ Αἰόλου, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱερῶν  
πρώτη τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ. “καὶ Μακεδόνης Αἰόλου, εὐ τανῶν

“Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μόνον μετὰ Μουσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες.”  
The children of *Æolus* are thus delivered:

1. *Cretheus*: Hesiod. Homer. Apollod.
2. *Sisyphus*: Hesiod. Homer. Apollod.
3. *Athamas*: Hesiod. Apollod.
4. *Salmoneus*: Hesiod. Homer. Apollod.
5. *Deion*: Apollod.
6. *Magnes*: Apollod.
7. *Perieres*: Hesiod. Apollod.
8. *Cercaphus*: Demetr. Scepsius.
9. *Macedon*: Hellanic.
10. *Mimas*: Diod. IV. 67.

Daughters:

1. *Canacē*.
2. *Alcyonē*. } Apollod.

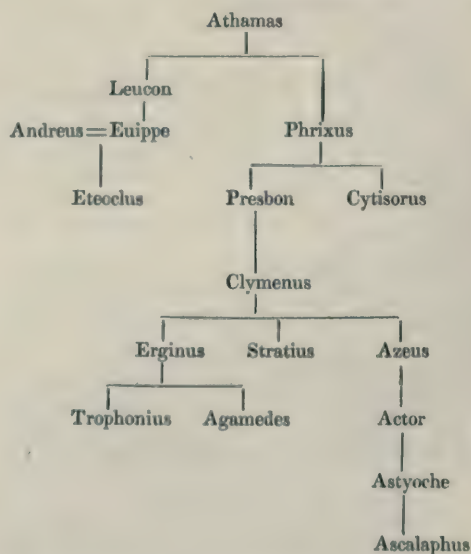
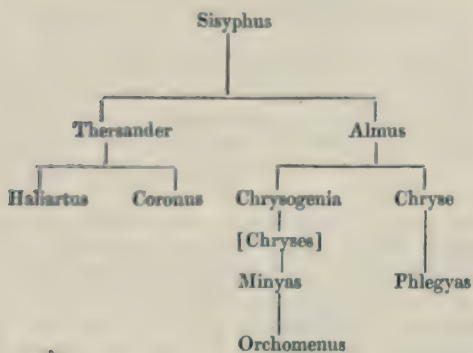
3. *Pisidicē*.
4. *Calycē*.
5. *Perimedē*. } Apollod.
6. *Tanagra*: Pausan. IX. 20, 2.
7. *Tritogenia*: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 120.

<sup>z</sup> See above p. 40. b. c.    <sup>a</sup> p. 40. d.

<sup>b</sup> See above p. 32. d.    <sup>c</sup> See above p. 41. l.

<sup>d</sup> p. 40. j.

<sup>e</sup> The kings of Orchomenus, as described by Pausanias IX. 34—37., originate in *Andreas* a Thessalian, *Athamas* son of *Æolus*, and *Almus* son of *Sisyphus*:



Pausan. IX. 34, 5. Ἀνδρία πρώτην ἐνταῦθα Πηρείου παῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν γῆν Ἀδρηίδα νομισσθῆναι. παραγινόμενοι δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν Ἀθάμαντος, ἀνέμεινε τῆς αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀθάμαντι τὴν τε περὶ τὸ Λαφρίτιον χώραν καὶ τὴν ἐν Κορώνειαν καὶ Ἀλιάρτιαν. Ἀθάμας δὲ—ἐπέησαστο Ἀλιάρτην καὶ Κορώνην τοὺς Θερσάδων τοῦ Σισύφου [conf. X. 30], Σισύφου γὰρ ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Ἀθάμας. ἑσπερον δὲ ἀναστρέψαντος ἐκ Κόλωνα εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς Φρίξον φασὶν εἰ δὲ Πρίσβοντος—οὕτω συγχωρεῖσιν εἰ Θερσάδων παῖδες οἴκον μὲν τὸν Ἀθάμαντος Ἀθάμαντι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ ἐκείνου προσήκον, αὐτοὶ δὲ (μῆτραι γὰρ διδασί οἶσιν Ἀθάμας τῆς γῆς) Ἀλιάρτην καὶ Κορώνειαν ἐχόντες οἰκισταί. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τούτων Ἀδρηῖς Ἐλπίτην θυγατέρα Λεῦκωνος λαμβάνει παρὰ Ἀθά-

μαντος γυναῖκα καὶ υἱὸς Ἑτεοκλῆς αὐτῇ γίγνεται, Κηφισοῦ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν φήμην, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ποιησάντων τινὲς Κηφισιάδην τὸν Ἑτεοκλέα ἐκάλεσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν. οὗτος ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Ἑτεοκλῆς τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρείως ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα εἶασι, φυλάς δὲ Κηφισιάδα τὴν δὲ ἐτίραν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο. ἀφικόμενον δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλμῳ τῷ Σισύφου δίδωσιν οἰκῆσαι τῆς χώρας εὐ πολλήν, καὶ αἱ κῶμαι τότε ἐκλήθησαν Ἀλμῶνες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλμου τούτου χρόνῳ δὲ ἐξενίκησεν ἑσπερον εἶναι τῇ κόμῃ Ὀλμανας. In this account *Andreas*, *Athamas*, *Almus*, *Haliartus*, *Coronus*, are contemporary settlers occupying different districts. The first who could be called king is *Eteoclus*.

*Eteoclus*, or *Eteocles*, first sacrificed to the

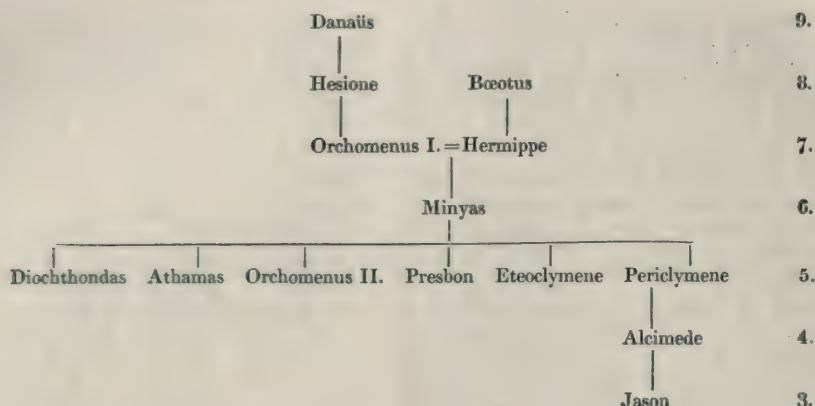
Graces : Pausan. IX. 35. Schol. Theocr. XVI. 104. Ἐτεοκλέους θυγατέρας ἔφη τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὸ Ἐτεοκλέα τὸν Κηφισοῦ πρῶτον ἀποθῆναι Χάρισιν ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ. Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIV. init. ταῦταις Ἐτεοκλὸς ὁ Κηφισοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ υἱὸς πρῶτος ἔθυσεν, ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος. διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ὁρχομενοῦ ὁ Κηφισὸς ρεῖ. Strabo IX. p. 414. Ἐτεοκλῆς, τῶν βασιλευσάντων ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ τις, Χαρίτων ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος πρῶτος ἀμφότερα ἐμφαίνει, καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν. After Eteocles follow the successive reigns of Phlegyas, Minyas, Orchomenus, Clymenus, Erginus : Pausan. IX. 36. γενόμενος Ἐτεοκλῆϊ τῆς τελευταῖας ἡ βασιλεία περιήλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἄλμου γένος. Ἄλμῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν θυγατέρες Χρυσογένεια ἐγένετο καὶ Χρῦση· Χρῦσης δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ἀρεως ἔχει φήμην γενέσθαι Φλεγυῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἐτεοκλέους ἀποθανόντος ἄπαιδος ὁ Φλεγυῶς ἔσχεν οὗτος. τῇ μὲν δὴ χώρα τῇ πάσῃ Φλεγυαντιδα ὄνομα εἶναι μετέθετο ἀντὶ Ἀνδρηίδος, πόλις δ' ἐγένετο ἥ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκισθεῖσα ἡ Ἀνδρῆς, καὶ προσέκτισεν ὁ Φλεγυῶς ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀρίστους Ἕλληνας συλλέξας ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ἀπέστησάν τε ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ὁρχομενίων ὑπὸ ἀνοίας καὶ τὸλμης ὁ Φλεγυῶς καὶ ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς προσοίκους· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν συλίσαντες στρατεύουσι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς—τὸ μὲν δὴ Φλεγυῶν γένος ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάρβαν ὁ θεὸς κ. τ. λ.—ὀλίγῳ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα διαφεύγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν. Φλεγυῶν δὲ οὗ γενομένου παῖδων ἐκδέχεται Χρῦσης τὴν ἀρχὴν Χρυσογενείας τε ὡν τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. τοῦτω δὲ υἱὸς γίνεταί Χρῦση Μινύας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μινύας καὶ νῦν ἐτι ὧν ἔρχην ἀνομάζονται. πρόσθοι δὲ ἐγίνοντο τῷ Μινύᾳ τηλικαῦται μεγέθος ὡς ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλοῦτῳ· θησαυρὸν τε ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν Μινύας πρῶτος ἐς ὑποδοχὴν χειμάτων φθοδομήσατο.—Μινύου δὲ ἦν Ὁρχομενός· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἦτε πόλις Ὁρχομενός καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκλήθησαν Ὁρχομενιοί.—ἔδει δὲ ἄρα παυσθῆναι καὶ τὸ Ἄλμου γένος· οὐχ ὑπολείπεται γὰρ παῖδα Ὁρχομενός, καὶ οὕτως ἐς Κλυμένην τὸν Πρέσβανος τοῦ Φρίξου περιήλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. Κλυμένην δὲ γίνονται παῖδες πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἐργίνοιο ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Στράτιος καὶ Ἄρρων καὶ Πύλεος, νεώτατος δὲ Ἀζεύς.

The Phlegyas were formidable to Thebes, which was fortified διὰ τὸ δεδοικέναι τοὺς Φλεγυῶς· μετὰ δὲ τελευτῇ (Ζήθου καὶ Ἀμφίωνος) Εὐρύμαχος ἡρῆμωσε τὰς Θήβας, ὡς φησι Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ Schol. Odys. x. 264. Eustath. ad Odys. x. p. 1682. 55. Ζήθου καὶ Ἀμφίωνος θανόντων, Εὐρύμαχος Φλεγυῶν βασιλεὺς—τὰς Θήβας ἡρῆμωσε· Κάδμος δὲ ὕστερον ἀνέκτισεν. conf. Schol. Odys. x. 262. Schol. Apollon. I. 735. Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζήθος οἱ καὶ τὰς Θήβας εἰείχισαν—Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν παραδίδωσι τῆς οἰκοδομῆς διότι Φλεγυῶς πύλεμον ὄντας εὐλαβοῦντο βασιλεύοντι Κάδμῳ. Schol. Iliad. v. 301. Φλεγυῶν Γόρτυνα κατοικοῦντες παραιομώτατον καὶ ληστρικὸν διήγον βίον, καὶ κατατρέχοντες τοὺς περιόικους χαλεπῶς ἠδίκουν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πλησιόχοροι ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ, εἰ μὴ Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζήθος—εἰείχισαν τὰς Θήβας—τούτων μὲν οὖν

ζώντων οὐδὲν οἱ Φλεγυῶν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἠδύναντο διαθεῖναι. θανόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντες σὺν Εὐρύμαχῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς Θήβας εἶλον· πλείονα δὲ τολμῶντες ἀδικήματα—ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος διεφθάρσαν. οὗτοι δὲ ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδει. Schol. Victor. adds ἔρημον γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν (τὰς Θήβας) μέχρι τῆς Κάδμου ἀφίξεως. ἐπὶ πλείον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν διελέκται Ἐφορος, ἀποδεικνύς ὅτι τὴν Δαυλίδα καὶ οὐ τὴν Γυρτόνα ἔκκισαν· ὅθεν καὶ παρὰ Φωκεῦσι τὸ ὑβρίζειν φλεγυῶν λέγεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ τῇ Δημοφίλῳ. The unseasonable mention of Cadmus is properly rejected by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 583. The Phlegyas are named in the first Theban war : Pausan. IX. 9, 1. τοῖς Θηβαίοις μισθοφορικὰ ἦλθε παρὰ Φωκίων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μινυάδος χώρας οἱ Φλεγυῶναι.

Minyas is made the son of Chrysogenia by Schol. Apollon. III. 1094. who omits Chryses : Σισύφου παῖδες ἐγένοντο Ἄλμος καὶ Πορφυρίων. Χρυσογόνος δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας, ὁ τὸν Ὁρχομενὸν κτίσας. Minyas by this account, like Phlegyas, is the fourth from Sisypheus. But by another account he is the son of Callirrhoe, and marries the daughter of Æolus : Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIV. 1. Ὁρχομενός ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Μινυῖος ἀπὸ Μινύου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, Καλλιρρῆς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοῦ, ἀπ' οὗ καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. Μινύοιο γὰρ οὗτοι λέγονται. ad v. 5. Μινύου τοῦ Θετταλοῦ. Μινύας δὲ ἐκ Καλλιρρῆς τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 874. Ὁρχομενός Μινυῖος οὕτως ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Μινύου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος παῖδος καὶ Καλλιρρῆς τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς· ὅπερ Μινύου καὶ Τριτογενείας τῆς Αἰόλου ὁ πλείους τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 120. οἱ πλείους τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν εἰς Μινύαν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Τριτογενείας τῆς Αἰόλου τὸ γένος ἀνήγον. This would make Minyas contemporary with Sisypheus. A different genealogy is also given in Schol. Apollon. I. 230. ὁ Ἰάσων Ἀλκιμέδης ἐστὶ τῆς Κλυμένης [Περικλυμένης Cod. Par.] τῆς Μινύου θυγατρὸς [Κλυμένη Μινύου γαμηθεῖσα Φυλάκῳ Schol. Odys. x. 326]. Στησίχορος Ἐτεοκλυμένης φησὶν· Φερεκύδης δὲ Ἀλκιμέδης τῆς Φυλάκου. Ἡσίοδος δὲ τῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ Διὸς γίνεταί Ὁρχομενός.—Ὁρχομενοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἐρμιόπης τῆς Βιωτοῦ γίνεταί Μινύας ἐπικλήσιν, φύσει δὲ Ποσειδῶνος· ὃς οἰκεῖ ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ· ἀπ' οὗ ὁ λαὸς Μινύας ἐκλήθησαν. ἐκ δὲ Μινύου καὶ Κλυτοδόρας γίνεταί Πρέσβαν καὶ Περικλυμένη καὶ Ἐτεοκλυμένη. ἐκ δὲ Φανασύρας τῆς Παίονος καὶ Μινύου πάλιν Ὁρχομενός καὶ Διοχθῶνδας καὶ Ἀθάμαν· ὁ δὲ Σκηψίος Δημήτριος φησὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰωλκὸν οἰκῶντας Μινύας προσαγορεύεσθαι. Idem I. 763. τὴν Ἰωλκὸν Μινύας ἔκκον, ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης ἐν συμμίκτοις. δύναται δὲ καὶ (Φρίξος Μινυῖος) ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὁρχομενός· πολλοὶ γὰρ φασιν ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ οἰκῆσαι τὸν Ἀθάμαντα. Idem III. 265. Ἑλλάνικος φησὶ τὸν Ἀθάμαντα Ὁρχομενὸν ἔκκεναι. The genealogy is this :





There was a Thessalian Orchomenus: Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 272. ἔστι δὲ Θεσσαλικὸς Ὀρχομενός· αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτοῦ σώζεται μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἡ κλήσις. καὶ Μακεδονικὸν δὲ φασιν εἶναι Ὀρχομενὸν, καὶ Καρύστιον· ὁ Βωϊστίας δὲ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομένῳ ἐπωνόμασται. Schol. Apollon. II. 1186. Φθίην πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο· οἱ μὲν τὴν Φθίαν Ὀρχομενοῦ πόλιν φασιν εἰρῆσθαι, παρόσον εἰ Ὀρχομενοῖο ἀποικίαι εἰσι Θεσσαλῶν. δύναται δὲ καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ μετημενέειν τοῦ μεθορίου Μακεδονίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας. ἔστι γὰρ Ὀρχομενὸς καὶ ἄρος καὶ πόλις Θεσσαλίας, καὶ Βωιωτίας, καὶ Ἀρκαδίας, καὶ Πόντου [founded by Ialmenus after the Trojan war: Eustath. ad Dionys. 683. ad Iliad. p. 272. Strabo IX. p. 416]. Sturz. ad Pherecyd. p. 226. suspects that the Thessalian Orchomenus may be referred to in this genealogy. Both genealogies are mentioned Schol. Pindar. Isthm. I. 79. Ὀρχομενὸς Μινύειος—τοῦτον τὸν Μινύαν εἰ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογεῖσιν, ὡς Φερεκύδης, ἔνιοι δὲ ἐμπαλὺν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύου, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐτεοκλέους γενεαλογεῖσι. Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει. Ἀριστοδμήτος δὲ Ἄλκεο τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεῦθεν γράφει προσηγορεῖσθαι. Sons of Orchomenus are mentioned Steph. Byz. Ἀσπληδόν. Ὀρχομενοῦ δὲ υἱεῖς·

Ἀσπληδὼν Κλέμενός τε καὶ Ἀμφίδοκος θεοειδής. Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 272. ἡ Ἀσπληδὼν ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Ἀσπληδόνος υἱοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἢ Πρίσβυνος, ἢ Ὀρχομενοῦ. Ὀρχομενοῦ γὰρ φασιν υἱεῖς Ἀσπληδὼν κ. τ. λ. Orchomenus is no other than the Orchomenus of Pausanias. He was succeeded by Clymenus, whom the author of this verse has made to be his son. Aspledon in the lines of Chersias apud Pausan. IX. 38, 6. is the son of Neptune and Midea. Presbon in Eustath. l. c. was probably Presbon brother of Orchomenus, in that pedigree of the Scholiast. Sturz. ad Hellanic. p. 81. ad Pherecyd. p. 220. thinks that Hellanicus apud Schol. Apollon. III. 265. described the reign of Athamas at Orchomenus in Thessaly, and that the Thessalian Orchomenus was planted from the Bœotian. Van Staveren ad Hygin. fab. I. p. 17.

on the contrary supposes Hellanicus to mean Orchomenus in Bœotia, and the Bœotian Orchomenus to be derived from the Thessalian: Orchomenii in Bœotia quin ex Orchomeno Thessalia oriundi sint nullus dubitaverit sanus. In the former proposition he is probably right. Athamas in Pausan. IX. 34, 5. dwelt in the district afterwards called Orchomenus. He is called king of Thebes, Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 22. and rex Thebanorum, sive, ut quidam volunt Orchomeniorum Serv. ad Æn. V. 241. whence Van Staveren reasonably infers that Hellanicus expressed (by an anticipation of the name) Orchomenus in Bœotia. The second proposition seems to be contradicted by Strabo IX. p. 414. who implies that the Bœotian preceded the Thessalian settlement: Μινύειον Ὀρχομενὸν ἀπὸ ἔθνους τοῦ Μινυῶν ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποικῆσαι τινὰς τῶν Μινυῶν εἰς Ἰαλλκὸν φασιν, ὅθεν τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας Μινύας λεχθῆναι. Athamas himself is traced from Thessaly to Bœotia, and then back again to Thessaly: Apollod. I. 9, 1. 2. Ἀθάμας δυναστεύειν Βοιωτίας—ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Βοιωτίας—πολλὴν χώραν διελθὼν—κτίσας τὴν χώραν Ἀθαμαντίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε. Apollon. II. 514. ἀμπεδὼν Φθίης Ἀθαμαντίων. Steph. Byz. Ἄλος· πόλις Φθιώτιδος—κτίσαι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀθάμαντα ἀπὸ τῆς συμβάσεως αὐτῷ ἄλλης κ. τ. λ. Strabo IX. p. 433. ὤκισε δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας τὸν Ἄλιν. Memorials of Athamas at Alos, remained in the time of Herodotus: VII. 197. ταῦτα πάσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φριζίου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιουμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου, καὶ μελλόντων μὴ θύειν, ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτισσώρος ἐξ Αἰῆς τῆς Κολχίδος ἐβρύσατο. This occurred at the temple of Ζεὺς Λαφύστιος at Alos; and Athamas had attempted to sacrifice Phrixus in the temple of Ζεὺς Λαφύστιος near Coronea: Pausan. IX. 34, 4. Athamas then, ended his life in his original country: hence Palæphatus fab. 31. Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Φθίας. The opinion however of Van Staveren is justified by the genealogy in the Scholiast. Orchomenus I. seems

Elis<sup>f</sup>. His descendants *Neleus* and *Nestor* were seated in the neighbouring district of Tri-

to represent the Thessalian city of the name from which the *Minyæ* (represented by *Minyas*) migrated to Bœotia and there founded the Bœotian Orchomenus, represented by *Orchomenus II.* *Andreus* son of the *Peneüs* marks the Thessalian origin of the first settlers. *Minyas* is three generations before *Jason* in the Scholiast, but in the genealogy of Pausanias, *Minyas*, the supposed author of the name of *Minyæ*, is below the time of *Jason*; an inconsistency similar to that which we have observed on other occasions, and arising from the same cause; a tribe or people converted into an individual. In the preceding testimonies the ancient genealogists seem to have imagined only one *Minyas* under all those various descriptions. And yet they might have avoided inconsistency by supposing two. In that case, *Minyas* son of *Hermippë* would have represented the *Minyæ* of Thessaly, and *Minyas* son of *Chrysogenia* the *Minyæ* of Bœotia. Strabo, who appears to make the Bœotian Orchomenus the earlier of the two, we may explain by supposing an intercourse between the *Minyæ* of Bœotia and the *Minyæ* of Thessaly. Some of the former might return, like *Athamas*, to their original country.

The descent of *Erginus* from *Presbon* is recorded in the oracle apud Pausan. IX. 37, 2. 'Εργίνε Κλυμένειο πάϊ Πρεσβυιάδαο. But the descent of *Presbon* from *Athamas* is not attested by all the accounts: Schol. Apollon. II. 1123. τοὺς Φρίξου παῖδας 'Ηρόδωρος φησὶν ἐκ Χαλκιδέας τῆς Αἰήτου θυγατρὸς' Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ καὶ 'Ησίοδος ἐν ταῖς μεγάλας 'Ηοίαις φασὶν ἐξ 'Ισφώσσης τῆς Αἰήτου' καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν [sc. Apollonius] φησὶν αὐτοὺς τέσσαρας, Ἄργον, Φρόντιν, Μέλανα, Κυτίσσωρον [conf. Herodot. VII. 197. Apollon. II. 1155]. 'Επιμενίδης δὲ καὶ πέμπτον προστίθησι Πρέσβωνα. Some accounts, then, might perhaps derive *Erginus* from *Presbon* son of *Minyas* in the genealogy of the Scholiast. The history of *Erginus* is thus given: Pausan. IX. 37. Κλυμένον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τοῦ Ὀρχηστίου Ποσειδῶνος Θηβαίων φρονέουσιν ἄνδρες—'Εργίνος δὲ—τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει. δύναμιν δὲ αὐτὴς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ συλλέξαντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας' καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἐκράτησαν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτου χωροῦσιν ἐς ὁμολογίαν Θηβαίους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον τελεῖν δασμὸν τοῦ Κλυμένου φόνον. 'Ηρακλέους δὲ ἐπιτραφέτος ἐν Θήβαις, οὕτω τοῦ δασμοῦ τε ἡλευθερώθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ Μινυῖαι μεγάλας τῇ πολέμῳ προσέπταισαν. 'Εργίνος δὲ αἶτε κεκακωμένων ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς μὲν τὸν 'Ηρακλέα ἐποιήσατο εἰρήνην κ. τ. λ. Apollod. II. 4, 10. Κλυμένον τὸν Μινυῶν βασιλείᾳ λίθῳ βαλὼν Μενονικέως ἡνίοχος—τιτρώσκει κ. τ. λ.—στρατευσάμενος δὲ 'Εργίνος ἐπὶ Θήβας, κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐσπέισατο μεθ' ὅρκων ὅπως πέμπωσιν

αὐτῷ Θηβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, κατὰ ἔτος ἑκατὸν βόας.—'Ηρακλῆς δὲ λαβὼν ὄπλα παρ' Ἀθηναῖς καὶ πολεμαρχῶν 'Εργίνον μὲν ἔκτεινε τοὺς δὲ Μινυῖας ἐτρέφετο καὶ τὸν δασμὸν διπλοῦν ἠνάγκασε Θηβαίους φέρειν. Strabo IX. p. 414. Θηβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐτέλειον τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ 'Εργίνῳ τῷ τυραννοῦντι αὐτῶν, ὃν ὑφ' 'Ηρακλέους καταλυθῆναι φασιν. Eustath. ad Il. β'. p. 272. 'Εργίνος Κλυμένου παῖς' ὃς δασμὸν Θηβαίους ἐπέθηκεν. ὃν καὶ ἔφερον ἄχρις οὗ 'Ηρακλῆς αὐτοὺς ἡλευθέρωσε φρονέοντας 'Εργίνον τὸν Ἀσκαλάφου καὶ Ἰαλμένου πρόγονον. 'Εργίνου γὰρ 'Αζεύς' οὗ Ἀκτωρ' οὗ Ἀστυόχη' ἥς καὶ Ἀρεὸς Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος. The tradition preserved by Pausanias is more probable; that *Erginus* was not slain by *Hercules*, and that he was not the father of *Azeus* but the brother. Homer *Iliad*. β'. 513. only marks the descent from *Azeus*, without naming *Erginus*: Ἀστυόχῃ δόμῳ Ἀκτορος Ἀζείδαο. The mother of *Erginus* is named in Schol. Apollon. I. 185. 'Εργίνος—Κλυμένου ἦν τοῦ Πρέσβωνος καὶ Βουζύργης τῆς Λύκου. The Theban tribute is alluded to Isocrat. Plataic. p. 298. d. Ὀρχομενίοις φόρον εἰστέον' οὕτω γὰρ εἶχε τὸ παλαιόν.

*Erginus* seems to have lived long, and to have reigned till within thirty years of the fall of Troy; for Pausanias implies that his immediate successors were *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmenus*, the great-grandsons of his brother *Azeus*. We may strike out of the list of these kings *Phlegyas*, *Minyas*, *Orchomenus*, as imaginary persons, or rather as personifications of a city or a people; and as inconsistent with the time of *Eteoclus*, who is contemporary with *Presbon*; and yet between *Eteoclus* and the son of *Presbon* these three reigns are interposed. *Eurymachus* king of the *Phlegyæ* reigned, as we have seen, at Daulis, and not at Orchomenus. The kings of Orchomenus, then, appear to have been these:

*Eteoclus*,

*Clymenus*,

*Erginus*,

*Ascalaphus* and *Ialmenus*.

They might have occupied the space of a century down to the fall of Troy. The *Minyæ* their subjects were an Æolian people; for by one account *Minyas* is descended from *Sisyphus*, by another he is in the same generation with *Æolus*, and is seated at Orchomenus in Thessaly at the time when that part of the country was possessed by the Æolians.

<sup>f</sup> Apollod. I. 9, 7. Σαλμωνεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περὶ Θεσσαλίαν κατέφκει' παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Ἡλίον ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἔκτισεν κ. τ. λ. Diod. IV. 68. Σαλμωνεὺς ἦν υἱὸς Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος—οὗτος δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰολίδος ὀρμηθεὶς μετὰ πλείονων Αἰολέων ἔθηκε τῆς Ἠλείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε Σαλμωνίαν. Epho-



phyliaε. *Adrastus*, another of his descendants, became king of Argos<sup>h</sup>. At the time of the

rus apud Strab. VIII. p. 357. Αἰτωλὸν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Σαλμωνίῳ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐπειῶν τε καὶ Πισατῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἥλειας εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἐνομάσαι τε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν καὶ συνικίσαι τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις. *Tyro* the daughter of *Salmoncus* was the wife of *Cretheus* and the mother of *Pelias*, *Neleus*, *Eson*, *Pheres*, and *Amythaon*: Hom. *Odyss.* λ'. 234—258. Schol. Theocr. III. 45. Αἶλῶν τοῦ Ἑλλήνος Σαλμωνεύς· ἐξ αὐτοῦ Τυρὸς ἐξ ἧς καὶ Κρηθεύς Νηλεὺς. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 190. Προμηθεύς Δευκαλίων· αὐτὸς Ἑλλήν· αὐτὸς Αἶλας· αὐτὸς Κρηθεὺς καὶ Ἀθάμας καὶ Σαλμωνεύς· καὶ Κρηθεύς μὲν παῖς Αἴσων· Αἴσωνος δὲ Ἰάσων· Σαλμωνεύς δὲ Τυρὸς ἧς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Πελίας καὶ Νηλεὺς. See the table at p. 40. 41.

ε *Neleus* settled in Pylos: Hom. *Odyss.* λ'. 256. Told by Diodorus IV. 68. in an historical form: Κρηθεὺς τελευτήσας τὴν ἐστῆσαν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Πελίας τε καὶ Νηλεὺς. τοῦτον δὲ Πελίας μὲν Ἰωλκοῦ καὶ τῶν πλησίον χωρῶν ἐβασίλευσε· παραλαβὼν δὲ Νηλεὺς Μελάμπεδα καὶ Βιάνα τοὺς Ἀμφιθέους καὶ Ἀγλαΐης υἱοὺς καὶ τῶας ἄλλους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Φθιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰωλῶν ἐστράτευσε εἰς Πελοπόννησον. *Melampus* resided in Pylos with his uncle *Neleus*: ἔνασι Πύλῳ ἐν *Odyss.* ε'. 226. He procured the marriage of *Pero* with his brother *Bias*: *Odyss.* ε'. 236. and settled himself at Argos, where he married: Ibid. 241. and reigned: πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσειν Ἀργείοισιν Ibid. *Theoclymenus* great-grandson of *Melampus* met *Telemachus* at Pylos: *Odyss.* ε'. 256 (See the descent at p. 40. 41). *Amythaon* son of *Tyro* was the younger brother of *Neleus*: *Odyss.* λ'. 256—258. But *Theoclymenus* was the sixth from *Tyro*, and *Telemachus* only the fourth: and *Amphilochus*, their contemporary, was the seventh from *Tyro*. The descent of *Melampus* is given Schol. Apollon. I. 118. Ἀμφιθέους τοῦ Κρηθεύς τοῦ Αἰλῶν τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Δορίππης γίνεσθαι Μελάμπευ. And the story of *Melampus* and *Bias* is given Schol. Theocr. III. 43.

In the narrative of *Nestor* Iliad. λ'. 669—760. are many particulars which illustrate the times. *Hercules* had slain the eleven brothers of *Nestor* 689—692. some time before *Nestor's* first essay in arms: τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων. This war of *Hercules* with *Neleus*, alluded to Iliad. ε'. 395., was because *Neleus* had refused him purification after the murder of *Iphitus*, according to Apollod. II. 6, 2, 7, 3. But this would be inconsistent with *Odyss.* φ'. 14—30. from whence it appears that *Iphitus* lived to a later period. Hence Eustathius ad Iliad. λ'. p. 879. observes that other causes are assigned: τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ἀκριβοτέροις οὐκ ἀρίσκει δύναι· δὲν ἢ Πυλὸς πορθῆται διὰ τὰ Ἰφίτου καθάρσια συνάγεται ἀν' ὃ Ὀδυσσεὺς τοῦ Νέστορος γραιότερος· ἔτερι δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Πύ-

λου εἶπον τὴν τοῦ Περικλυμένου καθ' Ἑρακλέους ἐπερηφάνειαν.—ἄλλοι δὲ διότι Ὀρχομενοῖς οἱ Πύλῳι ὡς συγγενεῖς κατὰ Θηβαίων τῶν Ἑρακλέους πατριωτῶν ποτε συνελάβοτο. Conf. Schol. ad Il. λ'. 690. Eustathius proceeds: Ἀγλαῖας δὲ ἱστορεῖ [Ἀγλαῖας ἐν α' Ἀργολικῶν Schol.] διότι Νηλεὺς ἀφείλετο τῶν Γηρύονος βοῶν ἃς Ἑρακλῆς ἀπήλασεν—Τελέταρχος δὲ [Τελέταρχος ἐν Ἀργολικῶν Schol.] διότι τὰ χρύσεια μῆλα καὶ τὸν ἱππολύτης—ζωστῆρα καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους ἄγοντα τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἐκόλυσε Νηλεὺς. Upon this depression of the power of *Neleus*: λ'. 688. (who survived the war with *Hercules*) *Augeas* king of Elis and the Eleans plundered the Pylians, and detained the horses of *Neleus*, sent to run at solemn games in Elis: 697—701. By way of reprisals the Pylians plunder the Elean lands, and *Nestor*, then very young, having never made a campaign: 716—719. slew *Itymoneus* the Elean: 670—687. 704—706. The battle therefore with the Arcadians in which *Nestor* slew *Ereuthalion*: Iliad. η'. 132. and the battle of the *Lapithæ* and Centaurs, at which he was present: Iliad. α'. 266. happened afterwards. Three days after, the Eleans with *Cteatus* and *Eurytus* invade the Pylian lands. The Pylians and young *Nestor* defeat them, and *Nestor* kills *Mulius* the son-in-law of *Augeas*: λ'. 708—755. *Cteatus* and *Eurytus* were still youths, of the same age with *Nestor*. This was their first campaign: 709. 710. 750. conf. ψ'. 638. Their sons *Amphimachus* and *Thalpius* were at Troy: β'. 620. According to Pindar Ol. X. 30—46=XI. 24—38. *Cteatus* and *Eurytus* were slain by *Hercules* in his war with *Augeas*: Πέφνε Κτέατον ἀμύμονα Πέφνε δ' Εὐρυτον, ὡς Αἰγέαν λάτριον Ἀέκονθ' ἐκὼν μισθὸν ἐπέρβιον Πράσσοιτο, λόχμασι δὲ δοκέσσαις ὑπὸ Κλεωνῶν δάμασε καὶ κείνους Ἑρακλῆς ἐφ' ὀδῶ. The same tradition is followed by Pherecydes apud Schol. Il. λ'. 709. That war accordingly occurred later than this adventure of *Nestor*. Heyne ad Il. λ'. 708. affirms that Homer in this passage makes them survive *Hercules*: *Herculi superstites*. But this is not said; and other incidents imply the contrary. It appears indeed from Iliad. λ'. 690. that *Hercules* was older than *Nestor*. But yet he had a son *Tlepolemus* at Troy. His son *Hylus* was slain a short time before the war of Troy. His friend *Philoctetes* and *Ajax* the son of his companion *Telemachus* were present at Troy. *Ulysses* when a youth, παιδὸς ἔων, saw *Iphitus* son of *Eurytus*, who was slain by *Hercules*: *Odyss.* φ'. 14—30. *Ulysses* in the Iliad is described by *Antilochus* ψ'. 790. as προτέρης γενεῆς πρότερον τ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀμωρόντα δὲ μιν φάσ' ἔμμεναι. But as he was still in the vigour of life in the



Trojan war five states of Thessaly were led by Æolian chiefs<sup>1</sup>: in western and central Greece, Ithaca, Phocis, Orchomenus. The *Ætoli* according to one tradition were Æolian. By some accounts *Bæotus* the founder of the *Bæoti* was derived through *Mimas* from *Æolus*<sup>k</sup>.

Of *Æolus* himself nothing is told except that he reigned in some part of Thessaly; and no acts are ascribed to him commensurate with the power which his sons are reported to have exercised in every part of Greece. Whence we may infer that *Æolus* was nothing more than a personification of the *Æoles*. The sons of *Æolus* named by Hesiod (three of whom are attested by Homer<sup>l</sup>), and perhaps *Deion*, seem to be real persons, but no otherwise brothers than as they were contemporary chiefs of Æolic race.

Odyssey, we may suppose him under fifty at the action of the *Iliad*, and place the death of *Iphitus* within thirty years of the fall of Troy. The incidents, then, in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* place the death of *Hercules* at little more than twenty-five years before the fall of Troy.

*Nestor*, when visited by *Telemachus* in the tenth year after Troy was taken, had six sons living, who are named in the following order: *Echephron*, *Stratius*, *Perseus*, *Aretus*, *Thrasy-medes* (*Iliad*. i. 81), and *Pisistratus*, who was apparently the youngest: *Odys.* γ. 413—415. *Nestor* himself may be supposed, according to the reasoning of Eustathius ad *Il.* α. p. 97., past sixty when he sailed to Troy, and past seventy when the city was taken.

<sup>b</sup> For his descent through *Talaüs* from *Amythaon* see p. 41. i. The history of *Adrastus* is told by Herodot. V. 67. his expedition against Thebes, by Pindar *Nem.* IX. 25—65. According to Pausanias I. 43, 1 (conf. 44, 7). he died in the Megarian on his return from the second Theban war. The first occurred before the reign of *Agamemnon*, when *Tydeus* came to Argos to collect succours: *Iliad*. γ. 375—378. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε Ἦντησ' οἷδ' ἴδον. And yet during the infancy of *Diomed*, who could not remember his father; for *Tydeus* left him ἔτι τυτθὸν ἰόντα when he perished at Thebes: *Il.* ζ. 222, 223. *Diomed*, however, calls himself νεώτατος, as compared with *Ulysses* and *Agamemnon*: *Il.* ξ. 112. and was young enough to be the youngest son of *Nestor*: i. 57. where it is remarked in Schol. Ven. ἡ διπλῆ, ὅτι οὐχ ἀρμόζει τῇ τρεῖς γενεὰς βεβιωκότῃ λέγειν, “ἐμὸς “ὦ πάϊς εἶς” κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. And Heyne ad loc. observes, *Scilicet hoc cavens poeta adjecit ὑπὸ νεώτερος γενεῇ*. But *Antilochus*, *Nestor's* son, was one of the youngest men in the army: ο. 569. ψ. 587. 789—791. And *Nestor's* youngest son *Pisistratus* was of the same age with *Telemachus*. Both these remarks, then, were unnecessary. But the notices given in the *Iliad* of the age of *Diomed* will place the first Theban war not more than thirty years before the fall of Troy.

<sup>1</sup> I use the term *Thessaly*, as on other occasions, by an anticipation of the name, and in an extended sense, including *Magnesia*. The five states under Æolian leaders were these:

1. Phylacē, Pyrasus, Antron, Pteleos, under *Protesilaüs* and *Podarces*.
2. Phæræ, Boëbe, Glaphyrē, Iolcos, under *Eumelus*.
3. Methonē, Thaumacia, Melibœa, Olizon, under *Philoctetes* and *Medon*.
4. Ormenium, Asterium, Titanus, under *Euryppylus*.
5. *Magnesia* under *Prothous*.

The other four states of Thessaly were under Pelasgic chiefs: see above p. 21. x.

<sup>j</sup> Pausanias quoted above p. 41. o. derives *Æthlius* from *Æolus*, and Apollodorus I. 7, 5. also derives them from *Æolus* through *Calycē*: Καλύκης καὶ Ἀεθλίου παῖς Ἐνδυμίων γίνεται, ὅστις ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Αἰολέας ἀγαγὼν Ἦλον ἔκτισε. At a later period Ætolia was occupied or conquered by the Æolians: Strabo X. p. 451. Ὀλεον καὶ Πυλὴν ὀνομάζει πόλεις ὁ ποιητής [*Il.* β. 639] Αἰτωλικάς· ὧν τὴν μὲν Ὀλεον ὀμονύμως τῇ Ἀχαϊκῇ λεγομένην Αἰολεῖς κατέσκαψαν, πλησίον οὖσαν τῆς νεωτέρας Πλευρώνας. Ib. p. 465. τὴν Πλευρωσίαν ὑπὸ Κουρήτων οἰκουμένην καὶ Κουρήτιν προσαγορευομένην Αἰολεῖς ἐπελθόντες ἀφείλαντο, τοὺς δὲ κατέχοντας ἐξέβαλον. p. 464. Ἐφορος φήσας—συμμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς [sc. τοῖς Ἐπειοῖς] ὕστερον Αἰολέων, τῶν ἅμα Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀναστάντων, κοινῇ μετὰ τούτων τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν. From this later occupancy, sixty years after the fall of Troy, we may derive the Æolian name in Ætolia. Calydon and Pleuron were called *Æolis*: Thucyd. III. 102. ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα. Hesych. Αἰολικὸν θέαμα, ἀντὶ τοῦ Αἰολικόν [*i.* Αἰτωλικόν] παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ [*I.* 56]. ἡ γὰρ Καλυδὼν Αἰολὶς ἐκαλεῖτο. Schol. Theocr. I. c. Αἰολικὸν τὸ Αἰτωλικόν. Αἰολεῖς γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοί.

<sup>k</sup> See below under *Amphictyion*.

<sup>l</sup> Κρηθῆος Αἰολίδας *Odys.* λ'. 236. Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης *Iliad*. ζ. 154. Σαλμωνῆος *Odys.* λ'. 235. It may be remarked that *Æolus* himself is not distinctly named by Homer.



4. *Xuthus* is the son of *Hellen*<sup>m</sup> and father of *Achæus* and *Ion*. He was driven first from Thessaly into Attica, and then from Attica into Peloponnesus, where he settled and died<sup>n</sup>. Both his father and his sons appear to have been imaginary persons, being nations and not individuals. It is therefore probable that *Xuthus* himself was also an imaginary person; and we may concur with Mr. Muller<sup>o</sup> in rejecting him. The name of *Xuthus* is traced in Sicily, where another *Xuthus*, son of another *Æolus*, is placed by Diodorus P.

5. *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* settled in Laconia, and the inhabitants were called Achæans from him. Strabo<sup>q</sup>: 'Αχαιὸς φόνον ἀκούσιον πρᾶξας ἔφυγεν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κληθῆναι παρεσκεύασε. According to others he returned to Thessaly; and the Achæans of Thessaly received their name from *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*<sup>r</sup>.

We may discern in this account of *Achæus* an example of the name of a people converted into the name of a person; and of the practice of ascribing to one person and one period the acts of many persons and of distant times. It has been shewn already<sup>s</sup> that the Achæans were in *Phthiotis* many generations before the time assigned to *Achæus* son of *Xuthus*. The Achæans in Laconia, where an exile seeking refuge is supposed to give his name to a whole people, also preceded him in time<sup>t</sup>. The other account, which deduces the Achæans from *Achæus* son of *Phthius*, better marks the progress and the time of this people, who first appear in *Phthiotis* (having gone forth, according to Dionysius, out of the *Pelasgi* of Argos<sup>v</sup>) two generations before *Deucalion*. That they were known before the time of *Xuthus* the supposed father of their founder, appears from the account given of *Xuthus* himself, who is called an Achæan by Euripides<sup>w</sup>.

The history of the two persons named *Achæus* connects the Achæans with two races. The account of Dionysius derives them from the *Pelasgi*. The legends respecting *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* connect them with the *Hellenes*. They are made the parents of the *Hellenes* in the legend which describes *Achæus* as the father of *Phthius* and grandfather of *Hellen*. They accompany *Neleus* and the *Æolidæ* into Peloponnesus<sup>x</sup>. They inhabit Alos, a town founded by *Athamas*, whose inhabitants retain the name of Achæans down to the time of Herodotus<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Hesiod quoted above p. 44. k.

<sup>n</sup> Pausan. VII. 1. ἀποθανόντος Ἑλλήνης Εὐθύθου οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνος παῖδες διέκουσιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ἐπεινεγκότες αἰτίαν ὡς βίβη χρήματα ἐφελόμενοι ἔχει τῶν πατρῶν· ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας φυγὼν θυγατέρα Ἐρεχθίδος ἤξιόθη λαβεῖν, καὶ παῖδας Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἴωνα ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐρεχθίδος, τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ δικαστὴς Εὐθύθου ἐγένετο κτῆρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ (ἔγνω γὰρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Κλέροτα βασιλεῖα εἶναι) οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθίδος παῖδες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰγιάλιν καὶ οἰκήσαντι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγένετο ἐνταῦθα ἡ τελευτή. Strabo quoted above p. 44. m. mentions his settlement in Attica. His occupation of Peloponnesus is related by Apollodorus I. 7, 3. Εὐθύθου λαβὼν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρείσσης τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος Ἀχαιοὺς ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἴωνα, ἀπ' οὗ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἴωνες καλοῦνται. and by Herodotus VII. 94.

<sup>o</sup> Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 267.

<sup>p</sup> Diod. V. 8. τὸ δὲ Αἰῶν υἱὸς γενέσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν 27· Ἀστέωχον καὶ Εὐθύθου, κ. τ. λ.—ἰβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Εὐθύθου τῆς περὶ τοὺς Λεωτινούς χώρας, ἥτις ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέλει· τὸν υἱὸν Εὐθύθου προσαγορεύεται. Steph. Byz. Εὐθύθου, πόλις Σικελίας. Φίλιππος τρίτος Σικελικῶν.

<sup>q</sup> Strabo VIII. p. 383. Conon Narr. 27. ὁ μὲν Ἀχαιὸς ἀκούσιον φόνον ἐργασάμενος ἤλαθ, καὶ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔλθων Ἀχαιοὺς κτίζει τετράπολιν.

<sup>r</sup> Pausan. VII. 1, 2. Ἀχαιὸς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγιάλου παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπικούρους κατήλθεν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχήν. Schol. Apollon. I. 243. Παναχαῖδα τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὅτι αὕτη πρώτη ἐκλήθη Ἀχαιὰ ἀπὸ Ἀχαιοῦ τοῦ Εὐθύθου.

<sup>s</sup> See above p. 16.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 16. u.

<sup>v</sup> Herodotus VIII. 73. calls the Achæans indigenous in Peloponnesus: τὸ Ἀχαικὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μένει τῆς ἐωντῶν. He may be reconciled with Dionysius, if we suppose that the *Achæi* of Laconia and the *Achæi* of Thessaly were each derived immediately from Argos; that a part of this tribe migrated to Laconia and a part to Thessaly.

<sup>w</sup> Eur. Ion. 63. Εὐθύθου—

οὐκ ἐγγενὴς δὲν Αἰῶνι δὲ τοῦ Διὸς  
γενῶν Ἀχαιῶς.—

<sup>x</sup> See above p. 50. g.

<sup>y</sup> Steph. Byz. Ἄλος, πόλις Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Φθιώτιδος κ. τ. λ. See Herodotus quoted above p. 48.



This connexion of the Achæans with both contributes to shew an affinity between the *Hellenes* and *Pelasgi*. The Achæans are placed in Argos and Laconia about the time of *Danaüs*, and occupied those provinces till the time of the Dorian conquest <sup>z</sup>.

6. *Ion* son of *Xuthus* and brother of *Achæus* is acknowledged by Herodotus, and described by Philochorus, Strabo, and Pausanias. From him Attica and the northern shore of Peloponnesus were called *Ionian* <sup>a</sup>. Even Aristotle acknowledged *Ion* <sup>b</sup>. He is accounted the teacher of the religious ceremonies <sup>c</sup>, and is placed by Eusebius 150 years before the Trojan era <sup>d</sup>; a period consistent with the genealogy which places *Ion* in the fifth generation before

<sup>z</sup> See Pausan. VII. 1, 3. quoted at p. 16. s. He adds, τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκπεπτακότες ἐκ τῆς Ἀργυροῦ καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνους ἐπεκηρυκκύνοντο Ἰωσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαμενὺς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέσθαι σύντοκοί σφισιν ἀνευ πολέμου κ. τ. λ.

<sup>a</sup> Harpocr. Βοηδρόμα· ἐορτή τις Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλουμένη, ἣν φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρᾳ νομισθαι ἐπειδὴ Ἴων ὁ Εὐβοῖον ἐβοήθησε σπουδῇ πολεμουμένους Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Ἐρεχθέως βασιλεύοντες. βοηδρομαίην γὰρ τὸ βοθεῖν ἀνομαζέτο. Strabo VIII. p. 383. ταύτης τῆς χώρας [sc. *Achaia*] τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Ἰωνες ἐκράτουν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τὸ γένος ὄντες· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Αἰγιάλεια—ἔσπερον δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων Ἰωνία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ, ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Εὐβοῦ—Ἴων δὲ τοὺς μετ' Εὐμόλπου νικήσας Θρᾷκας οὕτως ἡδουκίμησεν ὥστ' ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀθηναῖοι. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας φυλὰς διεῖλε τὸ πλῆθος· εἴτα εἰς τέσσαρας βίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γεωργοὺς ἀπέδειξε τοὺς δὲ δημιουργοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιούς τετάρτους δὲ τοὺς φύλακας. τοιαῦτα δὲ πλείω διατάξας τὴν χώραν ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν. οὕτω δὲ πολυαυδῆσαι τὴν χώραν συνέπεσε τότε ὥστε καὶ ἀποικίαν τῶν Ἰώνων ἔστειλαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν κατέσχον ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν, Ἰωνίαν ἀντ' Αἰγιάλειας κληθεῖσαν, οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀντὶ Αἰγιάλειαν Ἰωνες προσηγορεύθησαν, εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις μερισθέντες. Idem IX. p. 397. Ἀττικὴν—Ἰωνίαν ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Εὐβοῦ. Pausan. VII. 1, 2. Ἴωνι ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγιάλεις στρατίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Σελινούταν τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀθροίζοντι ἀγγέλους ἐπεμπεῖν ὁ Σελινεύς τὴν θυγατέρα Ἑλίκην, ἥ μόνη οἱ παῖς ἦν, γυναῖκα αὐτῷ διδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰωνά ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ παῖδα ποιοῦμενος. καὶ πῶς ταῦτα τῷ Ἰωνι ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, καὶ τῶν Αἰγιάλειων τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἴων ἔσχευ ἀποθανόντος Σελινεύτος, καὶ Ἑλίκην τε ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλῃ πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκάλεσεν Ἰωνας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ.—τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνος βασιλείας πολεμῶσάντων Ἀθηναίους Ἐλευσινίων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἰωνά ἐπαγομένον ἐπὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιλαμβάνει, καὶ Ἰωνος ἐν τῇ δὴμῳ μνημα τῷ Ποταμίῳ ἐστίν· οἱ δὲ ἀπύγονοι τοῦ Ἰωνος τὸ Ἰώνων ἔσχον κράτος ἐς ὃ ἴπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. Idem I. 31, 2. Ἰωνος δὲ τοῦ Εὐβοῦ (καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔκτισε παρὰ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἐπολεμάρχησε) τάφος ἐν Ποταμίῳ ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας. Idem II. 14, 2. Δυσαύλην φασὶν (οἱ Φιλιάσιοι) ἀδελφὸν Κελεῦ παραγενόμενον σφισιν ἐς τὴν χώραν καταστήσασθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐκβληθῆναι δὲ

αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ὑπὸ Ἰωνος, ὅτε Ἴων Ἀθηναίους ὁ Εὐβοῦ πολέμαρχος τοῦ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους ἤρεθῃ πολέμου. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 104. Ἰωνες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Εὐβοῦ. Heraclides πολιτ. p. 205. Ἀθηναῖοι—συνοικήσαντες Ἰωνος αὐτοῖς τότε πρῶτον Ἰωνες ἐκλήθησαν. The testimonies of Herodotus are given below. Steph. Byz. follows the popular tradition which Euripides adopted: Ἰωνία ἡ Ἀττικὴ πρότερον, ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως. And Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1526. πατρῶν τιμῶσιν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Ἴων ὁ πολέμαρχος Ἀθηναίων ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Εὐβοῦ [sc. τῆς Εὐβοῦ γυναικὸς] ἐγένετο. Conon Narr. 27. makes *Ion* king of Attica: Ἴων θανόντος τοῦ μητροπάτορος—αἰρεθείς βασιλεύει Ἀθηναίων· ἐξ οὗ Ἰωνες οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἤρξαντο καλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰωνικῶν.

<sup>b</sup> Harpocr. Ἀπόλλων πατρῶς. τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων κεινῶς πατρῶν τιμῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἰωνος. τούτου γὰρ οἰκήσαντος τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Ἰωνας κληθῆναι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῶν αὐτοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι. Aristot. Met. IV. 28. p. 1024. a. οὕτω γὰρ λέγονται Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος οἱ δ' Ἰωνες, τῷ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰωνος εἶναι πρῶτον γενήσαντος.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. adv. Colot. p. 1125. D. ἡ περὶ θεῶν δόξα—ἢ καὶ Λυκούργος Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ Νομάς Ρωμαῖος, καὶ Ἴων ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ Δευκαλίων Ἕλληνας, ὅμοι τι πάντα καθωσίωσαν, εὐχαῖς καὶ ὄρκιοις καὶ μαντεύμασι καὶ φήμαις ἐμπαθεῖς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καταστήσαντες.

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. Chron. II. p. 290. Anno 685. *Ion copiarum Atheniensium dux de suo nomine Ionas appellabat Athenienses*. Whence Syncellus p. 162. A. Ἴων πολέμαρχος γεγονὼς Ἰωνας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὀνόμασε. Euseb. Anno 835. *Ilium captum est*. Velleius I. 4, 3. makes *Ion* the leader of the Ionian colony to Asia: *Iones duce Ione profecti Athenis nobilissimam partem regionis maritimæ occupavere, quæ hodieque appellatur Ionia, urbesque constituere Ephesum, Miletum, &c.* Vitruvius IV. 1. has made the same mistake: *Achaia Peloponnesoque tota Dorus Hellenis et Orseidos nymphæ filius regnavit.—Postea autem quam Athenienses ex responsis Apollinis Delphici communi consilio totius Hællados tredecim colonias uno tempore in Asiam deduxerunt ducesque singulis coloniis constituerunt et sum-*



that era. The four sons of *Ion*, from whom the four tribes of Attica were named, are mentioned by Euripides<sup>c</sup>, and by Herodotus<sup>f</sup>: τετραφύλους ἔοντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους (ὁ Κλεισθένης) ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρου καὶ Ἀργαδίου καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας &c. Strabo and Plutarch<sup>h</sup> suppose the names of the four tribes to mark four classes into which the people were distributed: an opinion, according to Mr. Hermann, founded upon Plato<sup>i</sup>. And Mr. Boeckh<sup>k</sup> and others have adopted this opinion, that the inhabitants of Attica were divided into *castes*, according to the practice of Egypt and India; every man in each successive generation being confined to the occupation of his fathers. Mr. Hermann, however, rejects this opinion<sup>l</sup>; and, without better evidence than we have, it is difficult to believe that there ever existed in Attica an institution so pernicious, and so subversive of all improvement; an institution of which there are no vestiges in any part of Greece<sup>m</sup>.

*nam imperii potestatem Ioni Xuthi et Creusæ filio dederunt—isque eas colonias in Asiam deduxit, &c.* This error concerning *Ion* and *Dorus* may have arisen from the name of a people mistaken for the name of an individual.

<sup>c</sup> Eur. Ion. 1579—1581.

<sup>f</sup> Herodot. V. 66.

<sup>g</sup> The name Γελέωντες is established by Wesseling ad Herodot. l. c. and by Hermann præf. Ionis p. xxi—xxx. from the following authorities: an inscription at Cyzicus in this order according to Wesseling: Γελέωντες, Ἀργαδίς, Αἰγικορεῖς, Ὀπλητες, tribus Cyzicene quatuor, haud dubie ex metropoli Mileto derivatæ atque ad hanc ab Atheniensibus. But Αἰγικορεῖς, Ἀργαδίς, Ὀπλητες, Γελέωντες, according to Hermann. Two Teian inscriptions having φυλὴν Γελέωντων. Steph. Byz. Αἰγικόρου. ubi mss. Γελέωντες. Plutarch. Solon. c. 23. ΓΕΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ. ubi Wess. ΓΕΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ. Euripides Ion. 1579. has them in this order:

Τελέων (sic) μὲν ἔσται πρῶτος, εἶτα δεύτερον  
Ὀπλητες, Ἀργαδίς τ', εἰμὴς τ' ἀπ' αἰγίδος  
ἑμφυδιον ἔχουσ' Αἰγικορεῖς—

Pollux VIII. 109. in this order: ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων ἐπὶ Ἐρεχθίῳ Τελέωντες (sic), Ὀπλητες, Αἰγικορεῖς, Ἀργαδίς. *Hoplēs* is probably the father of the wife of *Ægeus*, who πρώτην ἔγχευε τὴν Ὀπλητος θυγατέρα Athen. XIII. p. 556. f. Apollod. III. 15. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Strabo already quoted at p. 53. a. Plutarch. Solon. c. 23.

<sup>i</sup> Plato Crit. p. 110. C. Timæo p. 24. A.

<sup>k</sup> Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 608—615.

<sup>l</sup> Præfat. Eur. Ion. p. xxi—xxx. *Video esse nonnullos qui adeo compertum habent Hopletes fuisse milites, Ergadenses opifices, Ægicorenses pastores, ut eorum unus Ægicorensibus nuper usus sit familiarissime. Scilicet volunt Athenenses perantiquo tempore quodam diversa vitæ genera sic ut apud Indos et apud Ægyptios discreta fuisse; quod qui contendunt, eorum unus est Niebuhrius Hist. Rom. I. 306. quamquam is ita caute*

*judicans uti decet virum non affectantem scire ea quæ sciri nequeant. Etenim unde tandem sciunt istam in classes separationem apud Iones obtinuisse et ab his esse in Atticam introductam? Scilicet a Platone hoc acceptum est in Critia p. 110. c. Egregia vero fons historiæ fabula quam Plato suæ commendandæ doctrinæ causa commentus est! Ejus Ægyptii de iisdem institutis ad Solonem verba sunt in Timæo p. 24. a. Unde vero hausit istam Ægyptiacam sapientiam Plato? Nempe—ex suo cerebro. Nam cum apud Ægyptios discreta videret hominum genera apud suos autem quatuor sciret antiquitus tribus extitisse, quarum quæ Hopletum nomen habuit videretur ab armatis esse appellata, longius est conjectando progressus, et, qua soliti erant levitate Græci, similem etiam ceterorum nominum rationem esse existimavit. Sed nomina ipsa quum non adjiceret, ne Strabo quidem, qui eum secutus est, ea ponere est ausus. Alios vel conjectores vel Platonis interpretes Plutarchus in mente habuit, ex quibus Argadenses, opifices, &c. nonnullis visos esse retulit. Neque enim Platonem primum fuisse contenderim qui hujusmodi conjectura luderet. Nos satius ducimus fateri ignorantiam nostram.*

<sup>m</sup> There is an inconsistency in the supposition that the division into four castes was instituted by *Ion*. For this division into castes was supposed to come from Egypt; and *Ion* was not Egyptian. In the preceding names of the four tribes recorded by Pollux VIII. 109. there are no indications of the distribution into castes: αἱ φυλαὶ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ Κέκροπος ἦσαν τέσσαρες, Κεκροπὶς, Λετόχθων, Ἀκταία, Παραλία· ἐπὶ δὲ Κραναιῷ μετωνομάσθησαν Κραναις, Ἀτθίς, Μεσόγαια, Διακρίς· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἐριχθονίου Διῶς, Ἀθηναίς, Ποσειδωνιάς, Ἡφαιστιάς. And yet, if the division into castes had been introduced, we might have expected to find it referred to the Egyptian *Cerops*. And besides, if this institution had ever prevailed at all, it would have been of all others the most difficult to change, and the most deeply-rooted in the



As *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* was not the founder of the Achæans, so neither did his brother *Ion* first found the Ionians, who existed before the time to which *Ion* son of *Xuthus* is ascribed. Ionians may be traced in Illyricum<sup>n</sup>, in the neighbourhood of Dodona, in Eubœa, which was named *Hellopia* from *Hellops* son of *Ion*<sup>o</sup>. They appear before his time even in Attica, where *Jaones* were among the ancient inhabitants of the country P. The

habits of the people, as we see in the Indian castes at this day. But the four Ionic tribes remained unchanged through the times of *Solon* and the *Pisistratidæ* down to B. C. 510. And yet through all that period no traces appeared of that institution. It had insensibly vanished, and no tradition recorded when, or by whom, or through what revolution it had been abolished. Moreover Euripides from his etymology of the word *Αἰγικορεῖς* Ion. 1580. appears to have known nothing of this distribution into castes, or of the derivation of the names from the occupations. Finally, the accounts even of *Strabo* and *Plutarch* which suppose a division into four occupations—*εἰς τέσσαρας βίους*—do not affirm that these occupations were hereditary, and imposed upon all succeeding generations. In this case would probably have been added such expressions as occur respecting the Indians in *Arrian Indic.* p. 533. γαμῖν ἐξ ἐτέρου γένους οὐ θέμις—οὐδὲ ἀμείβειν ἐξ ἐτέρου γένους εἰς ἕτερον. And in *Strabo* himself XV. p. 707. οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε γαμῖν ἐξ ἄλλου γένους οὐτ' ἐπιγένεσθαι οὐτ' ἐργασίαν μεταλαμβάνειν ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης. If, then, the four Ionic tribes had described four classes or occupations, these classes might have been analogous to the four classes of *Solon* in *Plutarch.* Solon. c. 18. πεντακοσιμέδωνοι, ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται, θῆτες, the members of which were not debarred from rising into another class either in themselves or their posterity.

<sup>n</sup> Theopompus traced the name in Illyricum: *Schol.* Apollon. IV. 308. φησὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν εἰκοστῇ πρώτῃ Ἴόνιον πέλαγος πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὕτω καλούμενον ἀπὸ Ἰονίου, ἀνδρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦ. *Schol.* Pindar. Pyth. III. 120. Θεόπομπος ἀπὸ Ἰονίου ἀνδρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦ Ἀρχέμαχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰώνων. To the opinion of Theopompus *Strabo* refers VII. p. 317. ὁ Ἴόνιος, ὁ Ἀδριακός—φησὶ δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ μὲν ἦκειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἠγῆσθαι τῶν τόπων ἐξ Ἰσσης τὸ γένος, τὸν Ἀδρίαν δὲ κ. τ. λ. *Eustath.* ad *Dionys. Perieg.* 92. Ἰονίην—οἱ δὲ φασιν ἀπὸ Ἰάονος ἀνδρὸς Ἰταλοῦ, ἡ ἀπὸ Ἰονίου ἀνδρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦ.—τοῦ δὲ Ἰάονος υἱὸς Ἀδρίας ἰσθόρηται, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ αὐτὸ πέλαγος καὶ Ἀδριατικὸν λέγεται. *Schol.* ad loc. Ἰονίην οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰούς οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰονέως, ὃς τὸν κόλπον οἰκὼν ἐκράτησε τῆς θαλάσσης· οἱ δὲ Ἴονιον ἀπὸ Ἰάονος φασιν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πέλαγος εἰρῆσθαι. Ἀρχέμαχος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰώνων, οἱ εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἰόνιος καὶ Ἀδρίας. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωνος υἱὸς Ἀδρίας ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πέλαγος. The addition of εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι is from those who referred the origin

of the name to *Ion* son of *Xuthus*. Theopompus is also quoted by *Tzetzes* ad *Lycophr.* 630. ὁ Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι φασιν, ἀπὸ Ἰονίου Ἰλλυριοῦ τὸ γένος, βασιλεύσαντος τοῦ τόπου, υἱοῦ Ἀδρίου τοῦ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ πέλαγος κτίσαντος πόλιν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀδρίαν. By a common variation in these genealogies *Ionius* is here made the son of *Adrias*, who in other accounts is the father of *Adrias*.

<sup>o</sup> *Steph. Byz.* Ἐλλοπία. χωρίον Εὐβοίας. καὶ αὕτη ἡ νῆσος ἀπὸ Ἐλλοπος τοῦ Ἰωνος.—ἐλέγετο καὶ ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην χώρα Ἐλλοπία [l. Ἐλλοπία—Ἐλλοπος]—ἔστι πόλις περὶ Δωδοίαν καὶ χώρα περὶ Θεσπιάς. *Strabo* X. p. 445. (ἡ Εὐβοία) Ἐλλοπία ὀνομάσθη ἀπὸ Ἐλλοπος τοῦ Ἰωνος. *Idem* VII. p. 328. Φιλόχορος δὲ φησι καὶ τὸν περὶ Δωδώνην τόπον, ὥσπερ τὴν Εὐβοίαν, Ἐλλοπίαν κληθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡσίοδος οὕτω λέγειν

ἔστι τις Ἐλλοπία πολυλήϊος ἥδ' εὐλείμων  
ἐνθάδε Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἐσχατῇ πετόλισται.

*Schol.* Soph. Trachin. 1169. Ἐλλοπίαν τὴν Δωδώνην νομίζουσιν εἶναι· τὴν γὰρ χώραν οὕτως Ἡσίοδος ὀνομάζει ἐν Ἠοιάς, λέγων οὕτως “ἔστι τις,” κ. τ. λ. where ten lines are given. A district called Ἐλλοπία is mentioned by *Herodotus* VIII. 23. τῆς Ἐλλοπίας μοίρης—in *Histiæotis*. These passages connect *Hellops* the son of *Ion* with districts inhabited by the *Pelasgi*. The presence of the Ionians in Thesaly is marked by a river *Ion*: *Strabo* VII. p. 327. πόλις Ὀξύνεια παρὰ τὸν Ἴονα ποταμὸν.

*P. Æschyl.* Pers. 176. Ἰάωναν γῆν: *Schol.* ad loc. ἰστέον ὅτι Ἰάονες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἕκ τινος Ἰάονος βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. *Strabo* IX. p. 392. speaking of *Megara*: τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὕτω τῶν Μεγαρῶν ἐκτισμένων. *Homer.* Il. v. 685. Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες: *Schol.* ad l. ἄλλοι εἰσὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἴωνας Ἰάονες. φησὶ γὰρ Ἀνδρῶτιόν ἑτι στήλην ἔσθην ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος διορίσαντες οὕτως “τάδ' ἐστὶν οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἰάονες,” Ἴωνες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου μέρους οὕτως “τάδ' ἐστὶ “Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἰάονες.” Repeated by *Eustath.* p. 954, 45. οἱ μὲν τοὺς Ἰάονας ἄλλους εἶναι φασὶ παρὰ τοὺς Ἴωνας. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. καὶ δὴλον φασιν ἐξ ἐπιγράμματος ὅτι περὶ στήλην τινὰ γέγραπται εἰς τοῦ διορισμὸν κ. τ. λ. ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰάονας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νοοῦσιν. *Strabo* IX. p. 392. gives the lines differently: ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὕτω φησὶ “ἐνθάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες”—τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. ταύτης δ' ἦν καὶ ἡ Μεγαρὶς μέρος. καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁρίων ἀμφισβητοῦντες πολλὰ κίς οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ Ἰάονες—συνέβησαν, καὶ στήλην



numbers 4 and 12 marked the Ionians, as the number 3 marked the Dorians. Hence some have considered the division of the Phæacians into 12 as one proof that these were an Ionian people<sup>r</sup>. But this division into 12 prevailed in Attica in the time of *Cecrops*<sup>s</sup>. The four tribes were not first instituted in the time of *Ion*: they already existed in the reigns of *Cecrops* and *Cranæus* and *Erichthonius*<sup>t</sup>. Again, the worship of *Neptune* was an Ionian worship<sup>v</sup>. But this worship was of the highest antiquity in Attica. *Neptune* was the original god of the country<sup>w</sup>: ἦκε πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν—and even preceded *Minerva*<sup>x</sup>: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ. The hereditary priest of *Neptune* is *Butes* brother of *Erechtheus*<sup>y</sup>. But if these characters of the Ionian race, the division into 4 and 12, and the worship of *Neptune*, were of such remote antiquity in Attica, we are to conclude that the Ionians were there long before the period to which *Ion* the son of *Xuthus* is assigned. And these indications concur with the testimony of Herodotus<sup>z</sup>, who affirms that the Ionians were Pelasgic and indigenous; a testimony confirmed by what has been already shewn of their brethren the Achæans. *Ion*, then, and *Achæus*, were both of Pelasgic original. The genealogy which made them brothers, and derived them from *Hellen* through *Xuthus*, establishes an affinity between the two tribes, and perhaps a connexion with the *Hellenes*; but the nations whose names they bore, and who existed before the time in which they are placed, were Pelasgic nations.

The preceding considerations lead us to this conclusion concerning the progress of the Ionians; that they were Pelasgic and Aboriginal in Attica, existing there at least as early as the time of *Cecrops*; that from thence a part of this nation proceeded into Peloponnesus, marked in the genealogy by the progress thither of *Xuthus* father of *Ion* from Attica, about five or six generations before the Trojan war; nearly coinciding with the period at which the *Arcades* appeared in Arcadia, the *Æoles* and *Dores* in Thessaly, who all are placed in the sixth generation, and a little before the time at which the *Ætoli* and *Epei* are first heard of in the west of Peloponnesus, who are referred to the fourth generation before that era<sup>a</sup>.

ἵστησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ συνομολογηθέντος τόπου περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἰσθμὸν——“τάδ' ἐστὶ Πελοπόννησος οὐκ Ἰωνία—τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀλλ' Ἰωνία.” Although some pretended to distinguish the Ἰωνες of the northern coast of Peloponnesus from the Ἰάωνες north of the Isthmus, yet it is plain that they were the same people; and that Ἰάωνες and Ἰωνες were equivalent names. In Hesych. Ἰωνες the whole Greek nation is called Ionians: Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ Ἰωνες, ἀπὸ Ἰωνος, καὶ οἱ ἄπαικε αὐτῶν. ἔνιω καὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς (καὶ πάντας addit Heins.) Ἑλλᾶδας. ζήτει ὀπισθεν. sc. v. Ἰαῶνες, where now Ἰωνες is read. But this refers to the period after the Ionian colonies were established in Asia, when the barbarians of Asia gave to the whole Greek nation the name by which those colonies were known. Conf. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 104. 106.

<sup>r</sup> Philolog. Mus. vol. II. p. 365. “It is a probable conjecture of Wachsmuth that the Phæacians were Ionians. The division into 12 Od. 8 [v. 6]. 390. Characteristic of the Ionian states.”

<sup>s</sup> Strabo IX. p. 397. φησὶ Φιλόχορος πορθουμένης τῆς χώρας ἐκ θαλάττης μὲν ὑπὸ Καρῶν ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν, οὓς ἐκάλουν Ἀῶνας, Κέκροπα πρῶτον εἰς δυοκαίδεκα πόλεις συνοικήσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὧν ὀνόματα Κεκροπία, Τετράπολις, Ἐπακρία, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>t</sup> See Pollux VIII. 109. quoted above p. 54. m.

<sup>v</sup> See Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 95. 266. 417.

<sup>w</sup> Apollod. III. 14, 1. conf. Isocrat. Panath. c. 78. p. 273. c.

<sup>x</sup> Apollodor. Ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Apollod. III. 15, 1. *Butes* and *Erechtheus* were associated with *Neptune* in the Ἐρίχθειον: Pausan. I. 26, 6. ἰσελθούσι δὲ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὺς θύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ μαρτυρήματος, καὶ ἦρας Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου. Harpoer. Βούτης. οὗτος ἔσχε τὴν ἱερωσίην· καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου Βουτάδας· καὶ Ἐτεοβουτάδας, οἱ ἀπὸ γένου τοῦ Βούτου.

<sup>z</sup> Herodot. I. 56. VIII. 44. VII. 94.

<sup>a</sup> The presence of the Ionians in the north of Peloponnesus may be traced in *Bura* daughter of *Ion*: Steph. Byz. Βούρα· πόλις Ἀχαιῶν· ἀπὸ Βούρας θυγατρὸς Ἰωνος—καὶ Ἑλλάδος· and in the river *laon*:



There seems, then, no just reason for rejecting the well-known boast of the Athenians, that they were an aboriginal people; an account which is repeated by many writers<sup>b</sup>, and which derives authority from Thucydides<sup>c</sup>, who affirms the fact and assigns the cause<sup>d</sup>.

Dionys. Perieg. 416.

ἐνθα Μέλας, ὅθι Κραῖθις, ἵνα ῥέει ἰγρὸς Ἰάων.

They also penetrated to the west, where the fountain of the *Nymphæ Ionides* occurs near Olympia: Pausan. VI. 22, 4. ἀπέχει δὲ ὡς ὁ Ὀλυμπίας σταδίου—Κύθηρος ποταμός· πῆγῃ δὲ ἐκδιδοῦσα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ.—ἐν κοινῇ δὲ σφισιν ἐπικλήσεις Ἰωνίδες—καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνος λέγουσι τοῦ Γάργηττοῦ, μετακίησαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Strabo VIII. p. 356. περὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίου τῆς Ὀλυμπίας, παρὰ τὸν Κυθήριον ποταμὸν—ὅτ' τὸ τῶν Ἰωνιδῶν νυμφῶν ἱερὸν. Athen. XV. p. 683. a. Νικαυδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ γεωργικῶν—περὶ τῶν Ἰάδων νυμφῶν τάδε λέγει· κ. τ. λ. In the lines which follow they are called Ἰωνιάδες νύμφαι and νύμφαισιν Ἰαονιδέσσι. In the east the Ionians held Epidaurus till after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus: Pausan. VII. 4, 3.

Herodotus VIII. 73. represents the Cynurians as indigenous and Ionian: οἱ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ὄντες δοκέουσι μῦθοι εἶναι Ἰωνες· ἐκδεδαριένται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Valckenaer ad l. supposes a contradiction in this passage: *Ab Herodoto scribi non potuit* δοκέουσι μὲν μοι εἶναι Ἰωνες, *quæ viri docti est conjectura: videbantur enim nostro αὐτόχθονες Cynurii. Commode scribi poterit* οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι, αὐτόχθονες ὄντες, δοκέουσι μὲν ἐνίοις εἶναι Ἰωνες· ἐκδεδαριένται δέ. But this would require an infinitive ἐκδεδαριῶσθαι. The last member of the sentence ἐκδεδαριένται asserts the opinion of Herodotus himself; consequently the first clause δοκέουσι εἶναι Ἰωνες also expresses his opinion. Herodotus does not appear to have supposed that the Ionians of Peloponnesus were supplied from the Ionians of Attica. They were Pelasgians till they acquired the name of Ionians from the son of *Xuthus*, who imparted a new name to the aboriginal race: VII. 94. Ἰωνες ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκουν τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιῆν, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναὸν τε καὶ Εἰῶθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαῖες· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνος τοῦ Εἰῶθου, Ἰωνες. They were in like manner Pelasgic in Attica: VIII. 44. Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἔχοντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἔσαν Πελασγοὶ, οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναιοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλῆος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι· ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθῆος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν· Ἰωνος δὲ τοῦ Εἰῶθου στρατάρχου γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι, ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἰωνες. Here they were aboriginal (I. 56), and underwent only a change of name. A new appellation, but not a new race, was introduced by *Ion*. After the great revolution produced by the Dorian conquest, the Ionians of the north and

east of the peninsula were expelled; the Cynurians alone remained: and these he calls indigenous. As he referred the Ionians to the Pelasgic stock, he seems to have considered them as equally indigenous in Attica and in Peloponnesus. They were in his view a part of the primeval race, the *Pelasgi*, in both countries.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. I. 56. οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε. Idem VII. 161. Ἀθηναῖοι ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μῦθοι δὲ ὄντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἕλληνας. Plato Menex. p. 237. ἡ τῶν προγόνων γένεσις οὐκ ἐπῆλυσ ὅσα οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκγόνους· τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποφνηαμένη μετακίοντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἡκόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας. Isocrates Panegy. p. 45. c. ταύτην οἰκούμεν οὐκ ἐτέρους ἐκβαλόντες οὐδ' ἐρήμην καταλαβόντες οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μιγάδες συλλεγόντες κ. τ. λ. Idem Panath. p. 258. c. ὅντας δὲ μήτε μιγάδας μήτ' ἐπῆλυδας, ἀλλὰ μόνους αὐτόχθονας τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Euripides apud Plutarch. p. 604. D. Lycurg. Leocr. p. 160, 30.

ἢ πρῶτα μὲν λεῖος οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν αὐτόχθονες δ' ἔφμεν—

Idem Ion. 29.

—λαὸν εἰς αὐτόχθονα

κλειῶν Ἀθηνῶν—

Ibid. 591.

—εἶναι φασὶ τὰς αὐτόχθονας

κλειῶν Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπέισακτον γένος.

Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 424. μῦθοι γὰρ πάντων αὐτόχθονες ὑμεῖς ἐστε κάκεινοι [sc. Ἀρκάδες]. Agatharchides apud Phot. Cod. 250. p. 1328. τοὺς τὴν Ἀρκადίαν οἰκοῦντας καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γηγενεῖς τε εἶναι καὶ παρὰ φύσιν γεγενῆσθαι. where he does not ridicule the fact itself, but the poetical expression of it, taken in its literal sense. Harpocratio v. αὐτόχθονες after quoting Demosthenes l. c. remarks, Ἀπολλύδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν κληθῆναι φησὶν αὐτοὺς αὐτόχθονας, ἐπεὶ τὴν χθόνα, τούτεστι τὴν γῆν, ἀργῇ οὖσαν πρῶτοι εἰργάσαντο. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐπῆλυδας.

<sup>c</sup> Thucyd. I. 2. τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν ἄνθρωποι ἄκουσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ—ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμοι ἢ στάσεις ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέλαιον ὃν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολλοὶ γιγνώμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιῶν μείζων ἔτι ἐποησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>d</sup> This account has been of late rejected, and it has been affirmed that the Ionians were a distinct race from the old Pelasgic inhabitants of Attica; that they conquered these old inhabitants, and reduced them to slavery. The arguments by which Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 266—274. vol. II. p. 64. maintains these positions are the following. The ancient inhabitants worshipped *Minerva*, an ancient and native deity:



The accounts concerning *Ion* and his four sons are not well adjusted to the Attic history. While his influence remodelled the constitution, the Attic kings reign without interruption.

the Ionians introduced the worship of *Apollo*, a god of later introduction. His worship was adapted to the military caste alone, the ancient *Hoplites*. The four castes of the Athenian people mark a dominant race, the Ionians, under the *Hoplites*; and a subject race, the ancient inhabitants, under the *Ergadeis* and *Ægicoreis*. But it may be answered, 1. The worship of *Apollo* was not introduced in a hostile manner; for it did not supersede the worship of *Minerva*, who still remained the tutelary goddess of the city. *Apollo* πατῆρ at Athens, whom we have already seen mentioned by Aristotle in p. 53. b. is also mentioned by Plato Euthydem. p. 302. c. αὐτῇ ἢ ἐπανομία (Zeὺς πατῆρ) Ἰόνων οὐδενί, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε πόλεως ἀπικισμένοι εἰσὶν οὐθ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατῆρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰωνος γένεσιν. Zeὺς δ' ἡμῖν πατῆρ μὲν οὐ καλεῖται ἔρκειαι δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ φράτρια. Schol. ad loc. p. 369. Bekk. φασί τινες Ἀθηναίους αὐτόχθονας φῦναι καὶ τοῦτ' ἰσχυρὰ ἔχειν Γῆν καὶ Ἥλιον, ὅς ἐ αὐτός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλων. οἱ δὲ, ὅτι Κροῦσῷ τῇ Ἐρεχθίδι μνηεῖς Ἀπόλλων Ἰωνα ἐγέννησεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ποτὶ Ἰωνα κληθῆναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πατῆρ αὐτοῖς Ἀπόλλωνα ἔχειν. Diod. XVI. 57. Ἀθηναῖον—εὐχόμενοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατῆρ αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πύργον. Plutarch. Alcib. c. 2. ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥς οἱ πατέρες λέγουσιν, ἀρχηγέτις Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πατῆρ Ἀπόλλων ἐστίν. Idem Demetr. c. 40. Ἀπόλλων—ὅς δὲ καὶ πατῆρ ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγός. Plato Rep. IV. p. 427. οὐδὲ χρηστέμεθι ἐξηγητῇ ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ πατρί. ἔλτοι γὰρ δήπου ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητὴς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγῆται. Aristid. Panath. p. 97. Δητὰ—τίκτει δὲ—τὸν πατῆρ Ἀπόλλων τῇ πόλει. Schol. ad loc. πατῆρ—ὅτι ἡράσθη Κροῦσῷ, καὶ τέτοκεν Ἰωνα κ. τ. λ. Aristides p. 112. (ἢ πόλις) προσλαβοῦσα τὸν κενὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξηγητὴν, αὐτῇ δὲ πατῆρ, τὸν Ἀπόλλων τὸν Πύθιον. where the Scholiast repeats the same interpretation of πατῆρ. In the scrutiny of the archons: Pollux VIII. 85. ἐκαλεῖτό τις θεομνηστὴν ἀνάκρισις, εἰ Ἀθηναῖος εἰσὶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκ τριγονίας, καὶ τὸν δῆμον πόθιν; καὶ εἰ Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς πατῆρ καὶ Zeὺς ἔρκειος. Conf. Demosth. Eubulid. p. 1319. A citizen in Demosthenes observes Eubulid. p. 1315. παιδῶν ἵστα με εὐθὺς ἔργον εἰς τοὺς φράτριαι, οἳ Ἀπόλλωνος πατῆρ ἦν, εἰς τὰλλα ἱερά. The oath of a dicast: Pollux VIII. 122. ὅμνον ἐν Ἀρχήτῳ δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλων πατῆρ καὶ Δημήτρεα καὶ Δία βασιλεῖα. These passages do not justify the inference that the worship of *Apollo* was introduced by hostile means, and by a forcible occupation of Attica; or that *Apollo* was only πατῆρ to families of foreign origin and to the descendants of a dominant class. Moreover Mr.

Muller acknowledges that *Apollo* was the god of the Dorians, and that the Ionians adopted this worship from them. But we have no proof from hence that they were not in Attica before they adopted this worship; and this circumstance, that *Apollo* was a Dorian and not an Ionian god, would be a reason why the worship of *Apollo* and *Minerva* remained distinct. The worship, however, of *Apollo* by the people of Attica seems to have been of earlier date than the time assigned to the son of *Xuthus*: for Plutarch apud Euseb. Præp. II. p. 99. observes; ἡ δὲ τῶν ἑοάνων πόλεις ἀρχαῖον ἔοικεν εἶναι τι καὶ παλαιόν, εἰ γε ἑλλινον μὲν ἦν τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Δῆλον ὑπὸ Ἐρυσίχθονος Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρίων ἀγαλμα, ἑλλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἱδρυθῆναι, ὃ μέχρι τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαφυλάττουσιν. A procession to Delos is here ascribed to the time of *Cecrops*; for *Erysichthon* was the son of *Cecrops*. The *Apollo* of the Athenians was said to be the son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*: Cic. N. D. III. 22. 23. *Vulcanus primus Cælo natus, ex quo et Minerva Apollinem eum cujus in tutela Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt.*—*Apollinum antiquissimum is quem paullo ante ex Vulcano natum esse dixi, custodem Athenarum.* Lydus de Mensibus p. 105. Ἡφαιστοί τέσσαρες· πρῶτος Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας, πατὴρ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἀρχηγέτου. Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 266., referring to these passages, observes that this is nothing more than an endeavour to create a family connexion between the principal gods of the same town. These traditions, however, shew that the worship of *Apollo* was not introduced by hostile means. They imply that this god was peaceably received and voluntarily admitted by the worshippers of *Minerva* and of *Vulcan*. 2. The four Ionian tribes prove nothing in favour of Mr. Muller's position; for it is not established by any proof that these described four castes, as we have seen already at p. 54. m. But if they had, this circumstance would not shew that the Ionians and the old inhabitants stood to each other in the relation of the Dorians to the Helots, or the *Thesali* to the *Penestæ*. If this division existed at all, it was either borrowed from Egypt or an original institution of the Ionians themselves. Mr. Boeckh, to whom Muller refers, inclines to the latter opinion Mus. Crit. vol. II. p. 615. *Sive a Cecrope Ægyptio, ut sunt qui putent, Athenæ traxerunt, sive Ionica gentis antequam Atticam terram occuparet propria fuit; quod multo magis probabile est, tum quod ab Ionis filiis appellati populi feruntur, &c.* p. 609. *Ionica gentis rempublicam initio peræque invenias atque*

The four tribes are named from the sons of *Ion* in the reign of *Erechtheus* by one account<sup>e</sup>, and yet *Ion* himself is the grandson of *Erechtheus*, and first appears in Attica in the reign of *Cecrops II.*<sup>f</sup> The years and reigns of the Attic kings are delivered with a show of authority proportioned rather to the subsequent fame of Athens than to the degree of evidence: and the history of Attica before the Trojan era is more obscure and more unsatisfactory than that of many other parts of Greece. Eusebius<sup>g</sup>, following Castor, thus assigns the years of these kings down to the Trojan era:

Anno	
461. 1.	<i>Cecrops</i> ..... 50
511. 2.	<i>Cranæus indigena</i> ..... 9
520. 3.	<i>Amphictyon Deucal. f.</i> ..... 10 (9)
530. 4.	<i>Erechtheus s. Erichthonius</i> ..... 50
580. 5.	<i>Pandion I. Ericthonii f.</i> ..... 40
620. 6.	<i>Erechtheus Pandionis f.</i> ..... 50
670. 7.	<i>Cecrops II. frater Erecthei</i> ..... 40
710. 8.	<i>Pandion II. Erechthei f.</i> ..... 25
735. 9.	<i>Ægeus Pandionis f.</i> ..... 48
783. 10.	<i>Theseus Ægei f.</i> ..... 30
813. 11.	<i>Menestheus Petei f.</i> ..... 23
835.	<i>Ilium captum.</i> ..... 375

*A primo autem anno Cecropis usque ad Trojæ excidium atque ad 23<sup>um</sup>. Menesthei conficiuntur anni 376.*

All these kings are recognized by the Parian Marble, from which nearly the same dates

*Orientis civitates constitutam.* We have seen that no tradition ascribes the institution to *Cecrops*; and the genealogical expression of the four tribes, as Mr. Boeckh intimates, makes the institution of Ionian origin. *Geleon, Argadeus, Ægicoreus, Hoples*, are all equally sons of *Ion*. The Ionians, then, brought this division into castes with them into Attica. But in this case not only the Ὀπλητῆς were Ionians, but the Ἐγκαδεῖς and Αἰγυκορεῖς were Ionians too; and these supposed castes do not represent a military caste of conquerors and subject classes of the conquered. And this is confirmed by another consideration; that in the political division of a Grecian state the dominant people alone is regarded: the conquered are not included in any such distribution. Mr. Lewis Philol. Mus. vol. II. p. 60. has shewn this in the case of the Spartan commonwealth. This fact, then, that the agricultural and labouring population were admitted into the tribes together with the warriors, would establish that they were not a conquered race reduced to the condition of vassals, but freemen associated upon equal and independent terms.

This inquiry concerning the tenure of the Ionians in Attica is independent of the question already considered p. 55. concerning their origin. Although Mr. Muller's position were true, that they acquired Attica by force, they might still be of the same race with the former inhabitants; as the *Thessali* and many of the *Penestæ* were of the same race. The *Ætoli* conquered the *Epei*, a people of the same race with themselves. The Achæans expelled the Ionians, and yet these two tribes were ascribed to the same original. Nor is it any objection to the Pelasgic origin of the Ionians, as some have thought, that no *Pelasgus* occurs in their genealogy. No *Pelasgus* occurs among the *Leleges*, whose founder is *Lelex*. And yet these were Pelasgic. The *Iones*, then, might be Pelasgic, although their founder is not *Pelasgus*, but *Ion*.

<sup>e</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων ἐπὶ Ἐρεχθέως Pollux VIII. 109.

<sup>f</sup> In the sixteenth year of *Cecrops II.* according to Eusebius p. 290.

<sup>g</sup> Euseb. Chron. lib. I. p. 134. ex Castore: lib. II. p. 251. 280—298.



are obtained; *Cecrops* being placed in the 374th year before the fall of Troy, which is placed in the twenty-second year of *Menestheus*<sup>h</sup>.

These eleven kings are acknowledged by Pausanias and Apollodorus<sup>i</sup>. According to

No.	Anni Ante Trojæ etc.
<sup>h</sup> 1. <i>Cecrops</i> (50 years) ...	1318. 374.
3. <i>Cranaius</i> (10 years) ...	1268. 324.
4. <i>Cranaius</i> .....	1265.
5. <i>Amphictyon</i> (10 years) ...	1258. 314.
8. <i>Amphictyon</i> .....	1252.
9. <i>Erichthonius</i> .....	1247.
11. <i>Pandion</i> .....	—
12. <i>Erichtheus</i> .....	1145.
14. <i>Erichtheus</i> .....	1135.
16. <i>Pandion</i> ὁ Κέκροπος .....	1062.
18. <i>Pandion</i> ὁ Κέκροπος .....	—
19. <i>Ægeus</i> .....	—
20. <i>Ægeus</i> .....	1031. 87.
21. <i>Theseus</i> .....	995. 51.
(Accession of <i>Menestheus</i> )	966. 22.
24. 13th of <i>Menestheus</i> ...	954. 10.
25. Troy taken, 22nd <i>Menestheus</i> ...	945. 1.

*Cecrops II.* is ascertained from No. 18. The years of *Cecrops I.*, *Cranaius*, and *Amphictyon*, are also ascertained from the numbers on the Marble. That *Theseus* reigned at least twenty-nine years is determined from No. 21. 24.

A different account of these reigns is given in *Excerpta Barbara apud Scalig.* Euseb. p. 76. repeated by Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. LX. who observes, *Atheniensium regum, &c. chronologiam ex excerptis Latino-barbaris subjecisse nunc libet, quæ a chronologo quodam post A. D. 491 edita fuit.* This author reckons a *Cecrope usque Codrum annos quadringentos XCII.* But his detail gives 501 years, as follows:

<i>Cecrops</i> .....	50
<i>Amphictyon</i> .....	40
<i>Erichthonius</i> .....	10
<i>Pandion</i> .....	50
<i>Erechtheus</i> .....	40
<i>Cecrops</i> .....	53
<i>Pandion</i> .....	43
<i>Ægeus</i> .....	48
<i>Theseus</i> .....	31
<i>Menestheus</i> .....	19—(384)
<i>Demopho</i> .....	35
<i>Oxyntes</i> .....	14
<i>Aphidas</i> .....	1
<i>Thymætes</i> .....	9
<i>Melanthus</i> .....	37
<i>Codrus</i> .....	21—(117)

501

Africanus reckons 1020 years from *Ogyges* to the Olympiad of *Corabus*: see above p. 7. and

189 years from *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*: Euseb. Præp. X. p. 490. A. μετά δὲ Ὀγυγον διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ πολλὴν φθορὰν ἀβασίλευτος ἔμεινεν ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ μέχρι Κέκροπος ἔτη ρηθ'. τὸν γὰρ μετὰ Ὀγυγον Ἀκταῖον ἢ τὰ πλασσόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲ γενέσθαι φησὶ Φιλόχορος. This would place *Cecrops* at 1020—189=831 years before the first Olympiad, as Dr. Routh has assigned the numbers Rel. Patr. tom. II. p. 361. and 831—407=424 years before the fall of Troy. But Africanus in a passage quoted by Dr. Routh himself Ibid. reckoned less than 400 years for that interval: ἀπὸ Κέκροπος ἐκ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλυσιν συνάγονται μικροῦ δέοντα ἔτη ὕ'. He computed, then, those 189 years from the end of the reign of *Ogyges*, and not from the beginning. If he placed *Cecrops* with Eusebius at 375 years before the Trojan era, this would suppose him to allow forty-nine years for the reign of *Ogyges*.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. I. 2, 5. ἀποθανόντος Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν Ἀκταίου—τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Κέκροπος Κραναῖς ἐξεδέξατο, Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει προύχων.—Κραναῖ δὲ Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαναστάς—παῖει τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων ἐκπίπτει. πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν. Idem I. 5, 3. πρότερος γὰρ ἦρξε Κέκροψ ὃς τὴν Ἀκταίου θυγατέρα ἔσχηκε, καὶ ὕστερον ἄλλος, ὃς μετέφηκεν ἐς Εὐβοίαν, Ἐρεχθέως υἱὸς τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου. καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου. τοῦτον Μητιονίδας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρον—συνεκκίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Πανδίωνα μὲν αὐτὸν λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν—οἱ δὲ παῖδες κατὰσί τε ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων, ἐκβαλόντες Μητιονίδας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Αἰγέως πρεσβύτατος ὧν ἔσχε. For *Theseus* and *Menestheus* conf. I. 17. Apollodorus III. 14. 15. Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων—τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος—Κέκροπος δὲ ἀποθανόντος, Κραναῖς αὐτόχθων ὧν, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος λέγεται κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι.—Κραναῖν δὲ ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύων ἐβασίλευσε. τοῦτον ἔνιοι μὲν Δευκαλίωνος ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτόχθονα λέγουσι. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη δώδεκα Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκβαλλεί. τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἥφαιστου καὶ τῆς Κραναῖς θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἥφαιστου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς—Πασίθιαν Νηῖδα σύμφην ἔφημεν, ἐξ ἧς παῖς Πανδίων ἐγεννήθη. Ἐριχθονίον δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος ἐν τῇ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηναῖς [hence Clemens Protr. p. 29. B. τί θαὶ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῇ νεφ' τῆς Πολιάδος κεκῆθεται;]—Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν.—Πανδίωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τὰ πατρίδα ἐμερίσαντο καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθεὺς λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου [Ἐρεχθέως Heyn.] Βούτης. γήμας δὲ Ἐρεχθεὺς Πραξιθέαν—ἔσχε

Apollodorus, *Cecrops* was an indigenous chief<sup>k</sup>. Some accounts derive him from Egypt<sup>l</sup>. But the Egyptian settlement of *Cecrops*, if he was Egyptian, made but little impression upon the country; for he had no successors of his own race, and the next kings, *Cranæus*, *Amphictyon*, and *Erichthonius*, were all natives of the country. And Isocrates considers the Attic kings to be properly founded by *Erichthonius*<sup>m</sup>.

The years assigned to the first kings are inconsistent with the facts. *Erechtheus* the father-in-law of *Xuthus* would be contemporary with *Hellen* and *Amphictyon*; and yet between *Amphictyon* and *Erechtheus* are interposed two reigns and ninety years. But these two reigns we may with Newton expunge from the list, as inconsistent with the other traditions<sup>n</sup>.

παῖδας Κέκροπα, Πάνδορον, Μητίονα, θυγατέρας δὲ Πρόκριν, Κρέουσιν, Χθονίαν, Ὠρείθυιαν, ἣν ἤρπασε Βορέας. Χθονίαν μὲν ὦν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσιν δὲ Ξεῦθος.—Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐρεχθέα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καταλύσαντος, Κέκροψ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἐρεχθέως παίδων ἐβασίλευσε—ἔτεκνεσε Πανδίωνα. οὗτος μετὰ Κέκροπα βασιλεύων ὑπὸ τῶν Μητίονος υἱῶν κατὰ στάσιν ἐξεβλήθη. Πανδίων δὲ ἐν Μεγάρῳ ὄντι παῖδες ἐγένοντο Αἰγύς, Πάλλας, Νῖσος, Λύκος.—μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πανδίωνος τελευτήν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Μητιονίδας καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τετραχῇ διέδιλον· εἶχε δὲ τὸ πᾶν κράτος Αἰγύς. For *Theseus* conf. Apollod. III. 16. For *Menestheus*, III. 10, 8. For Ποσειδῶνιον Heyne ad loc. properly restores Ἐρεχθέως. Hesychius, to whom he refers: Ἐρεχθεύς. Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις. Lycophr. 158. ἔσται Ἐρεχθεύς—Athenagoras (quoted by Potter ad Lyc. l. c.) p. 4. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεὺ Ποσειδῶνι θύει. Vit. X. Or. p. 843. B. τὴν ἱερουσύνην Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθεύς.

<sup>k</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>l</sup> Proclus ad Timæum apud Siebel. Phanodemii fragm. p. 3. τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους Καλλισθένης μὲν καὶ Φανόδημος πατέρας τῶν Σαῖτῶν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἀνάπαλιν ἀποκόμους αὐτῶν εἶναι φησιν. Ἀττικὸς δὲ ὁ Πλατωνικὸς διὰ βασκανίαν φησὶ μεταποιῆσαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τὸν Θεόπομπον—ὁ δὲ Πλάτων [Timæo p. 21. e] τοσοῦτον μόνον εἶπε περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι φιλαθήναιοι τε οἱ Σαῖται καὶ τινὰ τρόπον (Ἀθηναίων) οἰκεῖσι. Diod. I. 28. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι—τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φασὶν ἀποκόμους εἶναι Σαῖτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Africanus apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 491. A. Ἀθηναίους—ἀποκόμους Αἰγυπτίων ὑπονοούμενους, ὥς φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐν τῷ Τρικαρῆν Θεόπομπος. Tzetz. ad Lyc. 111. ἡ Ἀττικὴ βασιλεία ἦν τοῦ Κέκροπος· ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἀπὸ Σάεως πόλεως Αἰγύπτου τὰς Ἀθήνας συνῆκσε.—διμορφὸν δὲ λέγουσι καὶ διφιλεῖ τὸν Κέκροπα—ἡ διὰ τὸ δύο φωνὰς ἐπίστασθαι, Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ Ἑλληνίδα, κ. τ. λ. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 391. τὸν Κέκροπα φασὶν οἱ μῦθοι τοῦναντίον ἀπὸ ὕψους εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν Βάρβαρον Αἰγυπτιασμὸν ἀφρεῖς χρηστοῦς ἀνελάβετο τρόπους πολιτικούς. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 773. Κέκροψ Αἰγύπτιος ὦν τὸ γένος ἔκχεσε τὰς Ἀθήνας. We have

seen already p. 56. that he was supposed to have divided Attica into twelve towns, and to have governed Bœotia as well as Attica. His tomb was shewn in the Acropolis: Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. B. Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει (τάφος ἐστὶ) Κέκροπος, ὃς φησιν Ἀντίλοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν.

<sup>m</sup> Isocr. Panath. p. 258. d. Ἐριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φύς ἐξ Ἠφαίστου καὶ γῆς παρὰ Κέκροπος ἄπαιδος ὄντος ἀρρένων παίδων τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀρχάμενοι πάντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκεῖνον, ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τὰς κτήσεις τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς δυναστείας τοῖς αὐτῶν παισὶ παρέδοσαν μέχρι Θησέως.

<sup>n</sup> Newton Chronology p. 141. observes, “*Hellen* was about one, and *Deucalion* two generations older than *Erechtheus*. They could not be much older, because *Xuthus* the youngest son of *Hellen* married *Creusa* the daughter of “*Erechtheus*.” And he expunges *Erichthonius* and *Pandion I.* from the list of kings, partly for this reason, and partly because the circumstances which belong to *Erichthonius* are ascribed by Homer, Themistius, and Plato, to *Erechtheus*. *Erichthonius* and *Erechtheus* are distinguished by many authorities. To those already quoted at p. 60. may be added the following: Pindar and the author of the *Danaïdes*: Harpocr. v. Αὐτόχθονες. ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ τὴν *Danaïdes* πεποιηκὸς φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον ἐκ Γῆς καὶ Ἠφαίστου φανῆναι. Hellanicus and Androtion ascribed the *Panathenæa* to *Erichthonius*: Harp. Παναθήναια. ἡ γὰρ τὴν ἑορτὴν ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἠφαίστου, καθὰ φασιν Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Ἀνδρότιον, ἐκάτερος ἐν α' Ἀτθίδος. Hyperides mentions *Pandion* son of *Erichthonius*: Harp. Πανδίωνις· μία τῶν δέκα φυλῶν—κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐριχθονίου, ὥς Ὑπερίδης λέγει. Philochorus: Harp. κανηφόροι. περὶ τῶν κανηφόρων Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἀτθίδος φησὶν ὡς Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλεύοντος πρῶτον κατέστησαν αἱ ἐν ἀξιωματίᾳ παρθένοι φέρειν τὰ κανᾶ τῇ θεῷ, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέκειτο τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ταῖς τε Παναθηναίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πομπαῖς. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 542. Φιλόχορον ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, ὅς γε καὶ τὸν καταδόντα τὸ ἔθος (τοῦ θαλαφορεῖν) Ἐριχθόνιον συνίστησι. *Erechtheus* is named by Philochorus apud Syncell. p. 161. A.



Under the names of *Erichthonius* or *Erechtheus* appears to be described a native chief of Ionian race, who in the fourth or fifth generation before the Trojan war introduced or restored the worship of *Minerva* in Attica, and, perhaps with the aid of the Ionians of Peloponnesus, carried on war against Eleusis<sup>o</sup>. From him *Theseus* and *Menestheus* were said to be descended<sup>p</sup>.

Harp. v. Βοηδρόμια. *Erichthonius* is named *Erechtheus* in Homer II. β'. 547.

ὄημον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη  
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα,  
κἀδ' ὃ' ἐν Ἀθῆναις εἶπεν ἔφ' ἐνὶ πτόνι νηῆϊ.

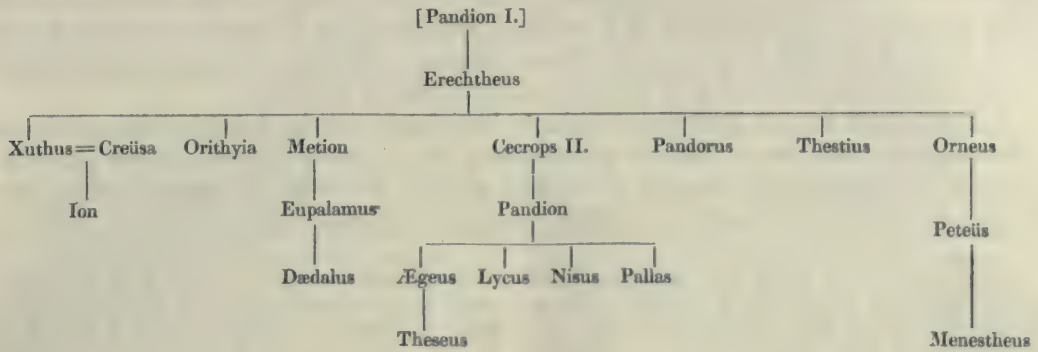
Schol. ad loc. Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀθηναίων, τοῦ καὶ Ἐριχθονίου καλουμένου, γεννηθέντος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἥφαιστου. Eustath. p. 283. εὐγενὴς δὲ ἀνὴρ ὁ Ἐρεχθεὺς καὶ συνετὸς, ὡς εἶα καὶ Ἀθηναῖς τρέφimus καὶ αὐτόχθων, οὐ μὴν ἔπλην, καθά τινας ἐπέλαβον τὸν Κέκροπα—τινὲς δὲ τὸν ἀπὲν καὶ Ἐριχθόνιον φασὶ—πλάττουσι δὲ ἕτεροι καὶ μῦθον αἰσχυρὸν ἐκείνους τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἔριου καὶ τῆς χθονός. κ. τ. λ. Hom. Odys. η'. 81. ὅτε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν ὄριον. Schol. ad loc. τὸ ἐαυτῆς τέμενος. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἐτράφη ὁ Ἐρεχθεὺς. Etym. Magn. Ἐρεχθεὺς. ὁ Ἐπιχθόνιος καλούμενος, κ. τ. λ. Ἐρεχθεὺς κύριον—ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται καὶ Ἐριχθόνιος. Herodot. VIII. 55. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθῆος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς ἐν τῇ εἰλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἐν, κ. τ. λ. Vit. X. Or. p. 843. E. Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ γῆς καὶ Ἥφαιστου. Themist. or. 27. p. 337. A. ἔπειν ἄρμα ὑπ' Ἐρεχθέως πρῶτον ζευχθῆναι λέγεται. where Harduin without reason corrects ὑπ' Ἐριχθαίου or ὑπ' Ἐριχθονίου. Two questions arise upon these passages; whether there were two of the name of *Erechtheus*, or whether only one. The former opinion is followed by Castor and Eusebius, see p. 59. and by Heyne ad Apollod. p. 837. *Videntur duo Erechthei constitui posse, alter antiquior, cognomine Erichthonius, alter is qui infra Apollod. III. 15, 1.* The passages here given may be interpreted to favour Heyne's opinion. Homer appears to have known nothing of *Erichthonius* as a distinct person from *Erechtheus*; and, after the Athenians had invented *Erichthonius* as a distinct person, it is probable that they might adopt Homer to this account by inventing two *Erechthei*. The following passages, however, clearly refer to only one: Xenoph. Mem. III. 5, 10. λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθέως γῆν τρεφὴν καὶ γόνειον καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑχομένης ἡπείρου πάσης where Vales. apud Weisk. tom. VI. p. 341. remarks, *Confundere videtur Erechtheum quo regnante bellum gessere contra Thracas cum altero antiquiore Erechtheo seu potius Erichthonio.* Demosth. Epitaph. p. 1397. ᾗδεσαν ἅπαντες Ἐρεχθεῖδαν τὸν ἐπένοντο αὐτῶν Ἐρεχθία ἵνεκα τοῦ σῶσαι τὴν χώραν τὰς αὐτοῦ παῖδας—εἰς πρῶτον θάνατον δόντα ἀναλῶσαι, αἰσχυρὸν δὲν ἡγῶντο τὸν μὲν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων πεφυκέντα πάντα ποιεῖν κ. τ. λ. where τὸν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων πε-

φυκέντα in their literal sense would describe *Erichthonius*. Plato Alcib. I. p. 121. a. ὁ δὲ Δαίδαλος (ἀναφέρεται) εἰς Ἥφαιστον τὸν Διός. Schol. ad loc. p. 388. Bekk. Ζεὺς=Ἥρα' Ἥφαιστος=Γῆ' Ἐρεχθεὺς=Πρακρὴς Μητίων=γυνὴ τις' Εὐπάλαμος=Ἀλκίππη' Δαίδαλος. Here *Erechtheus* and *Erichthonius* are the same person: the two other steps in the pedigree *Erichthonius* and *Pandion* being omitted. The same genealogy occurs in Steph. Byz. v. Μέγαραι—ἀπὸ Μεγαρέως—τοῦ Αἰγέως τοῦ Πανδίωνος τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Ἥφαιστου. We may suspect then that even among the ancients themselves there were some who believed *Erichthonius* son of *Vulcan* to be the same person as *Erechtheus* the father of *Creüsa* and of *Cecrops II.*

<sup>o</sup> *Ion* assisted *Erechtheus* in this war according to Philochorus apud Harp. v. Βοηδρόμια. Others placed *Ion* in the next reign. The war of *Erechtheus* and *Eumolpus* is mentioned by Isocrates Panath. c. 78. p. 273. Θρήκες μὲν γὰρ μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἰσέβαλαν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὃς ἡμφισβήτησεν Ἐρεχθεὶ τῆς πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσειδῶ πρότερον Ἀθηναῖς καταλαβεῖν αὐτήν. Thucyd. II. 15. τινὲς καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. Lycurg. Leocr. p. 160, 9. φασὶ γὰρ Εὐμόλπον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Χιῶνης μετὰ Θρακῶν ἐλθεῖν τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦντα, τυχεῖν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους βασιλεύοντα Ἐρεχθέα, γυναῖκα ἔχοντα Πραξιθέαν τὴν Κηφισοῦ θυγατέρα. κ. τ. λ. *Erechtheus* slew in this war *Immaradus* son of *Eumolpus*: Pausan. I. 5, 2. ἐνίκησεν Ἐλευσινίους μάχῃ καὶ τὸν ἡγοῦμενον ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰμμάραδον τὸν Εὐμόλπου. or *Eumolpus* himself: Apollod. III. 15, 4. Ἐρεχθεὺς μὲν ἀνέβλεν Εὐμόλπον. By another account he fell himself: Pausan. I. 38, 4. γενόμενης μάχης ἀπέθανε μὲν Ἐρεχθεὺς Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰμμάραδος ὁ Εὐμόλπου (Ἰμμάραδος ὁ Εὐμόλπου καὶ Δαείρας Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. B). *Eumolpus* is mentioned by Aristides Panath. p. 118. He is the son of *Neptune* in the preceding testimonies; to which we may add Isocrat. Panegy. p. 54. c. Θρήκες μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. He was said to be the grandson of *Orithyia* whom *Boreas* carried off: Pausan. I. 38, 3. Apollod. III. 15, 2—4. An example how negligently genealogies were sometimes composed; for according to this pedigree he would be the great grandson of his competitor *Erechtheus*.

<sup>p</sup> The genealogy stands thus:

*Pandion* the father of *Ægeus* is said to have divided his kingdom among his four sons <sup>q</sup>, and is supposed to have possessed Megara as well as Attica. Thucydides however remarks that the authority of these early kings was very limited <sup>r</sup>; and it appears from Pausanias that



*Orithyia* is mentioned Herodot. VII. 189. *Thestius* or *Thespius* Pausan. IX. 26, 4. Diod. IV. 29. *Dædalus* is the grandson of *Metion* Apollod. III. 15, 8. Δαίδαλος ὁ Εὐπαλάμου παῖς τοῦ Μητίωνος. The same descent is in Schol. Platon. p. 388. already quoted. But the son, in Diod. IV. 76. Δαίδαλος εἰς τῶν Ἐρεχθιδῶν. ἦν γὰρ υἱὸς Μητίωνος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 472. Δαίδαλον περὶ οὗ Φερεκύδης φησὶν οὕτω: "Μη-  
" τίνφ δὲ τῷ Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Ἰφινόῃ γίνεται Δαίδαλος, ἀφ'  
" οὗ ὁ δῆμος καλεῖται Δαίδαλίδαι Ἀθήνησι." Plato Ion. p. 533. περὶ Δαίδαλου τοῦ Μητίωνος. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 868. has neglected to mark this variation. Wesseling ad Diod. IV. 76. has been more diligent. Pausanias VII. 4, 5. speaks generally: Δαίδαλφ—τῶν καλουμένων Μητιονιδῶν. And Plato Alcib. I. p. 121. a. ὁ δὲ Δαίδαλος ἀναφέρεται εἰς Ἥφαιστον τὸν Διός. Clidemus apud Plutarch. Thes. c. 19. derives him from a daughter of *Erechtheus*: Δαίδαλον μητρὸς ὄντα Μερόπης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως.

The *Erechthidæ* were said to have colonized Eubœa, but accounts vary concerning the leader. *Cecrops II.* μετέκρησεν ἐς Εὐβοίαν Pausan. I. 5, 3. Scymnus 572. ἐκ τῆς δ' Ἀττικῆς τὸν Ἐρεχθέως διαβάνα Πάνδαρον [Conf. Apollod. III. 15, 1] κτίσας Πόλιν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Χαλκίδα Αἰκλὴν τ' Ἐρετρίαν τ' Ἀθηναίων γένει. Τὴν δ' εἰναλίαν Κήρινθον ὁσαύτως Κόθον [conf. Strab. X. p. 445]. Schol. Hom. II. β'. 536. Ἐρεχθέως Κέκροφ, αὐτῶν Μητίων, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Μητιονίδαι· οὗ Χάλκων, οὗ Ἀβας, οὗ Ἀβαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσεν· οὗ Χαλκιδῶν, οὗ Ἐλεφφῶν. Eustath. p. 281, 26. Ἐρεχθέως υἱοῦ Πανδίωνος γίνεται Κέκροφ, Ἀρεῖς [I. Ὀρνείς], Πάνδαρος, Μητίων, δὲ Ἀρνέως μὲν Πετῶς, οὗ Μενεσθεύς—Πάνδαρος δὲ Εὐβοίαν οἰκίσει· οὗ Ἀλκων καὶ Δίας· δὲ ὁ μὲν Δῖον κτίσει [Schol. Hom. II. β'. 538. εἰρηται ἀπὸ Δίου τοῦ Πανδάρου], ὁ δ' Ἀλκων Ἀβαντα ἴσχει· οὗ Ἀβαντας ἐκάλεσεν· οὗ Χαλκιδῶν, οὗ Ἐλεφφῶν. But

Aristotle derived the *Abantes* from a different origin: Eustath. Ibid. οἱ δὲ λέγουσι καὶ ὅτι Θρήκες κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην ὀρηθέντες ἐξ Ἀβας τῆς Φωκικῆς ἐπώκησαν τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἐπωνόμασαν Ἀβαντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ. That a part of the population of Eubœa was Ionian we have seen already at p. 55. o.

<sup>q</sup> Strabo IX. p. 392. οἱ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγράψαντες πολλὰ διαφωνοῦντες τοῦτό γε ὁμολογοῦσιν, οἷον λέγου Ἀἰεῖοι, ὅτι τῶν Πανδιονιδῶν τεσσάρων ὄντων, Αἰγέως τε καὶ Λύκου καὶ Πάλλαντος καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου Νίσου, καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διαιρεθείσης, ὁ Νίσος τὴν Μεγαρίδα λάχοι, καὶ κτίσας τὴν Νίσαιαν. Φιλόχορος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ ἰσθμοῦ μέχρι Πυθίου διήκειν αὐτοῦ φησι τὴν ἀρχὴν, Ἀνδρῶν δὲ μέχρι Ἐλευσίνος καὶ τοῦ Θριασίου πεδίου. Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 58. δηρεῖτο εἰς τέσσαρας μερίδας τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἀττικὴ· Πανδίων γὰρ διαδεξάμενος τὴν Κέκροπος βασιλείαν προσκτησάμενος καὶ τὴν Μεγαρίδα ἐνεῖμε τὴν χώραν τοῖς παισὶν εἰς δ' μοῖρας· Αἰγέῖ μὲν τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἄστυ μέχρι Πυθίου Πάλλαντι δὲ τὴν Παραλίαν Λύκῳ δὲ τὴν Διακρίαν Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν Μεγαρίδα. Idem ad Vesp. 1218. τὴν χώραν τὴν Διακρίαν Πανδίωνα φασὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς διανεῖμαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν Λύκῳ δοῦναι, Αἰγέῖ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, Πάλλαντι τὴν Παραλίαν, Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν Μεγαρίδα. Lycus ultimately settled with *Sarpedon* brother of *Minos*, on the coast of Asia Minor, and from him the territory was called *Lycia*: Herodot. I. 173. Ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος ἐξελαθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφείου Αἰγέως. On this colony of *Lycus* see Pausan. I. 19. IV. 2. Strabo XII. p. 573. XIV. 667. Steph. Byz. Λυκία. Plutarch Thes. c. 13. relates of the *Pallantidæ*, οἱ δὲ Παλλαντιδαί—χαλεπῶς φέροντες εἰ βασιλεύει μὲν Αἰγέως θετὸς γενόμενος Πανδίωνι καὶ μηδὲν Ἐρεχθιδῶν προσήκων. But this is related only as the representation of the *Pallantidæ* the enemies of *Ægeus*, and will not justify any conclusion that *Ægeus* was of a different race from the *Erechthidæ*.

<sup>r</sup> Thuc. II. 15.



many traditions in the boroughs differed from those in the city<sup>s</sup>, and many early kings or founders were recorded who seem to have belonged to the aboriginal race<sup>t</sup>.

*Aegeus* and *Theseus* are not named in the *Iliad*, except in a line of suspected authority<sup>v</sup>. *Theseus* and *Ariadne* occur in the *Odyssey*<sup>w</sup>. *Aethra* occurs in the *Iliad*, supposed by very early authorities to be the mother of *Theseus*<sup>x</sup>. But as neither *Theseus* nor his sons are noticed in the *Iliad*, and as the age of *Theseus* creates a difficulty, those critics appear to be right, who suppose the mother of *Theseus* not mentioned in the *Iliad*<sup>y</sup>.

7. *Amphictyon* son of *Deucalion* is said to have instituted the Amphictyonic meeting at Thermopylæ. His temple there is mentioned by Herodotus<sup>z</sup>. Some accounts traced the name of the Amphictyonic meeting to another origin. According to others *Acrisius* established an Amphictyonic meeting at Delphi in imitation of that at Thermopylæ<sup>a</sup>. We may

<sup>s</sup> Pausan. I. 14, 6. δῆμός ἐστιν Ἀθηναίους Ἀθμωίων, οἱ Πορφύριονα ἔτι πρότερον Ἀκταίου βασιλεύσαντα τῆς Οὐρανίας φασὶ τὸ παρὰ σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. λέγουσι δὲ ἀνὰ τοῖς δῆμοις καὶ ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες. I. 38, 2. Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Κρόκωνα Κελεῦ θυγατρὶ συνοικῆσαι Σαισάρῃ λέγουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Σκαμβωνιδῶν εἰσὶν.

<sup>t</sup> Pausan. I. 31, 3. γέγραπται δὲ δὴ μοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς δῆμοις φάναι πολλοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευσαν τῆς Κέρκρας. ἔστι δὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα πρότερον ἢ Κέρκῃ ἐβασίλευσεν, ὡς εἰ Μυρμιριόσιον λέγουσιν, ἄρξαντες. I. 38, 7. Ἐλευσίνα δὲ ἦρα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἐρμού παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶ πεποιημένα Ὀργυον εἶναι πατέρα.

<sup>v</sup> *Iliad*. α'. 265. Θησεία τ' Αἰγιθίων ἐπιέκελον ἀβαράτισσι. This line occurs in Hesiod Scut. 182. from whence it was probably transferred to the copies of the *Iliad*. It is not commented upon by the Scholia on the *Iliad*, nor by Eustathius, and seems properly rejected by Wolf.

<sup>w</sup> *Odysseus*. λ'. 321. *Theseus* is named again *Ibid*. 630.

<sup>x</sup> *Iliad*. γ'. 144. Αἰθρῇ Πιτῆος θυγάτηρ. Arctinus, the earliest authority after Homer and Hesiod, understood *Aethra* to have been at Troy: apud Proclum Chrestom. p. 484. Gaisf. Δημοφῶν τε καὶ Ἀκάμας Αἰθραν εὐρόντες ἄγουσι μετ' ἐαυτῶν. That Arctinus mentioned the sons of *Theseus*, see the tables B. C. 775. Lesches also recognised *Aethra* at Troy: Pausan. X. 25, 3. Λέσχως δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰθραν ἐποίησεν, ἥνικα ἤλσκετο Ἴλιον, ἐπελθούσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ Ἑλληνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν γινώσκοντες τὸν Θησέως, καὶ ὡς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσας Δημοφῶν αὐτὴν, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>y</sup> On account of this difficulty the ancient critics on *Iliad* γ'. 144. rejected the mention of *Aethra*, or adopted another interpretation: οἱ μὲν τὴν Θησέως λέγουσι μητέρα, ἀθετήσαντες ἀπίθανον γὰρ εἶναι Ἑλάνης ἀμφίπυλον εἶναι τὴν ὅπως ὑπεραρχαίαν—εἰ δὲ ἱμοσυμία ἐστὶν—ἐατέον κ. τ. λ. Plutarch. Thes. c. 34. εἰ δὲ τῷτ' ἐπὶ τὸν εὐναβόλον. The age of *Theseus* may be inferred from an incident in the *Iliad*. *Theseus* was present at the battle of the

Centaur and *Lapithæ*: Hesiod. Scut. 178—185. And this action happened at the time of the birth of *Polypætes*, who fought at Troy: *Iliad*. β'. 743. But this would place the birth of *Theseus* at least sixty years before the action of the *Iliad*. Hellanicus places *Aethra* at Troy: Schol. Eur. Hecub. 119. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ λέγει διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς [sc. τοὺς Θησέως παῖδας] ἀπελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν ἔλοιεν Ἕλληνας τὴν Τροίαν, λάφυρον αὐτὴν καὶ γέρας λαβεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ λυτρώσασθαι δώροις. Although his own account of the time is inconsistent with this; for he makes *Theseus* fifty years old when *Helen* was carried off: Schol. *Iliad*. γ'. 144. ὡς γὰρ ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος, Πειρίθους καὶ Θησέως—ἀρπάσαντες τὴν Ἑλένην κομιδῇ νέαν παρατιθενται εἰς Ἀφιδναν τῆς Ἀττικῆς Αἰθρᾶ—οἱ δὲ Διόσκουροι—Αἰθραν αἰχμαλωτίζουσι. Plutarch. Thes. c. 31. ἤδη πενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, ὡς φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, ἔπραξε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην. Other traditions, however, might have brought *Theseus* nearer to the Trojan times. According to Plutarch Thes. c. 6. he was said to be a youth—μενέριον—on his arrival at Athens, when *Medea* was already there; which would place his arrival some time after the Argonautic expedition, and might bring his birth within fifty years of the fall of Troy.

<sup>z</sup> Herodot. VII. 200. Δήμητρὸς τε ἱερὸν Ἀμφικτυνίδος ἱδρύεται, καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱερὸν.

<sup>a</sup> See the testimonies in F. H. III. p. 619. o. Not only Anaximenes there quoted, but Androction apud Pausan. X. 8, 1. derived the name from Ἀμφικτύονας: καταστήσασθαι δὲ συνέδριον ἐνταῦθα Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Δευκαλίονος νομίζουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς συνελθούσιν ἐπικλήσιν Ἀμφικτύονας γενέσθαι. Ἀνδρόκτιον δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ εἶρη συγγραφῇ ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφίκετο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τῶν προσοικούντων συνεδρεύοντες, καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ἀμφικτύονας τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἐκκληῖσαι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὸ νῦν σφίσιν ὄνομα. *Amphictyon* is mentioned in Mar. Par. No. 5. ἀ... κτύον Δευκαλίονος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις καὶ συνέχευε τοὺς περὶ τὸν ἔρπον εἰκόντας καὶ ὁ... μασε. Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ Π... τὸ... καὶ νῦν ἔτι θύουσιν



observe a junction of Pelasgic and Hellenic races in their assembly. The Pelasgian *Acrisius* and the Hellenic *Amphictyon* share in the establishment. Among the nations who compose the league are the Ionians. And we trace in the number of the states the Ionian number twelve. But as the institution is ascribed to *Amphictyon* in the seventh and *Acrisius* in the sixth generation before the Trojan war, this account of the time supposes the existence of Ionians before the birth of *Ion* son of *Xuthus* <sup>b</sup>.

Ἀμφικτύονες, τη ΧΗΗ ΔΙ ΠΙΠΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος. Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 702. πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων τὴν Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Ἑλληνος ἐπίνοιαν ἠγάσθη, ὃς ἀσθενὲς ὄρων καὶ βῆδιν ὑπὸ τῶν περιουκούντων βαρβάρων ἐξαναλωθῆναι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Ἀμφικτυονικὴν σύνοδον καὶ παρήγγυον αὐτὸ συνήγαγε κ. τ. λ.

<sup>b</sup> That the states were twelve in number is confirmed by Strabo IX. p. 420. Æschines Fals. Leg. p. 43. ἔθνη δώδεκα τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ. And Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 116. Ἀμφικτύονες καλοῦνται οἱ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγωνοθέται ἐκ δώδεκα ἐθνῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντες. Their names are given in Harpocr. v. Ἀμφικτύονες, repeated by Suidas; in Liban. tom. III. p. 414. 2. Pausan. X. 8. Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 43. and partly in Diod. XVI. 29. The lists of Pausanias and Æschines are not complete, and vary in some of the names from each other and from the other two.

Harpocr.	Liban.	Pausan.	Æschines.
Ἴωνες	Ἴωνες	Ἴωνες	Θετταλοὶ
Δωριεῖς	Δωριεῖς	Δόλοπες	Βοιωτοὶ
Περβραῖβοι	Βοιωτοὶ	Θεσσαλοὶ	Δωριεῖς
Βοιωτοὶ	Περβραῖβοι	Αἰνιᾶνες	Ἴωνες
Μάγνητες	Μάγνητες	Μάγνητες	Περβραῖβοι
Ἀχαιοὶ	Ἀχαιοὶ	Μαλιεῖς	Μάγνητες
Φθιώται	Φθιώται	Φθιώται	Λοκροὶ
Μηλιεῖς	Μηλιεῖς	Δωριεῖς	Οἰταῖοι
Δόλοπες	Δόλοπες	Φωκεῖς	Φθιώται
Αἰνιᾶνες	Αἰνιᾶνες	Λοκροὶ Ἐπικνημ.	Μαλιεῖς
Δελφοὶ	Δελφοὶ		Φωκεῖς
Φωκεῖς	Φωκεῖς		

Diodorus gives the following account: τῶ μὲν ἱερῷ βοηθεῖν ἔγνωσαν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Θετταλοὶ καὶ Περβραῖβοι, πρὸς δὲ ταῖτοις Δωριεῖς καὶ Δόλοπες, ἔτι δὲ Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Φθιώται καὶ Μάγνητες, ἔτι δὲ Αἰνιᾶνες, καὶ τινες ἕτεροι. These six are in all the four lists: *Iones*, *Dores*, *Magneles*, *Malienses*, *Phthiotæ*, *Phocenses*. And (except the Malians) in the narrative of Diodorus. Of these the *Dores* and *Magneles* were Hellenic; the others were Pelasgic. To these six we may add (7) the *Dolopes*; mentioned by Harp. Liban. Pausan. Diod. They are marked as an Amphictyonic state by Plutarch Cimon. c. 8. Δόλοπες φκουν τὴν νῆσον (τὴν Σκύρον), ἐργάται κακοὶ γῆς· ληϊζόμενοι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ παλαιού—Θετταλοὺς τινὰς ἐμπόρους—συλῆσαντες εἶξαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν οἱ

ἄνθρωποι δίκην κατεδικάσαντο τῆς πόλεως Ἀμφικτυονικὴν, οὐ βουλευμένων τὰ χρήματα τῶν πολλῶν συνεκτίειν, κ. τ. λ. The Dolopians in the time of the Trojan war inhabited *Phthiotis*: Strabo IX. p. 431. ὁ μὲν οὖν ποιητὴς οὐδαμοῦ μέμνηται Δολοπικῆς στρατείας—ἄλλοι δ' εἰρήκασιν, καθάπερ Πίνδαρος μνησθεὶς τοῦ Φοίνικος, “ὃς Δολόπων ἄγαγε θρασὺν ὄμιλον σφενδονᾶσαι ἱπποδάμων Δαναῶν βέλεσι πρόσφορον.” τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῇ ποιητῇ κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον—συνυπακουστέον. γελῶν γάρ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα μετέχειν τῆς στρατείας, ναῖον δ' ἐσχάτην Φθίης Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσειν,

[Pl. i. 480]

τοὺς δ' ἱππικούς μὴ παρῆναι. conf. p. 432. 434. Heyne ad Apollod. III. 13, 8. p. 806. properly refers them to the Pelasgic stock. In the time of *Demosthenes* they were of low estimation: conf. *Demosth. Cor.* p. 246. In the time of *Augustus* they were extinct: Pausan. X. 8, 2. οὐκ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος· and their vote in the Amphictyonic session was given to Nicopolis. (8) The *Eniannes* in Harpocr. Liban. Pausan. Valckenær ad Herodot. VII. 132. proposes to add to the list of Æschines: *inter nomina* Ἴωνας et Περβραῖβους *libenter ponerem Αἰνιᾶνας*. But the *Oιταῖοι* of Æschines are probably (as Clavier Hist. Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 26. observes) the *Αἰνιᾶνες* of the other lists. (9) The *Bæoti* are attested by Æschines as members of this assembly. (10) The *Perrhæbi* are in three of the lists and in Diodorus. (11) The *Locri* are named by Æschines and Pausanias. These eleven appear to have been among the twelve original members of the league. For the remaining state the preceding lists offer three names: the *Thessali* in Æschines and Pausanias, the *Delphi* and *Achæi* in Harpocratio and Liban. Mitford vol. VI. p. 235, 236. by an error which is not corrected in the last edition, and which has misled Dr. Cramer Ancient Greece vol. I. p. 345. affirms that the list from Pausanias has twelve names, the list from Harpocratio has only ten, and one of them, the Achæans, is found in neither of the others. He should have said, Pausanias has only ten names, and Harpocratio twelve. Wesseling ad Diod. XVI. 29. p. 531. also remarks Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται *sine copula* (apud Diod. l. c.) *verum est—ut apud Libanium Harpocr. dictis locis*. But as Harpocratio intends to give twelve names—ταῦτα δὲ ἦν δώδεκα—it is evident that he made the Achæans and *Phthiotæ*



*Amphictyon* according to some accounts reigned in Attica<sup>c</sup> and Bœotia. Other traditions

distinct; whence Valckenaer ad Herodot. VII. 132. properly observes, *Harpocratiōi memorantur tanquam diversi*. And doubtless Libanius, whose list agrees with that of Harpocratio, intended also to represent them separate. Although, however, they were distinguished by these writers, yet it is probable that they were improperly so distinguished; for no *Achæi* except *Phthiotæ* were members of the league. The *Achæi* of Peloponnesus did not participate in the assembly. The Delphians are not in the list of *Æschines*: but if they had originally formed a separate state, it is not likely that they would have been afterwards excluded. These two, then, the *Delphi* and the *Achæi*, being omitted, there remain the *Thessali*, attested by *Æschines* and *Pausanias*, who are confirmed by *Diodorus*. In *Æschines* we may supply *Δόδοες*, to complete the list; in *Pausanias*, *Περραιβοὶ* and *Λοκροί*. Among these last four states three were of Pelasgic race. The *Perrhæbi* and *Thessali* were Pelasgic. For the *Thessali* see above p. 19. The *Bæoti* were Hellenic and *Æolian*; but the *Locri* were the same people as the *Leleges*: see p. 4. 67. d. and these were a kindred race to the *Pelasgi*. And we may observe a remarkable predominance of this race in the nations who composed the league. Of the twelve states only three were of Hellenic descent. Even those who class the Ionians as Hellenic will only number four; and eight Pelasgic nations will remain. And this Pelasgian influence is farther marked by the temple of *Ceres*, a Pelasgian goddess, at Thermopylæ. Upon which Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 289. very justly remarks that the Amphictyons, uniting the worship of the Doric temple of *Apollo* (at Delphi) with that of *Ceres* at Thermopylæ, combined together an Hellenic and ancient Pelasgic worship.

The tradition which ascribed this institution to *Amphictyon* and *Acrisius* places it in the seventh or the sixth generation before the Trojan war. This period might be reconciled with many of the states which have been named. The *Achæi Phthiotæ*, and *Locri*, were of earlier date. The Ionians, as we have seen, were already in Attica and the adjoining regions. The *Bæoti* were in Thessaly, from whence they might have acquired a place in the league, which, after their migration into Bœotia, they would retain. The *Dores*, however, were yet in *Phthiotis* in the time of *Acrisius*; the *Magnetes*, if we consider their time as represented by *Magnes* (see above p. 41), had not yet appeared. But the *Thessali* mark this institution for a later period. They still inhabited *Thesprotia* for many generations

after the times of *Amphictyon* and *Acrisius*, and, as we have seen already p. 20, occupy Thessaly sixty years after the fall of Troy; and accordingly the Amphictyonic league, to which they belonged, is brought down to that period. If there were Amphictyonic meetings at Delphi or at Thermopylæ in the times assigned to them, these would be meetings of inferior extent or importance, and distinct establishments from the celebrated union of twelve nations which arose after the appearance of the *Thessali* in Thessaly. But in this union of twelve nations the Dorians of Peloponnesus had no distinct vote. The votes of all the members of each race were equal: *Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 43. 25. ἑκαστον ἔθνος ἰσάληφον γινόμενον τὸ μέγιστον τῶ ἑλάττω, τὸν ἦκοντα ἐκ Δαρίου καὶ Κυτινίου ἴσον δυνάμενον Λακεδαιμονίοις—τὸν Ἑρετρίεα καὶ Πριηνέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*, whence it is manifest that this league was established before the Dorians had conquered Peloponnesus; and we may fix the date between the sixtieth and the eightieth year from the fall of Troy. That it already existed before the Ionic migration may be collected both from the fact that the Ionians of Asia had a vote (which they doubtless acquired in the mother country), and also from *Tacitus Ann. IV. 14. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis præcipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium qua tempestate Græci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur*. In aftertimes this political influence of the league declined. Its authority became insignificant when the majority of the states composing it had no weight in the affairs of Greece. "Athens and Sparta," as *Mitford* remarks vol. VI. p. 244, "would not be disposed to commit their interests to the votes of Perrhæbians, Magnetes, Cætæans, Phthiots, or Malians." On some occasions, however, their acts may be traced. They conducted the war against the Crissæans in B.C. 595. They interposed, as we have seen, to punish the Dolopians, an Amphictyonic state, in B.C. 469. They imposed a fine upon the traitor *Epialtes* in B.C. 480: *Herodot. VII. 213*. But *Epialtes* was a Malian, belonging to an Amphictyonic state. At a later period, in B.C. 356, its authority revived; and it became an instrument in the hands of *Philip* for extending his influence in Greece. The powers ascribed by *Dionysius* already quoted p. 65. a. to this assembly, although denied by *Larcher Hérod. tom. V. p. 419*, after *Stc. Croix*, may be admitted, if understood of that early period to which *Tacitus* refers.

<sup>c</sup> *Apollod. I. 7, 2. Ἀμφικτύων ὁ μετὰ Κραναῶν βασιλεύσας τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Pausan. I. 2, 5. Κραναῶν Ἀμφικτύων ἐπαιναστὰς, θυγατέρα ὅμως ἔχων αὐτοῦ, παῖς*



placed him in *Locris*; and others again in Thessaly. From *Amphictyon* were supposed to be derived *Ajax* the Locrian leader and *Bæotus* the founder of the Bæotians<sup>d</sup>. But other genealogies placed *Bæotus* two generations before *Æolus*; others derived him from *Æolus* son of *Hellen*, who is thrown back nine generations before the Trojan war<sup>e</sup>.

τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου καὶ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων ἐκπίπτει. According to some this was another *Amphictyon*: Apollod. III. 14. 6. τοῦτον ἔνιοι μὲν Δευκαλίωνος, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτόχθονα λέγουσι. The author of the Parian Marble seems to distinguish the two, although he makes them contemporary.

<sup>d</sup> See above p. 40. The descent of *Ajax* is thus given: Eustath. p. 277. 17. Κῦνος ἀπὸ Κύνου Λοκροῦ ἀνδρός. Ὅποιοντος γάρ φασι Κῦνος, οὗ Ὀδοϊδακος, οὗ [Κύνου τοῦ Λοκροῦ Schol. II. β. 531] Ὀϊλεῖς. οἱ δὲ παλαιὸι φασὶ καὶ ταῦτα· Ἀμφικτιόνος καὶ Χθονοπάτρας ἀπὸγονος Φύσκος, οὗ Λοκρός, ὃν ἀπὸ μὲν Φύσκου Φύσκος πρῶτον ἀπὸ δὲ Λοκροῦ Λοκροὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀνομάσθησαν. Λοκροῦ δὲ Ὅποιος· πρὸς δὲ διενεχθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ Λοκρός ἐξ μὲν ἀρχῆν ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς δὲ οἰκεῖ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ Παριασσοῦ, ἔχων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἐκεῖ, οἱ ἐσπέραιοι τε καὶ ὀξάλαι ἐκαλοῦντο, περὶ Αἰτωλίαν—ἀφ' ὃν ὕστερον καὶ ἀποικία εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἐστάλη. Plutarch. Qu. Gr. c. 15. p. 294. E. Φύσκου τοῦ Ἀμφικτιόνος υἱὸς ἦν Λοκρός· ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ Καβύης Λοκρός [forte Ὅποιος]· πρὸς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ διενεχθεὶς καὶ συγροῦς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν περὶ ἀποικίας ἐμαντεύετο—ἔκτισε πόλεις Φυσκεῖς καὶ Ἱάνθειαν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὅσας οἱ κληθέντες Ὀξάλαι Λοκροὶ κατέφκησαν. Seymnius v. 587—590.

ἀπέναντι δ' Εὐβοίας κατοικοῦσιν Λοκροί·  
ὃν πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ὡς λέγουσιν, Ἀμφικτιών  
ὁ Δευκαλίωνος, ἐχόμενος δ' ἀφ' αἵματος  
Αἰτωλός· εἶτα Φύσκος, δὲ γενεῇ Λοκρὸν,  
ὃς τοὺς Δελεγας ἀνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Λοκρός.

The Locrians, then, were no other than the *Leleges*, and existed before the time of *Amphictyon*. The same genealogy is given Steph. Byz. Φύσκος· πόλις Λοκρίδος, ἀπὸ Φύσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ (τοῦ) Ἀμφικτιόνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος. In the Table at p. 40. I have adopted the opinion of Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 93. 94. and have omitted *Ætolus* with Plutarch l. c. and have made *Cynus* the son of *Locrus* (and brother of *Opus*) with the Scholiast on Homer.

The Bæotian leaders are thus derived: Pausan. IX. 1. 1. Βιωταιὶ τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπὸ Βιωτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐσχέκην, ὃν Ἰώνου παῖδα καὶ νύμφης δὴ Μελανίπης, Ἰώνου δὲ Ἀμφικτιόνος εἶναι λέγουσιν. Idem IX. 34. 1. πρὶν δὲ ἐς Κορώνειαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν· καλεῖται δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰώωνος τοῦ Ἀμφικτιόνος, καὶ ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνασιν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Βιωτοὶ σύλλογον.

<sup>e</sup> According to Corinna *Bæotus* was the father of *Ogyges*. See above p. 37. γ. *Bæotus* the ancestor in the sixth degree of *Jason* is given above p. 48. In the following genealogy *Bæotus* is de-

rived from *Æolus*: Diod. IV. 67. Βιωτὰς δ' Ἀρης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καταντήσας εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰολίδα νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν καλουμένην τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Βιωτοὺς ἀνόμασε.—τῶν Αἰόλου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος υἱῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατέφκησαν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις τόποις Μίμας δὲ μέινας ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Αἰολίδος. Μίματος δὲ Ἰππότης γενόμενος ἐκ Μελανίπης ἐτέκνωσεν Αἰόλον· τούτου δὲ Ἀρη θυγάτηρ γενομένη Βιωτὸν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησεν.—ἡ Ἀρη τρεφομένη ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἐγέννησεν Αἰόλον καὶ Βιωτὸν.—Αἰόλος μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐν τῇ Τυρρηνικῇ πελάγει καλουμένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Αἰολίδας νήσους κατέσχε, καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λιπάραν· Βιωτὸς δὲ πλεύσας πρὸς Αἰόλον τὸν τῆς Ἀρης πατέρα καὶ τεκνωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τῆς Αἰολίδος τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρην τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Βιωτοὺς ἀνόμασε. Βιωτοῦ δὲ Ἰτάνος γενόμενος ἐτέκνωσεν υἱοὺς τέσσαρας, Ἰππάλκιμον, Ἠλεκτρίωνα, ἔτι δὲ Ἀρχίλικον καὶ Ἀλεγήνορα· τούτων δὲ Ἰππάλκιμος μὲν ἐγέννησε Πηρέων, Ἠλεκτρίων δὲ Λήϊτον, Ἀλεγήνωρ δὲ Κλόνιον, Ἀρχίλικος δὲ Προβόηορα καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεύσαντας ἡγέμενας τῶν ἀπάντων Βιωτῶν. Schol. Hom. II. β. 494. Ἀρης τῆς Αἰόλου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Βιωτὰς ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Βιωτία· οὗ Ἐτεωνός [Ἰτάνος Diodoro]· οὗ Ἀρηίλικος, Ἀλεκτρίων, Ἰππάλκιμος, Ἀλεγήνωρ· Ἀρηίλικου δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαος κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Βιωταὶ γενέσθαι φασὶ Βιωτὸν Ἰτάνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτιόνος—τῶν Δευκαλίωνος καὶ Πυρράς παίδων. Νικοκράτης δὲ φησιν ὅτι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀρης ἦν παῖς. We have here nine generations: *Æolus*, *Mimas*, *Hippotes*, *Æolus*, *Arne*, *Bæotus*, *Itonus*, *Electryon*, *Leitus*. This genealogy concurs with the account of Thucydides VII. 57. that the *Bæoti* were of *Æolian* race: Αἰολεῦσι Βιωταῖς. The original seat of the *Bæoti* was in Thessaly, but according to the Homeric Catalogue they were already settled in Bæotia before the Trojan war. The same intercourse might subsist between the *Bæoti* of Thessaly and the *Bæoti* of Bæotia as we have already seen p. 48. between the *Minyæ* of Thessaly and the *Minyæ* of Orchomenus, till, according to Thucydides I. 12., in the sixtieth year after the Trojan war the Thessalian *Bæoti* were driven from their original seats, and retired to their brethren in Bæotia. The account of Thucydides, however, is not without difficulty: Βιωτοὶ γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ἦκισαν· ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὃν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν. This implies that the body of the nation remained in Thessaly, and that a part only or division settled in Bæotia. But in the Homeric



The *Locri* and *Bæoti*, the supposed children of *Amphictyon*, were not of the same race. The *Locri* were *Leleges*: the *Bæoti* were *Æolian*. The genealogies which represented them

Catalogue the whole country is possessed by the *Bæoti*: twenty-nine towns are enumerated, a longer list of names than in any other part of the catalogue, and among the Thessalian forces no *Bæoti* are named. It is evident, then, that before the Trojan era the great body of the *Bæoti* were already in the land called afterwards *Bæotia* from them, and that a remnant was expelled or conquered by the *Thessali* sixty years after that era.

Clavier tom. II. p. 46. 13. supposes the *Bæoti* to have been originally seated in *Bæotia*; to have migrated from Thebes to Arnë in Thessaly; and then, in the reign of *Tisamenus*, after the Trojan war, back again into *Bæotia* at the time marked by Thucydides. Raoul-Rochette des Colonies Gr. tom. II. p. 233—235. 439—441. also supposes the *Bæoti* to have been originally in *Bæotia*, and understands their connexion with Thessaly in the following manner: The Cadmeans under *Laodamas*, after the second Theban war (and therefore about ten years before the war of Troy), settle in *Histiæotis*, Homolus and Arnë. The settlers at Homolus almost immediately return, on the invitation of *Thersander*, to Thebes. About twelve years after, they were again driven by Thracians and *Pelasgi* from Thebes, and joined their brethren at Arnë; from whence they returned to *Bæotia* at the time fixed by Thucydides. But these are erroneous views. The Cadmeans were not the *Bæoti*, nor was the first connexion with Thessaly at so low a date as the second Theban war. *Amphictyon* himself was placed there by some accounts, since his son *Itonus* was born in Thessaly: Schol. Apollon. I. 551. And we have seen *Bæotus* in Thessaly four generations (by one account seven) before. Moreover the Thessalian Arnë is by good authorities made the parent of the *Bæotian*: Schol. Thucyd. I. 12. "Ἀρνη πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνίσταται κατὰ μετοικίαν καὶ ἡ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Ἀρνη. ἡ δὲ Βοιωτία Ἀρνη τὴν Χαιρώνειαν καλεῖται. Both these towns receive their names from Arnë daughter of *Æolus*: Pausan. IX. 40, 3. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ πόλις [sc. Χαιρώνεια] Ἀρνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι λόγουσιν Αἰόλου τὴν Ἀρνην, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης κληθῆναι καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πόλιν. Etymol. Magn. p. 145. "Ἀρνη πόλις Βοιωτίας ἔστι δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἀπὸ Ἀρνης τῆς Αἰόλου. Diod. IV. 67. (already quoted) of the Thessalian Arnë: Βιωτὴς ἐλευσας πρὸς Αἰόλου τὴν τῆς Ἀρνης πατέρα—τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀρνην ἀνέμασε κ. τ. λ. The worship of *Minerva Itonis* was brought into *Bæotia* from Thessaly: Schol. Apollon. I. 551. Θεσσαλιᾶς Ἰτωνίας, περὶ ἧς Ἑκα-

ταῖος μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει. Ἀρμενίδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Θηβαϊκοῖς Ἀμφικτύου υἱὸν Ἰτωνὸν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γεννηθῆναι, ἀφ' οὗ Ἰταν πόλις καὶ Ἰτανίς Ἀθηναῖ. Steph. Byz. Ἰταν πόλις Θεσσαλίας—λέγεται καὶ ἡ Ἰτανὸς ἀπὸ Ἰτάνου ἥρωος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰτανία ἡ Ἀθηναῖ. Repeated by Eustath. p. 324. Strabo IX. p. 411. κατελάβοντο αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν Κορώνειαν] ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς Ἀρνης οἱ Βιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά—κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορώνειας ἐν τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτανίας Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἱμῶνυμον τῇ Θεσσαλικῇ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κονάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῇ ἐκεῖ. *Haliartus* and *Coronus* were derived from *Æolus*: see above p. 46. e. which better agrees with the Homeric Catalogue than Steph. Byz. Ἀλῖαρτος—λέγεται κτισθῆναι ἐπὶ Ἀλιδάρτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου. Idem Κορώνεια—πόλις Βοιωτίας Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ ἀπὸ Κορόνου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου—placing their names after the Trojan war. The Tanagrans traced their name to *Tanagra* daughter of *Æolus*: Pausan. IX. 20, 2. Ταναγραῖοι δὲ οἰκιστὴν σφισι Ποίμανδρον γενέσθαι λόγουσι, Χαιρησίλω παῖδα τοῦ Ἰασίου τοῦ Ἐλευθῆρος—Ποίμανδρον δὲ γυναῖκά φασιν ἀγαγέσθαι Τάναγραν θυγατέρα Αἰόλου. Mount *Ptoïis* is so named from *Ptoïis* son of *Athamas*: Pausan. IX. 23, 3. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θेमιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτώον, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικλήσις καὶ τῇ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἄσσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισιν εἴρηκε. There was a Thessalian *Thespia*: Steph. Byz. Θέσπεια. πόλις Βοιωτίας—δευτέρα Θεσσαλίας. A Thessalian *Libethra*: Pausan. IX. 30, 5. ἤκουσα—ἐν Λαρίσῃ λόγον ὡς ἐν τῇ Ὀλύμπῳ πόλις οἰκοῦτο Λιβήθρα, ἥ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας τέτραπται τὸ ὄρος. and a *Bæotian* mountain of the name: Pausan. IX. 34, 3. Κορώνειας σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ὅρος ἀπέχει τὸ Λιβήθριον. an *Onchestus* in *Bæotia*, and a river of the name in Thessaly: Steph. Byz. Ὀγχηστὸς ἄλσος—ἰδρυθὲν δ' ἐπὶ Ὀγχηστοῦ τοῦ Βιωτοῦ, ὡς φησιν Ἡσιόδας [Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ὀγχηστόν Pausan. IX. 26, 3]—ἔστι καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. Conf. Eustath. ad II. β'. p. 270. *Aspledon* is derived through *Orchomenus* from *Sisyphus* son of *Æolus*: see p. 48. The whole *Bæotian* people spoke the *Æolic* dialect: Pausan. IX. 22, 3. and were reckoned *Æolian*: Pausan. X. 8, 3. Βιωτῶν (Θεσσαλίας γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖότερα ἔφησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τηλικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο)— Steph. Byz. Ἰωνία—ἐν δὲ Αἰολεῖσι Βιωτοί. Idem Ἀσπληδών. φασὶ τοὺς Αἰολεῖς πρότερον Βιωτοὺς καλεῖσθαι. Confirmed by Thucyd. VII. 57. already quoted. These passages shew that the connexion of the *Bæoti* with the *Æolians* of Thessaly began at a much earlier period than the second Theban war, and that it was much more extensive than Clavier and Raoul-Rochette suppose; that it was not confined to the expelled



as descendants of *Amphictyon* probably meant no more than to mark them as neighbouring nations. The assembly said to have been instituted at Thermopylæ by *Amphictyon* son of *Hellen* was chiefly composed of Pelasgic states, and celebrated a Pelasgian worship<sup>f</sup>. The place where *Amphictyon* himself reigned or dwelt is uncertain. The form of his name 'Αμφικτύων bears the marks of fabrication. His existence appears to have been questioned both by Anaximenes and Androtio<sup>g</sup>. For all these reasons we may reject *Amphictyon* as a fictitious person.

8. *Dorus* is made by Euripides<sup>h</sup> the son of *Xuthus*. But in the account of Hesiod and others he is the son of *Hellen*<sup>i</sup>, by whom he is sent out of Thessaly in the fifth generation before the Trojan war to seek an establishment for himself. Herodotus describes five movements of the Dorians. Their first station in the eighth generation before the Trojan war was in *Phthiotis*. Their next, in the sixth generation before that era, was under Ossa and Olympus in *Histiæotis*. Thence being expelled by the Cadmeans, they removed to a third position in Pindus. Their fourth settlement was in *Dryopis*. From *Dryopis* they came with the *Heraclidæ* into Peloponnesus. The third and fourth settlements here described are not distinguished by other writers, who mark the progress from *Histiæotis* to the *tetrapolis* of *Æta*<sup>k</sup>.

Cadmeans alone, who followed *Laodamas*, but embraced the whole Bœotian people; and they confirm the account of Diodorus, which derives the *Bœoti* from *Æolus*. Some writers, indeed, derive the Thessalian *Arnæ* from the Bœotian: Steph. Byz. 'Αρνη. πόλις Βοιωτίας.—Λυκόφρων [644] 'Αρνης παλαιάς γέννα Τεμνίκων πρόμοι. δευτέρα, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἄποικος τῆς Βοιωτίας, περὶ ἧς ὁ χρησμός: "Ἄρνη χρείουσα μένει Βοιωτῶν ἄνδρα." ἡ Κιέριον καλεῖται. Repeated by Eustathius p. 270, 34. But the very terms of the oracle imply that *Arnæ* in Thessaly already existed, when the Bœotians went thither; and it seems to be called their colony because the Bœotians, perhaps the followers of *Laodamas*, returning thither, reinforced or restored the ancient town which had fallen into decay.

<sup>f</sup> See above p. 66.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 64. a.

<sup>h</sup> Eur. Ion. 1590.

Ξαῖθω δὲ καὶ σοὶ γίγνεται κοινὸν γένος  
Δῶρος μὲν, ἐνθεν Δωρὶς ὑμνηθήσεται—

<sup>i</sup> See above p. 44. k.

<sup>k</sup> Herodot. I. 56. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλῶνος βασιλῆος οἶκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν· ἐπὶ δὲ Δόρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὔλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰσθιαϊώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰσθιαϊώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἶκεεν ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδὼν καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος αὐτὸς ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. Their second station in *Histiæotis* was called *Doris*: Strabo X. p. 476. ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐλθεῖν [sc. the Dorians of Crete] φησὶν Ἀνδρῶν τῆς Δωρίδος μὲν πρότερον οὖν δὲ τῆς Ἑσθιαϊώτιδος λεγομένης, ἐξ ἧς ὠρμήθησαν, ὥς φησιν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκίσαντες Δωριεῖς· καὶ ἔκτισαν τήν τε Ἐρινεὸν καὶ Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον, ἀφ' οὗ

καὶ Τριχάικες ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ [Odys. τ'. 177] λέγονται. ἐὼ πάνυ δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἀνδρόνος λόγον ἀποδέχονται, τὴν μὲν τετράπολιν Δωρίδα τρίτολιν ἀποφαινόντες τὴν δὲ μητρόπολιν τῶν Δωριέων ἄποικον Θετταλῶν. Steph. Byz. Δόριον.—μέμνηται τῆς Δωρίδος τῆς Θετταλικῆς Χάραξ ἐν ζ'.—κεῖται δὲ πρὸς δυσμῶν τῆς Πίνδου. Δῶρος δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἑλλήνος εἰληχε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ Δωρὶς ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐκαλεῖτο πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰσθιαϊώτις μετωνομάσθη. Strabo IX. p. 427. Δωριεῖς μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ τὴν τετράπολιν οἰκίσαντες, ἣν φασιν εἶναι μητρόπολιν τῶν ἀπάντων Δωριέων· πόλεις δ' ἔσχον Ἐρινεὸν, Βοῖον, Πίνδον, Κυτίνιον, ὑπέρκειται δ' ἡ Πίνδος τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, παραρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ὁμόνυμος ποταμός, ἐμβάλλων ἐς τὸν Κηφισσὸν οὐ πολλὸ τῆς Λιλαίας ἄπωθεν· τινὲς δ' Ἀκύφαντα λέγουσι τὴν Πίνδον. Steph. Byz. Ἀκύφας. πόλις, μία τῆς Δωρικῆς τετραπόλεως, ὡς Θεόπομπος. Scymnus 592.

ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦτων Δωριεῖς μικρὰς πόλεις  
Ἐρινεὸν Βοῖον τε καὶ Κυτίνιον  
ἀρχαιωτάτας ἔχουσι, Πίνδον τ' ἐχομένην·  
ὡς Δῶρος Ἑλλήνος λεγόμενος ἦκισε.

The three towns mentioned by Andron are in Aristides tom. I. p. 439. (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ μικρῶν κομιδῇ καὶ φαίλων πολιτισμάτων ὀρμηθέντες, Βοιοῦ καὶ Κυτίνου καὶ Ἐρινεοῦ. And in Thucyd. I. 107. Δωριεῖς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν μητρόπολιν, Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεὸν. Conf. Diod. XI. 79. And in Conon. See p. 44. m. Six towns are named by some authorities: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. I. 121. οἱ Δωριεῖς οἰκόντες πρότερον τὴν Πίνδον μίαν οὔσαν τῆς τετραπόλεως τῆς ἐν Πεβραϊβίᾳ ἀφικνούμεναι εἰς τὴν μεταξὺ Οἰτῆς καὶ Παρνασσὸς Δωρίδα ἐξάπολιν οὔσαν. ἐστὶ δὲ Ἐρινεὸν, Κότινον, Βοῖον, Λίλαιον, Κάρφαια, Δρυόπη. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 741. ἐξ πόλεις ἔχει ἡ Δωρὶς, ὧν μία ἡ Ἐρινεὸς. ad 980. ἡ Δωρὶς ἐξ πόλεις ἔχει, Κυτίνιον, Βοῖον, Λίλαιον, Κάρφαιον, Δρυόπην, καὶ τὴν Ἐρινεὸν. Herodotus VIII.



The expulsion by the Cadmeans would occur after the second Theban war. But as Dorians were probably already settled in Parnassus before that epoch, we may reconcile the seeming difference by supposing that the whole Dorian people did not emigrate at once; and that a part still remained in *Histiæotis* after their companions had penetrated to Parnassus and Ceta<sup>1</sup>. According to Herodotus the Dorians occupied *Histiæotis* for about five generations from the time of *Dorus* son of *Hellen* till near the time of the Trojan war.

A colony of Dorians under *Tectamus* son of *Dorus* proceeded from Thessaly to Crete<sup>m</sup>.

31. again mentions their station in *Dryopis*: τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. Apollodorus I. 7, 3. simply marks the settlement on Parnassus: Δῶρος τὴν πέραν χώραν Πελοποννήσου λαβὼν τοὺς κατοίκους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Δωριεὺς ἐκάλεσεν.

Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 230. considers the first settlement of the Dorians properly so called to have been under Ossa and Olympus, the second station named by Herodotus. He places their second station about Delphi p. 234. In their second settlement he observes p. 430. that their neighbours were *Dryopes*, Melians of Trachis, and Ætolians: the *Dryopes* hostile, the other two friendly. The marriage of *Deianira* with *Hercules* he considers a mythological expression for the league between the Ætolian and Dorian nations.

<sup>1</sup> According to Pausanias the Cadmeans under *Laodamas* retired partly to Illyria and partly to Homolē in Thessaly: IX. 5, 7. Λαοδάμας σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἵκσθαι Θηβαίους ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς. 8, 3. τούτων σὺν μοῖρα τὴν μὲν εἰς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορείαν ἀπέκοψε, τραπέμενοι δὲ εἰς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀμόλην, ἱρὴν τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν εἵνεκεν μάλιστα. According to Apollodorus III. 7, 3. into *Histiæotis*: Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ πολλὰ διελθόντες πάλιν Ἑστιάαν κτίσαντες κατέφυκσαν. Diodorus IV. 67. mentions the expulsion of the Dorians: οἱ Καδμεῖοι—ἐπὶ Δωριεὺς ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐκείνους μὲν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων—οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἐξελαβόντες ὑστερὶν τισὶ χρόνοις κατήλθον εἰς τὴν Δωρίδα, καὶ κατέφυκσαν ἐν Ἐρινεῖ καὶ Κυτινίῳ καὶ Βοίῳ. That Herodotus had in view the Cadmeans under *Laodamas* appears from another passage V. 57. in which he makes mention Καδμεῖων ἐξαναστάντων ἐπ' Ἀργεῖον. From the term κατήλθον in Diodorus it would seem that he supposed the Dorians on Parnassus to have been invaded by the Cadmeans. But from IV. 37. it appears that he believed them to be still in *Histiæotis* in the time of *Hercules*: μετὰ τὴν Δρύπτων ἀνάστασιν πολέμου συσσωσάμενος τοὺς Δωριεῖς τοὺς Ἑστιάϊδην καλουμένην ἐκώσσω, ὃν ἔβασίλευον Αἰγίμιος, καὶ τοὺς Λαπίθαις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπου Ἰβρυμῖνοις,—οἱ Δωριεὺς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τρίτῳ μέρει τῆς Δωρίδος χώρας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας. According to Strabo IX. p. 427. apparently from Ephorus,

the Dorians in the time of *Hercules* were already seated on Parnassus: πόλεις ἔσχον Ἐρινεὺν, Βόιον, Πίνδον, Κυτινίον—τούτων δ' βασιλεὺς Αἰπάλιος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς κατήχθη πάλιν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν, ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀπεμνημόνευσεν ὅν αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τελευτήσαντι περὶ τὴν Οἶτην, Ἴλλον γὰρ εἰσεποιήσατο τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων. Steph. Byz. Δυμῶν.—Ἐφορος α'. Αἰγίμιος γὰρ ἦν τῶν περὶ τὴν Οἶτην Δωριέων βασιλεὺς· ἔσχε δὲ δύο παῖδας, Πάμφυλον καὶ Δυμῶνα, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ἴλλον ἐποιήσατο τρίτον, χάριν ἀποδίδους ἀνθ' ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἐκπεπτωκότα κατήγαγεν. Apollodorus is inconsistent; for he makes *Dorus* himself the founder of the settlement on Parnassus (over against Peloponnesus), and yet in II. 7, 7. *Ægimius* is seated, as in Diodorus, on the confines of the *Lapithæ*: Ἡρακλῆς—Αἰγίμιον βασιλεῖ Δωριέων συνεμάχησε. Λαπίθαι γὰρ περὶ γῆς ὕψον ἐπολέμουν αὐτῷ, Κορώνου στρατηγούντος· ὁ δὲ πολιορκούμενος ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν Ἡρακλῆα βοηθὸν ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς. But he places the *Lapithæ* on mount Pelion: II. 5, 4. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 47. well remarks that it is probable that the Dorians by slow degrees removed themselves from *Histiæotis* to Ceta, and that this race generally did not pass all at once, but moved slowly into districts which had been seized by some part of them at an earlier period. But, as he supposes p. 241. that Doric mountaineers were on the heights of Parnassus 200 years before the Doric migration into Peloponnesus, according to his conjecture of the time a part of the nation had reached Parnassus long before the times of *Hercules*, and about 120 years before the fall of Troy.

<sup>m</sup> This early colony of *Tectamus* is described by Andron apud Strab. already quoted; given more fully by Steph. Byz. v. Δῶριν: οἱ Κρήτες Δωριεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο· “Δωριεὺς τε τριχαιεὶς δύο τε Πελασγῶν [Od. ε'. 177].” περὶ δὲ ἰστορεῖ Ἀνδρῶν, Κρητῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύοντος Τέκσαφον [1. Τέκταμον cum Wess.] τὸν Δῶρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος ὁρμήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τότε μὲν Δωρίδος νῦν δὲ Ἰσθμιαῖοδος καλουμένης ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωριέων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου· γῆμας δὲ τὴν Κρηθίδος θυγατέρα ἐγέννησεν Ἀστέριον. Idem V. 80. γένος φασὶ τῶν Δωριέων παραβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν νήσον, ἡγουμένου Τεκτάμου τοῦ Δῶρου· τούτου δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος μὲν πλείον



*Minos* was the grandson of *Tectamus*. The legislation of *Minos*, his naval power and extended dominion, and his position in the fourth generation from *Dorus* and the third generation before the Trojan war, are attested by Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, who confirm the accounts of Ephorus, Apollodorus, Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias<sup>n</sup>.

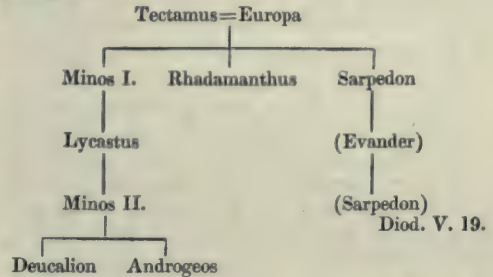
ἀθροισθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τόπων, τὸ δέ τι μέρος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἀχαιῶν. The Achæans, Dorians, and Pelasgi of Crete are attested by Homer *Odyss.* τ'. 175—177.

<sup>n</sup> Homer *Il.* ξ'. 322. mentions *Minos* son of *Jupiter* and of the daughter of *Phoenix*; and *Il.* ν'. 450. *Minos* son of *Jupiter* and grandfather of *Idomeneus*. *Odyss.* τ'. 178.

—Κνωσσὸς μεγάλη πόλις, ἔθθα τε Μίνως  
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου βασιστῆς,  
πατὴρς ἐμοῦ πατὴρ μεγαθύμου Δευκαλίωνος.  
Δευκαλίων δέ μ' ἔτικτε καὶ Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα.

In *Odyss.* λ'. 567. he describes *Minos* θεμιστεύοντα νεκέσσειν. Herodotus VII. 171. observes, τρίτη γενεὴ μετὰ Μίνω τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκά. He refers to the naval power of *Minos* III. 122. VII. 171. He describes I. 173. a Cretan colony established in Lycia by the brother of *Minos*: διενειχθέντων ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλῆως τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνης τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ. They settle in Lycia, where *Lycus* son of *Pandion* joins them: see p. 63. q. Lastly Herodotus mentions VII. 171. the death of *Minos* and his conquest of the islands (noticed also by Isocrates *Panath.* p. 241). Aristotle *Rep.* II. 10. briefly describes his legislation, his power, and his death: ἄποικοι οἱ Λέκτιοι τῶν Λακωνίων ἦσαν, κατέλαβον δ' οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐλθόντες τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν ταῖς τότε κατοικοῦσιν. διὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ περίοικοι τὴν αὐτὸν τρόπον χρῶνται αὐτοῖς, ὡς κατασκευάσαντος Μίνω πρώτου τὴν τάξιν τῶν νόμων.—καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν κατέσχευεν ὁ Μίνως, καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς μὲν ἐχειρῶσατο τὰς δ' ὤκισεν τέλος δὲ ἐπιθέμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ περὶ Κάμικον. Conformably with these are the accounts of the other writers: Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 476. ὡς δ' εἴρηκεν Ἐφωρος, ζηλωτὴς ὁ Μίνως ἀρχαίου τυτὸς Ῥαδαμάνθους δικαιοτάτου ἀνδρὸς ὁμωνύμου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ—τοῦτον δὲ μιμούμενος καὶ ὁ Μίνως δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄντρον, καὶ διατρίβειν ἐνθάδε, ἀπῆει συντεταγμένα ἔχον παραγγέλματα τινα—ἀπ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν οὕτως εἰρηκέναι [*Od.* τ'. 178] “ἐνθάδε Μίνω” κ. τ. λ. Strabo himself *Ibid.* ἰσθόρηται ὁ Μίνως νομοθέτης γενέσθαι σπουδαῖος θαλαττοκρατῆσαι τε πρώτος. Apollodorus III. 1, 2. Εὐρώπην γήμας Ἀστερίων ὁ Κρητῶν δυνάστης τυτὸς ἐκ ταύτης παιδᾶς ἔτρεφεν (Μίνωα, Σαρπηδόνα, Ῥαδαμάνθυν).—Μίνως δὲ Κρήτην κατοικῶν ἔγραψε νόμους, καὶ γήμας Πασιφάνην—παιδᾶς μὲν ἐτέκωσε Κατράεα, Δευκαλίωνα, Γλαῦκον, Ἀνδρόγεων, κ. τ. λ.—θαλασσοκράτησας δὲ πρώτος πασῶν τῶν νήσων

σχεδὸν ὑπῆρξεν. Pausanias III. 2, 4. οἱ Κρήτες τοὺς νόμους τεθῆναι σφισιν ὑπὸ Μίνω λέγουσι, βουλευσασθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ τὸν Μίνω. ἤνιξτο δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος κ. τ. λ. He mentions VII. 2, 3. a Cretan colony at Miletus: ἀφίκετο ἐκ Κρήτης ὁ Μίλητος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς Μίνω τὸν Εὐρώπης φεύγοντες [conf. Apollod. III. 1, 2]. οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες οἱ πρότερον γεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγένοντο. the invasion of Attica by *Minos* I. 27, 9. the war with *Nisus* of Megara I. 19, 5. 44, 5. the death of *Minos* in Sicily VII. 4, 5. All these testimonies speak of only one *Minos*; the legislator, son of *Europa*, and the king who acquired naval power, the grandfather of *Idomeneus*, are one and the same person. Diodorus, then, IV. 60. follows an erroneous account, when he gives a second *Minos* grandson of the first, as in the following pedigree:



—Μίνωα τὸν δεύτερον—οὗτος πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων—ἐθαλασσοκράτησεν. Plutarch *Thes.* c. 20. mentions a Naxian tradition: Ναξίων τινὲς ἰδίως ἱστοροῦσι δύο Μίνωας γενέσθαι καὶ δύο Ἀριᾶντας. But he himself acknowledges only one: c. 16. ὁ Μίνως αἰεὶ διετέλει κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις—καίτοι φασὶ τὸν μὲν Μίνω βασιλέα καὶ νομοθέτην, δικαστὴν δὲ τὸν Ῥαδαμάνθυν εἶναι καὶ φύλακα τῶν ὀρισμένων ὑπ' ἐκείνου δικαίων. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 535. without reason corrects Apollodorus by Diodorus: *Ea quæ nunc subjiciuntur* (III. 1, 2) *ad Minoem II. prioris nepotem spectant; id quod in oculos incurrit.* Apud Diod. IV. 60. *Minos Lycastum suscipit qui succedit et Minoem II. generat. Hac ad temporum rationes propius accedunt.* But according to Diodorus himself *Minos* the legislator son of *Europa* was the fourth from *Dorus*; which fixes him to the third generation before the Trojan war, where he is placed by Homer and Herodotus. Heyne had already p. 534. rightly shewn that Apollodorus confounds two *Sarpedons*: *Sarpedonem ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεάς ζῆν.*



The Dorians of Crete had a greater power during the reign of *Minos* than the Dorians had in their original country in Proper Greece<sup>o</sup>.

### III.

## DANAÏS—PELOPS—CADMUS—ARCADIAN KINGS.

BY the families which remain to be considered no new race of people was introduced. *Danaïis* and his descendants were engrafted on the *Pelasgi*; *Cadmus* and the *Labdacidae* on the *Aborigines* of Bœotia. *Pelops* and the *Pelopidae* were incorporated with the *Æolians* and

*fabula hæc orta videtur ex confusis avo et nepote Sarpedone, qui bello Trojano interfuit. Discernit utrumque recte Diodorus V. 79. But this argument of Heyne himself invalidates his opinion concerning a second Minos: for if Sarpedon son of Europa was in the third generation before the Trojan war, his brother Minos son of Europa was probably also in the third rather than the fifth. Moreover the account of Diodorus in IV. 60. is refuted by his account in V. 78. 79. where he follows other authors. For in this narrative he relates that Minos son of Europa was the grandfather of Idomeneus: Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Σαρπηδόνα τούτους γὰρ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἀγέρρορος Εὐρώπης—Μίνω μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτατον ὄντα βασιλεῦσαι τῆς νήσου—θεῖναι δὲ καὶ νόμους τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐκ ἐλλήγου—κτήσασθαι δὲ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν μεγάλην—Μίνω δὲ φασιν υἱοῖς γενέσθαι Δευκαλίωνά τε καὶ Μόλον καὶ Δευκαλίωνα μὲν Ἰδομενέα Μόλου δὲ Μηρίων. The second Minos was probably adopted by some chronologers in order to adapt the time of Minos to the fable of his descent from Europa sister of Cadmus. After their example, Larcher Chron. Hérod. tom. VII. p. 338. supposes a first and second Minos, and places near 200 years between the birth of the one and death of the other: Europe ayant été enlevée A.C. 1552, la naissance de Minos I. doit être à-peu-près A.C. 1548. La mort de Minos II. ayant été fixée A.C. 1353, on aura un intervalle de 195 ans. Minos II. mourut en la 3<sup>e</sup> génération avant la prise de Troie. Sa mort doit être à-peu-près A.C. 1353, et Egée régnoit dans l'Attique. In his notes he passes Herodot. I. 173. in silence; nor does he notice the passages of Homer, Strabo, Pausanias, Apollodorus, who make the legislator Minos the contemporary of Ægeus. Eusebius Chron. II. has recorded not two Minoses, but two dates for Minos. At p. 286. 287. Minos son of Europa is placed in the reigns of Erichtheus or Pandion, annis 568. 589. 605. At p. 292. 297. he is placed in the reign*

of Ægeus: Anno 720, Europa &c. Anno 735, Dædali res. Anno 813, Minos interimitur. Castor apud Euseb. p. 135. acknowledges only one Minos, whom he places in the reign of Theseus.

<sup>o</sup> We have seen in the preceding note Cretan settlements in Lycia and at Miletus. The settlement at Miletus is ascribed to Miletus by the testimonies there quoted; to Sarpedon by Ephorus. See above p. 34. g. Both accounts place it in the reign of Minos. Aristotle apud Plutarch. Thes. c. 16. notices the communication of Minos with Attica, and an ancient intercourse with Delphi: Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Βορτιαίων πολιτείᾳ δηλᾶς ἐστὶν οὐ νομίζων ἀναρεῖσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ τοῦ Μίνω, ἀλλὰ θητεύοντας ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ καταγγρασκειν καὶ ποτε Κρήτας εὐχρὴν παλαιὰν ἀποδιδόντας ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστέλλειν. Hesiod apud Platon. Min. p. 320. attests generally the power of Minos: Ἡσιόδος—μνησθεὶς αὐτοῦ τοῦ δυνάματος φησὶν, ὃς βασιλεύτατος γένητο θνητῶν βασιλῶν,

καὶ πλείστον ἤνασσε περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων

Ζητὸς ἔχων σκήπτρον τῇ καὶ πολέων βασιλεὺς.

Mr. Mitford vol. I. p. 20. concludes Minos to have been a chief of adventurers from Phœnicia. But that Minos was of Dorian race is confirmed by two facts: 1. the establishment of the worship of Apollo in Crete itself and in all the Cretan settlements; a circumstance shewn by Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 149—152. and more fully by Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 234—262. 2. Lycurgus drew his Dorian institutions from Crete for the use of his countrymen; and that these were the institutions of Minos is shewn by Aristotle Rep. II. 10. in a passage already quoted. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 37. observing that the worship of Apollo was practised in Crete with the same ceremonies as by the Dorians of Thesaly, and that the principles of the Doric constitution were early established in Crete, justly draws the inference that Minos of Cnossus was a Dorian.

Achæans; *Hercules* and his posterity were adopted by the Dorians. The Arcadian kings belonged to the original Pelasgic stock.

1. *Danaüs* is placed by the genealogies in the ninth or tenth generation, and by the chronologers 300 years before the Trojan war<sup>a</sup>. He was accompanied or followed into Greece by *Lynceus*, who succeeded him<sup>b</sup>. *Lynceus* was the father of *Abas*, who had two sons, *Prætus* and *Acrisius*<sup>c</sup>. From *Acrisius*, *Eurystheus* was the fourth descendant and *Hercules* the fifth; and yet some traditions made *Prætus* contemporary with *Bellerophon* and *Melampus*, who lived in the third or fourth generation before the Trojan war<sup>d</sup>. The difficulty was in-

<sup>a</sup> He is in the tenth generation through *Alcmena* and *Amphitryo*; in the ninth through *Eurystheus* and *Capaneus*. See the Table below. The dates are thus given: Mar. Par. No. 9. ἀφ' οὗ ναῦ.....η.....αν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου .ἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπλευσε καὶ ὀνομάσθη πεντηκόντορος καὶ αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες.....ωνη καὶ Β.....α.....ω καὶ Ἑλίκη καὶ Ἀρχεδίκη ἀπεκληρωθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν.....αντ.....καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐμ παρα... ἐν Λίνδῳ τῆς Ῥοδίας, ἔτη ΧΗΗΔΔΔ Π ΙΙ, βασιλεύον.....—302 years before the taking of Troy recorded in No. 25. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 285. places *Danaüs* at the year 544, 291 years before his era for the taking of Troy; anno 835. Eight generations complete would give 267 years; nine would give 300. We may assume a mean between these numbers, or 283 years, nearly corresponding with Eusebius.

The temple at Lindus is mentioned Herodot. II. 182. τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρῦσθαι. Strabo XIV. p. 655. ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς Λινδίας αὐτόθι ἐπιφανές, τῶν Δαναῶδων ἱδρυμα. Diod. V. 58. Plutarch apud Euseb. Præp. III. p. 99. φησὶ Καλλίμαχος—"καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης Ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λεῖον ἔθηκεν ἔδος." λεῖον Euseb. Wytenb. Plutarch. tom. V. p. 763. κλόν Bentl. ad Callim. fragm. 105. Apollod. II. 1, 4. Δαναὸς—προράγων Ῥόδῳ τὸ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηναῖς ἀγαλμα ἰδρύσατο. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι Γελάνωρ ὁ τότε βασιλεύων. Pausan. II. 16, 1. Δαναὸς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλεύσας ἐπὶ Γελάνωρα τὸν Σθενέλα τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς Ἀρήνωρος βασιλείας ἔπαυσε. He did not establish himself by force, but by the choice of the people: Idem II. 19, 3. Δαναὸς ἰδρύσατο Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τοιαύτῃ. παραγενόμενος ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἡμφεσβήθει πρὸς Γελάνωρα τὸν Σθενέλα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κ. τ. λ. See Plutarch Pyrrho c. 32. quoted by Siebel. ad loc. Strabo VIII. p. 371. τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Ἀργείων οἰκίας λέγεται Δαναὸς ὅς τοσοῦτον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ δυναστεύοντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπερβαλέσθαι δοκεῖ ὥστε, κατ' Εὐρυπίδην,

Πελαγονῶτας ὀνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν

Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκεν ἂν Ἑλλάδα.

ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων ἀγοράν. *Danaüs* was said to have been from Chemmis: Herodot. II. 91. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περγασὶς τοῦ Δαναῆς ἱερὸν τετράγωνον κ. τ. λ.—εἰρομένου δέ μεν ὅ τ' σφί μῦνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι—ἐφα-

σαν τὸν Περσεὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐκωτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

<sup>b</sup> Apollod. II. 2, 1. Λυγκεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δαναὸν Ἄργους δυναστεύων ἐξ Ὑπερμήστρας τεκνοῖ παῖδα Ἀβαντα. Pausan. II. 16, 2. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασι, θυγατέρον τῶν Δαναοῦ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνεψίους τὸλμημα, καὶ ὡς ἀποθανόντος Δαναοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυγκεὺς ἔσχεν. Hesiod. Scut. 327 (de Hercule et Iolao): Χαίρετε Λυγκῆς γενεή. Tzet. ad loc. Λυγγεὺς ἦν βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἄργους, ἀπὸ Λυγγέως γὰρ Ἄβας, οὗ Ἀκρίσιος, οὗ Δαναὺς, ἧς Περσεὺς, οὗ Ἀλκαῖος. Steph. Byz. Θάσπος. Βήλου Αἴγυπτος, οὗ Λυγκεὺς, οὗ Ἄβας, οὗ Δαναῖς, ἧς Περσεὺς, οὗ Ἀλκαῖος, οὗ Ἀμφιτρίων. where *Acrisius* is omitted.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. II. 16, 2. οἱ δὲ Ἀβαντος τοῦ Λυγκέως παῖδες τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεύμαντο, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν αὐτοῦ κατέμεινεν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει Προῖτος δὲ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ Μίδειαν καὶ Τίρυνθα ἔσχε καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θαλάσῃ τῆς Ἀργείας σημειᾷ τε τῆς ἐν Τίρυνθι οἰκίσσεως Προῖτου καὶ ἐς τότε λέπεται. Apollod. II. 2, 1. τούτου δὲ καὶ Ὀκαλείας τῆς Μαντινέως διδυμοὶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Ἀκρίσιος καὶ Προῖτος· οὗτοι—περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν. *Abas* according to Pausanias X. 35, 1. founded Abæ: οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀβαῖς ἐς γῆν τὴν Φωκίδα λέγουσιν ἀφικέσθαι ἐξ Ἄργους, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀβαντος τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὸν δὲ Λυγκέως τε καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας τῆς Δαναοῦ παῖδα εἶναι. According to Strabo IX. p. 431. he passed into Thessaly: Ἄργος οἱ μὲν πόλιν δέχονται Θετταλικὴν, περὶ Λάρισσαν ἰδρυμένην—οἱ δ' οὐ πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν Θετταλῶν πεδῖον οὕτως ὀνοματικῶς λεγόμενον, θεμένου τοῦνομα Ἀβαντος ἐξ Ἄργους δεῦρ' ἀποικήσαντος. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. VIII. 73. confounds *Abas* son of *Lynceus* with *Abas* son of *Melampus*: Ἄβας ὁ Λυγκέως Ταλαοῦ πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ ὁ Ἀδραστος, ἤκησε τὸ Ἄργος, εἶτα μετέστη εἰς Εὐβοίαν. ὅτι δὲ Λυγκέως Ἄβας ἐξ ἐκείνου ὄχλον Σφαγὰς δὲ Δαναοῦ παρθένων Λυγκέως θυγῶν Ἀβαντα φέει διαδοχὸν τυραννίδος. *Bias* was the father of *Talaius*, and *Abas* was the brother of *Bias*: see p. 41. for one of whom the Scholiast has mistaken *Abas* son of *Lynceus*.

<sup>d</sup> Apollod. II. 2, 1. Ἀκρίσιος Προῖτον Ἄργους ἐξελαύνει· ὁ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Λύκιαν πρὸς Ἰοβάτῃν· ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ, πρὸς Ἀμφιάναικτα· καὶ γαμῇ τὴν ταύτου θυγατέρα, ὡς μὲν Ὀμηρος, Ἀντεῖαν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τραγικοὶ, Σθενέβειαν· κατὰγει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ κηδεστὴς μετὰ στρατοῦ Λυκίων καὶ καταλαμβάνει Τίρυνθα, ταύτην αὐτῷ Κυκλώπων τοιχίσαν-



creased by the dates of the chronologers, who made two successive reigns of *Prætus* and *Acrisius* c.

των. μερισάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν ἄπασαν κατέκον· καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν Ἀργεὺς βασιλεύει· Πρῶτος δὲ Τίρυνθος. Pausanias II. 25, 5. notices the war between them: Πρῶτος περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἀκρίσιον μάχῃ—and the Cyclopiæ walls of Tiryns. Strabo VIII. p. 373. τῇ μὲν οὖν Τίρυντι ὀρμητηρίῳ χρῆσασθαι δοκεῖ Πρῶτος, καὶ τεχνίσαι διὰ Κυκλώπων· οὗς ἐπὶ μὲν εἶναι καλεῖσθαι δὲ γαστερὶ χειρας τρεφομένους ἐκ τῆς τέχνης· ἥκειν δὲ μεταπέμπτους ἐκ Λικίας. The narrative in Iliad. ζ'. 152—210. is understood by Apollodorus to refer to *Prætus* son of *Abas*: conf. Schol. ad 155. Idem ad 158. ὁ Πρῶτος ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Ἀργείων δήμου, διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀργεῖους ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ βασιλείᾳ Πρῶτου ἐπέταξεν. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 17. explains the narration of *Prætus* king of Argos. But Pherecydes distinguished him: Schol. Odyss. λ'. 325. Μαῖρα ἡ Πρῶτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου θυγάτηρ καὶ Ἀντείας τῆς Ἀμφιδάνατος—ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ. Sturz. p. 222. remarks, *Hos duo Prætos distinguendos esse*. Pausanias X. 30, 3. *clarum facit discrimen*: Μαῖρα—περὶ αὐτῆς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐν νόστοις ἀπελθεῖν μὲν παρθένον· εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπων θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Πρῶτου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου, τὸν δὲ εἶναι Σισύφου. That *Thersander* was son of *Sisyphus*, see above p. 46. Pausanias himself, however, II. 4, 2. supposed with Apollodorus that the *Prætus* of Homer was the king of Argos: although this is not quite consistent with chronology, since *Prætus* son of *Abas* is three generations older than *Bellerophon*. The same inconsistency occurs in the accounts of *Prætus* and *Melampus*. They are made contemporary by Pherecydes apud Schol. Odyss. ε'. 225. Μελάμπος· ὁ Ἀμφιάνοος παῖς—τῶν Πρῶτου θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀργείων—ἀμαρτυροῦν εἰς ἥραν—ὁπότε πᾶσας θεραπεύειν εἰ λάβοι κατὰξιν τῆς θεραπείας μισθόν.—ἀπαγγεῖλαι μὲν δὲ τοῦ Πρῶτου τῇ Μελάμποι καὶ μέρος τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων, ἴσαστο τὴν νόστον Μελάμπος. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ. The women healed by *Melampus* are the daughters of *Prætus* in Hesiod apud Apollod. II. 2, 2 (whom Pherecydes probably followed). conf. Eustath. p. 1337. 1746. Suid. μαχλοσύνη. fragm. Hesiod. p. 175. Gaisford. in Apollodorus II. 2, 2. ταῦτας μὲν ἐξέλετο Πρῶτος Μελάμποι καὶ Βίαντι· παῖδες δὲ ἑστέρον ἐγένοντο Μεγακλῆν. in Ælian. V. H. III. 42. in *Alexis* the comic poet apud Athen. VIII. p. 340. a.—ὁ Μελάμπος, ὅς μόνος τὰς Πρωτίδας ἔπαυσε μαυνομένας—in Servius ad Virgil. Ecl. VI. 48. in Pausanias II. 7, 7. 9, 7. 25, 8. VIII. 18, 3. Eusebius places *Prætus* at the year 658, and 177 years before the Trojan era, and *Melampus* at 649, or 186 years before that era. But as *Melampus* was in the same generation as *Bellerophon* (see p. 41), he would be, like *Bellerophon*, three generations below *Prætus*; and ac-

cordingly other accounts place him in the time of *Anaxagoras* grandson of *Prætus*: Diod. IV. 68. Μελάμπος μάντις ὦν τὰς ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναῖκας μανείσας διὰ τὴν Διονύσου μῆνιν ἐθεράπευσεν· ἀντὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀργείων Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Μεγακλῆντος, τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς βασιλείας. κατοικήσας δὲ ἐν Ἀργεῖ κοινὴν ἐποιήσατο τὴν βασιλείαν Βίαντι τῇ ἀδελφῇ. γήμας δὲ Ἰφιδάειραν τὴν Μεγακλῆντος ἐγέννησεν Ἀντιφάτην καὶ Μαντώ κ. τ. λ. Pausanias II. 18, 4 (forgetting this in his account at VIII. 18, 3). μόνους δὲ Ἕλληνας οἶδα Ἀργεῖους εἰς τρεῖς βασιλείας νεμηθέντας. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργεῖου τοῦ Μεγακλῆντος [conf. Schol. Eur. Phœn. 181. Καπανεὺς Ἰππονόου τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Ἀργεῖου τοῦ Μεγακλῆντος τοῦ Πρῶτου τοῦ Ἀβαντος τοῦ Λυγκεύς] μανία ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπέπεσε, ἐκφοιτῶσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἐς ὃν Μελάμπος ὁ Ἀμφιάνοος ἔπαυσε σφᾶς τῆς νόσου, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Βίας Ἀναξαγόρᾳ τὸ ἴσον ἔξουσιν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὲ Βίαντος βασιλεύοντι πέντε ἄνδρες ἐπὶ γενεὰς τέσσαρας ἐς Κυάνιππον τὸν Αἰγυπλίως, ὅντες Νηλεΐδαι τὰ πρὸς μητρός, ἀπὸ δὲ Μελάμπος γενεαὶ τε ἕξ καὶ ἄνδρες ἴσοι μέχρις Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου [see p. 41]. τὸ δὲ ἐγγχώριον γένος οἱ Ἀναξαγόριδας βασιλεύουσι πλέον· Ἰφιδάει μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέκτορος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου Σθενέλῳ τῇ Καπανεὺς ἀδελφῇ παῖδι ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἀρχὴν. Herodotus IX. 34. makes no mention of *Prætus*: ὁ Μελάμπος τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναικῶν μανεισῶν κ. τ. λ.—ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φᾶς ἦν μὴ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τρίτημόριον τῆς βασιλείης οὐ ποιήσιν τὰ βούλονται. Eustath. ad II. β'. p. 288. ἐπὶ Ἀναξαγόρου υἱοῦ Πρῶτου βασιλέως Ἀργεὺς ὁ μάντις Μελάμπος καθάρας τῆς μανίας τὰς Ἀργείας, ἡ, ὥς τινες μᾶλλον φασί, τὰς Πρωτίδας, ἐκινώνησεν αὐτῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἅμα Βίαντι τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀδελφῇ. This latter account Perizonius ad Ælian. V. H. III. 42. thinks preferable to the former, *et propter aetatem Melampodis et propter auctoritatem scriptorum, qui alteris fide digniores*. The first observation is just: the latter we may doubt, because the account which he rejects is the account of Hesiod and Pherecydes; of the account which he accepts we do not know the author. Eustathius l. c. proceeds to give the triple dynasty: Βίαντος μὲν Ταλαῆς, Μελάμπος δὲ Ἰοκλῆς, Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ Ἰφιδάει· ὦν καταδυναστεύσας ὁ Βιαντίδης Ταλαῆς μόνος ἦρξεν. ἑστέρον δὲ Ἀμφιαράος ὁ τοῦ ῥηθέντος Ἰοκλῆος ἄρχει, Ταλαῶν ἀνελάν. Ἀδραστος δὲ ὁ Ταλαοῦ δούσας καὶ εἰς Σικυῶνα ἐλθὼν τὴν ἐκεῖ ἀρχὴν δέχεται Πελοῖβου τοῦ μητροπάτορος [see p. 29. q]. καὶ ἅμα Ἰφιδάει στρατεύσας Ἀμφιαράῳ καὶ νικήσας πάλιν εἰς τριὰς κατέστησε τὴν ἀρχὴν. Pausanias and Schol. Eur. make a generation more, Eustathius a generation less, than other accounts, between *Prætus* and *Anaxagoras*.

\* See above p. 8. Accordingly in Schol.



*Acrisius* was said to have retired to Thessaly, where memorials of him were recorded <sup>f</sup>. His share in the Amphictyonic league has been noticed already <sup>g</sup>. The descent of *Eurystheus* from *Acrisius* is recorded by Homer<sup>h</sup>, who names *Acrisius*, *Danaë*, *Perseus*, *Sthenelus*, *Eurystheus*, and accordingly ascends in this line to the sixth generation before the Trojan war. *Perseus* returning to Argolis reigned at Mycenæ, Midea, and Tiryns, while *Megapenthes* son of *Prætus* reigned at Argos<sup>i</sup>. His four sons were said to have reigned after him in common<sup>k</sup>. At the same time three dynasties, as we have seen, were reigning at Argos. These petty chieftains, who are called kings, could have had very little power; and the account which is given of the successors of *Perseus* is not quite consistent with those three contemporary races of kings at Argos<sup>l</sup>.

Æschyl. Prom. 774. *Prætus* is made the father of *Acrisius*: 'Υπερμήστρα—ἥς Ἄβας, ὃς Προῖτος, ὃς Ἀκρίσιος, ὃς Δανάη, ἥς Περσεύς κ. τ. λ. Schutz ad v. 780. receives *Prætus* into the interpolated list as the father of *Acrisius*, and as one of the steps in the descent, referring to Apollodorus as his authority. But this is contrary to the text of Æschylus, who reckons only thirteen generations to *Hercules* inclusive, and to the account of Apollodorus, who makes *Prætus* and *Acrisius* brothers. Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 839. repeats the correct genealogy: Περσεύς κατὰ γένος ἐξ Ἀβαντος Ἀβαντος γὰρ Προῖτος καὶ Ἀκρίσιος, Ἀκρίσιος Δανάη κ. τ. λ.

<sup>f</sup> The narrative of the birth of *Perseus*, the retreat of *Acrisius* to Larissa, and his death by the hand of *Perseus*, is given from Pherecydes by Schol. Apollon. IV. 1091. Φερεκύδης ἐν δωδεκάτρῳ ἱστορεῖ ὡς Ἀκρίσιος γαμεῖ Εὐρυδίκην τὴν Λακεδαιμόνιος τῶν δὲ γίνεταί Δανάη κ. τ. λ.—ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου προστίθεται Φερεκύδης τοῦ Ἀκρίσιου—Περσεύς ἔβη πλέον εἰς Ἄργος, —καὶ ἐλθὼν Ἀκρίσιον οὐχ εὗρίσκει ἐν Ἀργεῖ (ὑπεχώρει γὰρ αὐτὸν δεῖσας εἰς τοὺς Πελασγοὺς εἰς Λάρισσαν), μὴ καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν—ἔβη εἰς Λάρισσαν κ. τ. λ. Pausan. II. 16. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀκρίσιος Περσέα αὐτὸν τε περιεῖναι πυνθανόμενος καὶ ἔργα ἀποδείκνυσθαι εἰς Λάρισσαν ἀπεχώρησε τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Πηνειῷ, κ. τ. λ. Apollod. II. 4, 4. ἀπολιπὼν Ἄργος εἰς τὴν Πελασγῶντιν ἐχώρησε γῆν. Τευταμίω δὲ τοῦ Λαρισσαίου βασιλέως ἐπὶ κατοικοχμένῳ τῇ πατρὶ διατιθέντος γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα κ. τ. λ. His tomb was shewn at Larissa: Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. Α. ἐν τῇ νεφί τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Λαρίσσει ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρίσιου. But according to Pherecydes l. c. αὐτὸν κατατίθεται Περσεύς καὶ οἱ Λαρισσαῖοι πρόσθεν τῆς πόλεως. Apollod. II. 4, 4. τὸν μὲν Ἀκρίσιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔθαψεν. The foundation of Larissa was by some ascribed to him: Schol. Apollon. I. 40. Λάρισσαν τὴν Θεσσαλικὴν ἣν ἐκτίσεν Ἀκρίσιος ἥτις ὀνομάσθη ἀπὸ Λαρίσσης τῆς Πελασγοῦ, ὡς φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος. And he has a son *Pharsalus*: Steph. Byz. Φάρσαλος. πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ Φαρσάλου τοῦ Ἀκρίσιου.

<sup>g</sup> See above p. 64. The temple at Thermopylæ Δήμητρι τῇ Πυλαίᾳ was ascribed to him: Cal-

lim. Epigr. 41. — οὐκ Πελασγῶν Ἀκρίσιος τὸν γῆν ἐδείματο.

<sup>h</sup> Iliad. ξ'. 319. — Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ἀκρисиῶνις ἡ τέκε Περσῆα. II. τ'. 123. Εὐρυσθεὺς Σθενέλοιο πάϊς Περσῆϊάδαο.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. II. 16, 3. Περσεύς ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἄργος—Μεγαπένθην τὸν Προῖτου πείθει οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀντιδοῦναι, παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἰκείου Μυκήνας κτίζει. Apollod. II. 4, 4. πρὸς τὸν Προῖτου παῖδα Μεγαπένθην ἠλλάξατο, τούτῳ τε τὸ Ἄργος ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ Μεγαπένθης μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀργεῖον Περσεύς δὲ Τίρυνθος, προστεχίσας Μίθειαν καὶ Μυκήνας. Strabo VIII. p. 377. Μυκῆναι—ἔλτισε δ' αὐτὰς Περσεύς. The name according to some was given from *Mycenē* daughter of *Inachus*: Pausan. II. 16, 3. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὖν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει φασίν.

<sup>k</sup> Schol. Apollon. I. 747. Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι Περσέως καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας τέσσαρες παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Ἀλκαῖος, Σθένελος, Μῆστωρ, Ἡλεκτρίων, καὶ κοινὴν ἔσχον τὴν βασιλείαν μετὰ τὸν Περσέως θάνατον. Apollodorus II. 4, 5. gives him six sons: πρὶν μὲν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Πέρσης—ἐν Μυκήναις δὲ Ἀλκαῖος καὶ Σθένελος καὶ Ἐλείος, Μῆστωρ τε καὶ Ἡλεκτρίων, καὶ θυγάτηρ Γοργυφόνη. *Electryon* reigned at Midea: Pausan. II. 25, 8. βασιλεύουσαι δὲ φασὶν Ἡλεκτρίωνα ἐν τῇ Μιδεῖα τὸν πατέρα Ἀλκμήνης. and yet he is king of Mycenæ in Apollod. II. 4, 6. He was slain by the *Teleboæ* and revenged by *Amphitryo*, according to Hesiod apud Schol. Apollon. I. 747. But according to Hesiod Scut. 11. 80. *Amphitryo* himself slew *Electryon*, and retired to Thebes; an account followed by Apollod. II. 4, 6. Pausan. IX. 11, 1. *Alcæus* was the father of *Amphitryo*: Apollod. II. 4, 4. His mother was *Hipponomē* daughter of *Menæceus* in Apollod. l. c. but in other accounts a woman of Pheneos in Arcadia, or *Lysidicē* daughter of *Pelops*: Pausan. VIII. 14, 2. οἱ Φενεάται φασὶ γενέσθαι Ἀμφιτρίωνα ἐκ Λαονόμης—γυναικὸς Φενεατίδος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυσιδίκης.

<sup>l</sup> Of *Sthenelus* it is said Apollod. II. 4, 6. παντὸς Ἀργους ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφιτρίωνα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Μυκηνῶν καὶ τῆς Τίρυνθος αὐτὸς κατέσχε' τὴν δὲ Μιδεῖαν μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Πέλοπος παῖδας Ἀτρέα καὶ Θυέστην



*Hercules* is reckoned the fourth from *Perseus*, being the grandson of *Electryon* through *Alcmena* and of *Alcæus* through *Amphitryo*<sup>m</sup>. Chronologers adopted two theories respecting his time: some followed a longer and others a shorter computation. According to one series of dates in Clemens, which were those of Apollodorus, the death of *Hercules* was placed about fifty-three years before the taking of Troy. According to another series (probably the dates of Thrasyllus), a little more than twenty-four years before that epoch. The following Table gives a comparative view of each. The years expressed are the years before the fall of Troy.

LONGER COMPUTATION <sup>n</sup> .		SHORTER COMPUTATION <sup>o</sup> .	
186	ἡ Περσέως βασιλεία .....	202	Rape of <i>Ganymedes</i> .
154	ἡ Διονύσου ἀποθέωσις .....	187	ἡ Περσέως στρατεία.
91	The Argonauts. ἡ Ἡρακλέους ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλεία.	153	Ἰλίου κτίσις.
53	ἡ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀσκήπιοῦ ἀποθέωσις.	89	The Argonauts.
—	ἡ Κάστωρος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσις .....	57	<i>Theseus</i> and the <i>Minotaur</i> .
		47	First Theban war.
		44	Olympic games of <i>Hercules</i> ἐπὶ Πέλοπι.
		35	Rape of <i>Helen</i> by <i>Theseus</i> . War of the
		24	ἡ Ἡρακλέους ἀποθέωσις. [Amazons.]
		(20)	Rape of <i>Helen</i> by <i>Paris</i> .
		—	(ἡ Τροίης ἄλωσις).

παρίθετο ταῖς. Palæphat. p. 157. φκουν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ κόμας ἦσαν δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν χωρίων τούτων Σθένελος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Περσέως εἶχε τὸ μέγιστον καὶ πολυκυβερνήτατον τὴν Μυκὴν. Of *Eurystheus* Apollod. II. 4, 5. Σθένελον καὶ Νικίπην τῆς Πέλοπος—Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐγένετο, ὃς καὶ Μυκητῶν ἐβασίλευσεν. They are said to have also governed Argos: Strabo VIII. p. 377. ἔκτισε (τὰς Μυκῆνας) Περσεὺς διεδέξατο δὲ Σθένελος· ἑτ' Εὐρυσθεὺς· οἱ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀργεὺς ἦρξαν. And yet at this time the *Prætidæ*, the *Biantidæ*, and the *Melampodidæ*, jointly reigned there: Strabo himself VIII. p. 372. mentions Argos and Mycenæ as separate kingdoms: τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Δαναοῦ διαδεξαμένον τὴν ἐν Ἀργεὶ δυναστείαν, ἐπιμυχθέντων δὲ ταῖς τῶν Ἀμυθαιωνῶν ἐρημνίαν ἐκ τῆς Πισάτιδος καὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας, ἀπ' αὐτῶν θαυμάσιαι τι εἰ συγγενεῖς ὄντες εἴτως διεῖλον τὴν χώραν εἰς δύο βασιλείας τὸ πρῶτον κ. τ. λ.

<sup>m</sup> *Alcmena* is the daughter of *Electryon* in Pausan. II. 25, 8. Apollod. II. 4, 5. after Herodotus Scut. 3. Another *Alcmena* daughter of *Amphiaræus* is mentioned by Asiæ apud Pausan. V. 17, 4. *Alcmena* at the birth of *Hercules* inhabited Thebes: Iliad. ἔ. 323. 4. 99. Her tomb was shewn near Megara: Pausan. I. 41, 1. Her son *Iphiclus* father of *Iolaüs* is mentioned Herodotus Scut. 54. Conf. Tzet. ad Scut. 79.

<sup>n</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 322. Διόνυσος — τῆς

Περσέως βασιλείας τῇ τριακοστῇ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ἐκθεοῦται, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλοδώρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς. ἀπὸ δὲ Διονύσου ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἰάσονα ἀριστεῖς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργεὶ πλεῖσταντας συνάγεται ἔτη ἐξήκοντα τρία· Ἀσκληπιδὸς τε καὶ Διόσκουροι συνέπλεον αὐτοῖς ὥς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Ῥόδιος Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιδίου ἀποθέωσιν ἔτη συνάγεται τριάκοντα ὀκτώ κατὰ τὸν χρονογράφον Ἀπολλοδώρον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κάστωρος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἀποθέωσιν ἔτη πενήκοντα τρία. ἐν ταῦθά που καὶ ἡ Ἰλίου κατάληψις. The reign of *Hercules* at Argos we may with Clavier tom. I. p. 186. suppose to mean that he was reckoned king of Tiryns after the death of *Amphitryo* (who migrated from Tiryns: Diod. IV. 10. φυγαδευθεὶς ἐκ Τίρυνθος μετόκησεν εἰς Θήβας); while *Eurystheus* reigned at Mycenæ. *Hercules* himself is called Τίρυνθιος in the oracle apud Pausan. X. 13, 4. Pausanias III. 13, 1. reckons the apotheosis of the *Dioscuri* to have been in the fortieth year after their deaths: τεσσαρακοστῇ ὕστερον ἔτει τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἴδαν καὶ Λυγκία θεοὺς τοὺς Τυδάρεα παῖδας καὶ οὐ πρότερον νομισθῆναι φασί. Heyne fragm. Apollod. p. 1035. supposes Pausanias to follow Apollodorus: *Videtur ex eodem Apollodori loco esse petatum quod Pausanias habet III. 13. anno 53 post pugnam cum Apharetidis Dioscuros esse inter deos relatos*. But Pausanias and Apollodo-

We have already seen that the shorter reckoning is more consistent with the notices in Homer; and this is confirmed by other passages in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* P.

rus have nothing in common. Pausanias does not name fifty-three years, and Apollodorus makes no mention of the battle with the *Apharetidæ*. The forty years of Pausanias, if adapted to the date of Apollodorus (placing the apotheosis at the Trojan era), would place the deaths of *Castor* and *Pollux* forty years before that era. If adapted to the account in the *Iliad* γ. 236. which fixes their deaths after the rape of *Helen*, the apotheosis occurred at least twenty years later than the fall of Troy.

o Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 335. 336. ἀπὸ τοῦ (Δευκαλίωνος) κατακλυσμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰδης ἐμπρησμὸν— ἔτη ἐβδομήκοντα τρία, ὡς φησι Θράσυλλος· καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰδης ἐμπρησμοῦ ἐπὶ Γανυμήδους ἀρπαγῇ ἔτη ἐξήκοντα πέντε. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Περσέως στρατείαν—ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα· ἀπὸ δὲ Περσέως στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἰλίου κτίσιν ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὸν εἰσπλυν τῆς Ἀργεῖος ἔτη ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρα. ἐκ τούτου ἐπὶ Θησέως καὶ Μινώταυρον ἔτη τριάκοντα δύο. εἴτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας ἔτη δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀγῶνα δὴ Ἡρακλῆς ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ Πέλοπι ἔτη τρία· εἰς τε τὴν Ἀμαζόνων εἰς Ἀθήνας στρατείαν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένης ὑπὸ Θησέως ἀρπαγῇ ἔτη ἑνέα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀποθέσιν ἔτη ἑνδεκά· εἴτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλένης ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρπαγῇ ἔτη τέσσαρα. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰνείου κάθοδον κ. τ. λ. In the last step in the series the interval to the fall of Troy is wanting; and, as Potter justly appears to think, by the error of the transcriber. Petavius R. Temp. I. 1, 10., quoting the dates from Clemens, neglects to notice this omission; but himself supplies ten years, since he makes the first Theban war thirty-seven years before the destruction of Troy. In the present Table the interval is assumed to be twenty years, from *Iliad*. ω'. 765. It would seem, however, that Syncellus p. 174. A. has followed the defective copies of Clemens; for he gives the following period: τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πρῶτον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους Σαμφῶν ἀριθμὸν εὐρήσεις ἔτη υἷ' ἑως πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. But 430—406=24. Syncellus therefore places the games celebrated by *Hercules* twenty-four years before the Trojan era; which represents the defective intervals in the text of Clemens. In Eusebius Chron. II. we may discern the traces both of the longer and shorter computations: Anno 770 [sixty-five years before the fall of Troy] *Hercules facinora perficiebat Antæum occidit Ilium spoliavit*. But again anno 820 [fifteen years before that epoch] *Hercules in Libya Antæum interimit*. His death is placed anno 826 [nine years before the era]: *Hercules—exterminatus est annos natus 52. Nonnulli tamen aiunt eum nondum trigesimum ætatis*

*annum attigisse*. In Syncellus p. 164. A. this last clause is rendered βιώσας τὰ πάντα ἔτη ιβ'. τινὲς δὲ πρὸ τούτου μικρὸν ἱστοροῦσι γενέσθαι Ἡρακλῆν, ἄλλαι τε πλείονα ἔτη ζῆσαι αὐτόν. But in Hieronymus, *Quidam ante 30 annos periisse eum scribunt*, which seems to express the true meaning: namely, that some placed the death of *Hercules* thirty years earlier than this date. We have no means of determining whether this meaning was perverted through the mistake of Eusebius himself, or of his translator or transcriber. The tradition that *Hercules* lived fifty-two years is also preserved by Clemens Cohort. p. 19. C. δύο πρὸς τοῖς πενήκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκὼς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. Velleius I. 2. places the death of *Hercules* forty years before the Trojan era: *Fere anno octogesimo post Trojam captam, centesimo et vicesimo quam Hercules ad Deos excesserat, Pelopis progenies—ab Herculis progenie expellitur*. nearly an intermediate point between the longer and the shorter computations in Clemens.

We may observe that Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 220. who founds his own dates upon these two computations, gives an erroneous interpretation of both.

P In the great variety of materials which remain concerning *Hercules*, it will be sufficient here to collect the notices which are contained in the Homeric poems, the oldest records of the heroic times, adding a few testimonies from Hesiod or others, which are either confirmed or not contradicted by the accounts of Homer. The birth of *Hercules* and his subjection to *Eurystheus* are related *Iliad* τ'. 98—133. In Hesiod Scut. 33. nothing is said of the three nights which occur in later fables. The war with *Neleus* was while *Nestor* was too young to bear arms: see p. 50. g. a war alluded to by Pindar Ol. IX. 43—54=29—35. The wars with *Augeas* were later, and after *Nestor* had become a warrior: see p. 50. g. The marriage with *Megara* daughter of *Creon* is recorded *Odys.* λ'. 268. 269. The subjection to *Eurystheus* and the adventure in quest of the dog of *Hades* *Iliad*. θ'. 362—369. *Odys.* λ'. 620—625. Homer bears testimony to the Trojan expedition of *Hercules*, his voyage with six ships, his conquest of *Laomedon*, *Iliad*. ε'. 637—642. He was shipwrecked in his voyage back again, and landed in the isle of *Cos*: Il. ξ'. 250—256. from whence he afterwards reached *Argos* in safety: Il. ε'. 25—30. The deliverance of *Hesione* from the sea monster is touched upon Il. ν'. 144—148. Some other



particulars have been given at p. 50. g. The Tirynthian forces of *Hercules* are spoken of by Pindar Ol. X. 40 = XI. 32. and again Isthm. VI. 40. where it is related that they accompanied him in his Trojan expedition: v. 39—44.

The epochs for determining the chronology of *Hercules* are, 1. his war in Pylos when *Nestor* was too young to bear arms. 2. His murder of *Iphitus*, when *Ulysses* was old enough to be intrusted with affairs: Odyss. φ. 14—30. see p. 50. g. After which, *Hercules* made war in Thessaly upon the *Dryopes* in defence of *Ceyx*, and upon the *Lapithæ* in defence of *Ægimius*; and

lastly made war upon *Eurytus*. *Eurystheus* died four years before the death of *Hyllus*, and *Hyllus* twenty years before the fall of Troy, as will be shewn below. We may therefore place the death of *Hercules* in the twenty-sixth year before the Trojan era. And this is consistent with the short computation given at p. 76. which places his *ἀποθέναι* twenty-four years before that era. If we assume that he lived fifty-two years, according to the traditions already noticed, we may arrange the leading circumstances nearly in this manner. In the first column are the years before the fall of Troy.

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|----|--|
| 78 | 1. Birth of <i>Hercules</i> at Thebes: Il. ξ. 323. τ. 99.  |
| 58 | 2. War with <i>Erginus</i> , in which <i>Amphitryo</i> was slain: Pausan. IX. 37. Apollod. II. 4, 11. <i>Erginus</i> probably reigned for many years after this. See above p. 49.  |
|    | 3. Wars with the petty kings of Argolis: Palæphat. c. 39. and in Arcadia at Stymphalus and Erymanthus.   |
| 56 | 4. The war in Pylos, when <i>Nestor</i> was too young to bear arms: see p. 50. g. We may assume this war to have occurred when <i>Nestor</i> was about fourteen years of age and <i>Hercules</i> twenty-two. Then might follow between this war and the death of <i>Iphitus</i> , in about twenty-six years, these transactions:   |
|    | 5. The war of <i>Hercules</i> in Laconia, in which he defends <i>Tyndareus</i> against <i>Hippocoon</i> .  |
|    | 6. The Trojan expedition (about the time of the Argonautic voyage).  |
|    | 7. The wars in Northern Greece: α. with the <i>Thesproti</i> (when <i>Theseus</i> was delivered). To this war Homer may allude Il. β. 659. 660. Ἀστυόχεια—Τὴν ἄγει' ἐξ Ἐφύρης, ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος, Πέρσας ἄστεα πᾶντ' ἀντρέφειν αἰχλῶν. Schol. ἡ Ἐφύρα αὕτη ἑτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς Κορίνθου, τῆς Θεσπρωτίας ὁσα κ. τ. λ. Conf. Apollod. II. 7, 6. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 316. Strabo, however, VIII. p. 338. mentions an Ephyræ and a river Selleis near Sicyon in Peloponnesus. β. The war with the <i>Dryopes</i> , who are transplanted to mount Ceta.   |
|    | 8. The war in Elis with <i>Augeas</i> . <i>Hercules</i> assassinates the <i>Molionidæ</i> (ὁ Μολιονιδῶν φόνος Plutarch. Def. Or. p. 400. F).   |
| 29 | 9. The murder of <i>Iphitus</i> in the youth of <i>Ulysses</i> : see p. 50. g. After that murder <i>Hercules</i> withdraws from Tiryns to <i>Eneus</i> king of <i>Ætolia</i> . In the remaining three years we may arrange the following events:   |
|    | 10. <i>Hercules</i> takes refuge after another murder with <i>Ceyx</i> king of Trachis.  |
|    | 11. Second war with the <i>Dryopes</i> , who are expelled from Northern Greece.  |
|    | 12. He assists <i>Ægimius</i> king of the Dorians against the <i>Lapithæ</i> . <i>Ægimius</i> cedes a third part of his dominions.   |
|    | 13. <i>Hercules</i> slays <i>Cycnus</i> . After the war with the <i>Lapithæ</i> : Hesiod. Scut. 178. In his way to Trachis to <i>Ceyx</i> : Ibid. 353. Diod. IV. 37. Mars had already been defeated in Pylos: Hesiod. Scut. 359. The scene of the action with <i>Cycnus</i> is described 380. 474. <i>Cycnus</i> is slain: 419. He had plundered the hecatombs in their passage to Pytho, and was therefore hostile to <i>Apollo</i> : 478—480. (that is, to the Dorians, whom <i>Hercules</i> supported.) In this battle with <i>Cycnus</i> , <i>Hercules</i> has armour: 67. 124. as in Homer. |
|    | 14. War with <i>Eurytus</i> king of Cechalia.  |
| 26 | 15. Death of <i>Hercules</i> on mount Ceta.  |
|    | 16. The <i>Heraclidæ</i> are driven from Tiryns by <i>Eurystheus</i> . They first take refuge with <i>Ceyx</i> , who is too weak to protect them: Hecataeus apud Longin. s. 27. conf. Apollod. II. 8, 1. On <i>Ceyx</i> conf. Pausan. I. 32, 5. They next apply to the Athenians, and are seated at Trico-rythus.  |
| 24 | 17. <i>Eurystheus</i> slain by <i>Hyllus</i> : Apollod. II. 8, 1. or by <i>Iolaüs</i> : Pausan. I. 44, 14. Thucyd. I. 9. Εὐρυσθέως ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀποθανόντος, conf. Strab. VIII. p. 377. Soon after the first Theban war according to Isocrates Panegy. p. 51. e. who describes him captured in the battle, and delivered up to the <i>Heraclidæ</i> : p. 53. a. <i>Atræus</i> succeeds <i>Eurystheus</i> at Mycenæ and Tiryns: Thucyd. I. 9.   |



*Tlepolemus* son of *Hercules* is recorded in the *Iliad* to have led forces to the Trojan war from Rhodes, where he planted a colony after the death of *Hercules* <sup>9</sup>.

20 18. *Hyllus* slain by *Echemus* king of Tegea: Pausan. I. 41, 3. 44, 14. VIII. 5, 1. 45, 2. Diod. IV. 58. Herodot. IX. 26. Twenty years before the fall of Troy and 100 years before the return of the *Heracidae* into Peloponnesus: Herodot. Ibid. 'Hρακλείδας—ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατὴν, ἑκατὸν τε ἐτῶν μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτωδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Schol. Thucyd. I. 12. ἡττηθέντες ἐποιήσαντο σπονδὰς ὥστε ἑκατὸν ἔτη παραχωρήσαι τὴν χώραν Πελοποννησίοις.—οἱ δὲ—ἐτυχον τῆς καθόδου ὑπερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἔτεσιν π'. ἡ δὲ πρώτη ἐσβολὴ πρὸ ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ἦν. The truce for 100 years is mentioned Schol. Aristid. tom. III. p. 651. Dindorf. τοὺς ἡττηθέντας ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη σχεῖν ἡσυχίαν. Pausanias I. 41, 3. records an opinion that the attempt of *Hyllus* was made in the reign of *Orestes*; but he corrects this account afterwards VIII. 5, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Homer II. β'. 653—670.

Τληπόλεμος δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἦν τε μέγας τε  
ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννεά νῆας ἄγειν Ῥόδων ἀγεράχων  
οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχρα κοσμηθέντες,  
Λύδων, Ἰηλυτόν τε, καὶ ἀργινόντα Κάμειρον.

*Tlepolemus* was the son of *Hercules* by the Thesprotian *Astychoea*, see p. 78. He had fled after the murder of *Licymnius*, then an old man, the brother of *Alcmena*:

βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον ἀπειλήσαν γάρ οἱ ἄλλοι  
οὐδὲν οὐδὲν τε βίης Ἡρακλείδης.  
αὐτὰρ οὐκ ἐς Ῥόδον ἔξεν ἀλόμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχων  
τριχρὰ δὲ ἔκθεθεν καταφυλαδὸν—

*Tlepolemus* appears again in the *Iliad* ε'. 628—670. where he falls by the hand of *Sarpedon*. The Rhodian settlement and the death of *Licymnius* are related by Pindar Ol. VII. 36—60=20—33. according to whom the mother of *Tlepolemus* was *Astydamia* daughter of *Amyntor*. Hesiod also apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 42. calls her *Astydamia*. *Licymnius* was slain at Tiryns: καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμήνας κασίγητον νόθον Σκάπτρ θένον Σκληρῶς ἐλαίας ἔκταν' ἐν Τίρυνθι Λικυμνίου—Τᾷσδ' ἐποτε χθονὸς οἰκιστὴρ χολωθείς. The Delphian oracle was consulted, and the colony proceeded from Argolis: Λερναίᾳς ἀπ' ἀκτῆς εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν. We may observe that in the account of Homer the oracle and *Apollo* are not mentioned, and *Tlepolemus* is favoured in his new settlement by *Jupiter*. Apollodorus II. 8, 2. and Diodorus IV. 58. place the death of *Licymnius* after the death of *Eurystheus*. According to Pausanias II. 22, 8. (conf. III. 19, 10.) and Diodorus IV. 58. this event occurred at Argos. Strabo XIV. p. 653. after quoting the Homeric account concludes αὐδαμοῦ ἐνταῦθα Δωριέας ὀνομάζει, ἀλλ' ἡ ἄρα Αἰολέας ἐμφαίνει καὶ Βοιωτοὺς, εἴπερ ἐκεῖ ἡ κατοικία τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Λικυμνίου [sc. at Thebes], εἰ δ' ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι φασὶν ἐξ Ἀργους καὶ Τίρυνθος ἀπῆρεν δὲ Τληπόλεμος, οὐδ' οὕτω Δωρικὴ γίνεταί ἡ ἐκεῖθεν ἀποικία. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου γεγένηται. Strabo does not here affirm so much as Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 125. p. and Raoul-Rochette des col. Grecques tom. II. p. 269. 272. seem to collect.

From this passage we may infer, first that it was not quite clear from what point this colony issued, and secondly that it was not known of what race the colonists were composed. That they were not Dorians is only conjectured by Strabo, because Homer does not mention Dorians, and because they proceeded before the return of the *Heracidae* into Peloponnesus. Melecrates apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. II. 16. has the following account: Μελεκράτης φησὶ—(τοὺς Θήρωνος προγόνους) Θηβαίους ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἶναι. Κάδμου γὰρ Πολύδωρος, (τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακος, τοῦ δὲ Λαίου, τοῦ δὲ Οἰδίπους, εἴτα Ἐτεοκλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Πολύδωρος,) τοῦ δὲ Λίμν. τοῦτον δὲ ἐν κυνηγεσίᾳ ἐμφυλίῳ τινα ἀποκτείναντα Ἀθήναζε μεταστῆναι τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάλιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μεταστάντας σὺν τοῖς Ἀργείοις Ῥόδον κατοικῆσαι μέχρι τινῶν γενεῶν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀκράγατα κ. τ. λ. More briefly given ad v. 14. φασὶν Λίμνα τὸν Κάδμου ἔκγονον, ἀποκτείναντά τινα ἐμφύλιον ἐκ Θηβῶν Ἀθήναζε παραγεγενησθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πάλιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μεταναστάντας Ῥόδον σὺν Ἀργείοις οἰκῆσαι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα στάσεως αὐτοῖς ἐνταυτοῖς γενομένης εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθόντας Ἀκράγατα κτίσαι. Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 270—273. applies this narration to the migration of *Tlepolemus*. But if the words τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακος—Πολύδωρος, added by Mr. Boeckh, are genuine, *Hæmon* the eighth from *Cadmus* migrated to Athens about the time of the Trojan war; and his descendants would migrate to Rhodes after the time of *Tlepolemus*. But the expression κατοικῆσαι and οἰκῆσαι does not imply that they belonged to the original settlement. They probably belonged to the second migration into Rhodes, led by *Althæmenes* the Argive after the death of *Codrus*: Strabo XIV. p. 653. The followers of *Tlepolemus* himself might be adventurers from various states. From Homer it appears that he fled through fear of the other children of *Hercules*, and joined the expedition against Troy, in which they did not participate. He therefore had separated himself from the other *Heracidae*, and for this reason might proceed from Argolis, and have Argives among his followers. Some Dorians, however, might be



2. *Pelops* is placed by Tatian, Clemens, and Eusebius<sup>r</sup>, in the time of *Acrisius*. By one date in Eusebius he is named in the time of *Lynceus* 254 years before the Trojan era. Other dates assign his marriage with *Hippodamia* to the 168th year before; his reign to the 135th year; the succession of *Atreus* to the ninetieth year before that era<sup>s</sup>. Castor places the death of *Pelops* eighty-five years before the fall of Troy. These dates of the chronologers are too high for the time of *Pelops*. We have shewn from the times of *Hercules*, whom *Eurystheus* and *Atreus* survived, that *Atreus* was still living about twenty years before the fall of Troy. It is not likely then, that the death of *Pelops* occurred more than sixty years, or his occupation of Pisa more than 100 years, before that era<sup>t</sup>. The traditions concerning *Pelops* will not carry him higher than that period<sup>v</sup>.

among them, and the triple division mentioned in the *Iliad* indicates that he modelled his new state after the manner of the Dorians, with whom a distribution into three tribes was usual. Aristides tom. I. p. 564. calls the ancestors of the Rhodians Argives: τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων Ἀργείων. perhaps referring to the colony of *Tlepolemus*. But p. 568. he calls them Dorians: τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶ Δωριεὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, μόνον δὲ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἐλλήνες διὰ παντός, Ἑρακλείδαις δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδαις ἀρχηγέταις καὶ βασιλεῦσι κέχρησθε. And then proceeds to quote the testimony of Homer II. β'. 656. They are again called Dorians p. 550. and *Lacedæmon* ἰμώφυλος p. 563. probably with reference to the colony of Dorians under *Althæmenes* the Argive: conf. Strab. l. c. Conon. Narr. 47. p. 453. Dexippus according to Syncellus p. 178. A. referred a *Lacedæmonian* colony there to the time of *Hyllus*: Ἑρακλείδων κάθοδος Ἐλλαν—ἡγουμένου κ. τ.λ. τότε Ῥόδος ἢ νῆσος οἰκίζεται παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίαν, ὡς Δέξιππος ἱστορεῖ, μετακρησάντων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑρακλείδων ἐπιθεσιν. where Dexippus, or perhaps Syncellus, has confounded the first settlement under *Tlepolemus* with the second under *Althæmenes*.

<sup>r</sup> See above p. 8. for Tatian and Clemens.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. Chron. II. p. 288. anno 619 [26th of *Lynceus*] *Pelops Argis* regnavit. p. 289. Anno 667 *Pelops Hippodamiae* matrimonio junctus est. p. 291. Anno 701 [27th of *Acrisius*] *In Peloponneso* regnavit *Pelops Olympiorumque* curator fuit. *Idem expeditione adversus Ilium suscepta victus a Dardano est.*—Anno 705 [31st of *Acrisius*] *Argivorum reges* desinunt, quorum regnum annis 543 permanserat usque ad *Pelopem qui* annis 59 dominatus est. Eusebius proceeds as follows: p. 293. anno 745 *Atreus et Thyestes* post *Pelopem Peloponnesi imperium* diviserunt: which leaves only 44 years to *Pelops* instead of 59. p. 297. Anno 814 [69 years after the former date] *Atreus Argis* regnat, *Mycenæ Thyestes*. Anno 817 *Mycenæ* regnat *Agamemnon* annis 35; cujus 18o anno *Ilium* capitur [repeated by Syncellus p. 170. A]. Anno 835

*Ilium captum est.* Anno 854 Post *Ægisthum Orestes*. In the nineteenth year after the fall of Troy. Syncellus p. 160. C. D. makes *Pelops* king of Mycenæ: Μυκηνῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσε Πέλοψ ἔτη λε' τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος δσμδ' [before the fall of Troy 85 years]—τινὲς δὲ νγ' ἔτη καὶ ἄλλοι ξγ' λέγουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ ἕτεροι λε'. Μυκηνῶν Ἀργείων ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης ἔτη λγ', κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἔτη ξε'. Then follows p. 170. A. Ἀγαμέμνων ἔτη ιη'. κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔτη λε'. He places the fall of Troy in the 17th of *Agamemnon*. His dates bring down the accession of *Pelops* to the 85th year, and his death to the 50th year before that era.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 78. Petavius R. Temp. II. II. 8. remarks that according to Eusebius *Pelops* arrived in Greece anno Eusebiano 696. But that, as his sons *Atreus* and *Thyestes* begin to reign in Eusebius 115 years later, his *διάβασις* could not have been so early. And he objects with reason that *Eurystheus* is made to die seventy or sixty-four years (according to the date of Eusebius) before the death of *Hercules*. Petavius, however, founds his observations upon the dates in the version of Hieronymus, which differ in some respects from those of the Armenian copy.

Thucydides I. 9. mentions *Pelops* and *Atreus* in the following terms: λέγουσι δὲ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίαν μνήμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδογμένοι Πέλοπα τε πρῶτον πλήθει χρημάτων, ἀ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνδράπους ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλύτην ὄντα ὅμως σχεῖν, καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἔτι μεῖζον ξυνενηχῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπὶ Ἑρακλείδων ἀποθανόντος Ἀτρεὺς δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφεῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ [conf. Schol. ad loc.], καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκῆνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ τιγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον [conf. Schol. Hom. *Iliad*. β'. 105. Pausan. VI. 20, 4]. καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεὺς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φύβῃ τῶν Ἑρακλείδων, καὶ ὅμα δυνατὸν δοκῶντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλήθος τεθεραπευκέτα, τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἤρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεῖα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσείδων τοὺς Πελοπίδας μεῖζους κατα-



στῆναι. Thucydides would seem to imply that at the death of *Eurystheus Pelops* was lately dead, or even still living. But this is at variance with Homer *Iliad*. β'. 105. 107.

αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἀτρεί, ποίμενι λαῶν  
'Ατρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πυλῦαρν Θυέστην  
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι.

Homer from this passage appears to have known nothing of the death of *Chrysippus* or the dissensions of *Atræus* and *Thyestes*. On the latter point conf. Eustath. ad *Il.* β'. p. 184. Schol. *Il.* β'. 106, 107. These were probably later fables. But if *Atræus* received his sceptre from *Pelops*, he was already a king before the death of *Eurystheus*. The original seat of the *Pelopidæ* was *Pisatis*: Strabo VIII. p. 356. διανομάσθη πλείστον ἢ Πισάτις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δυνηθέντας πλείστον, Οἰνυαῖον τε καὶ Πέλοπα τὸν ἐκείνου διαδεξάμενον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς γενομένους. *Il.* p. 377. Εὐρύσθεὺς μὲν ὅν στρατεύσας εἰς Μαρθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑρακλέους παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλαον, βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων, ἰστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ—αἱ δὲ Μυκῆναι μετέπεσον εἰς τοὺς Πελοπίδας ὀρμηθέντας ἀπὸ τῆς Πισάτιδος. We may suppose that *Pelops* reigned and died in *Pisatis*; that *Atræus* succeeded him there, and some years after acquired *Mycenæ* upon the death of *Eurystheus*.

The chronology of *Castor*, as exhibited by Eusebius p. 131, places the reign of *Eurystheus* 130 years, and of *Atræus* at *Mycenæ* 85 years before the fall of *Troy*. After mentioning *Argivorum imperii summa annorum 544*. *Huc usque Danaidæ*, he proceeds according to Eusebius in the following manner: *Post Acrisium translato Mycenæ est Argivorum imperium sub Eurystheo Stheneli filio, Pelopidaque dominium obtinuerunt: primus autem regnavit in Peloponneso Pelops qui Olympiorum curator fuit. Translato Mycenæ Argivorum imperio post Acrisium regnavit Eurystheus annis 45. Deinde Atræus et Thyestes annis 67. Post hos Agamemnon annis 30; cujus anno 18<sup>o</sup> Ilium captum est. Ægisthus annis 17. Orestes, Tisamenus, Penthilus, et Cometes, annis 58 usque ad Heraclidarum descensum—a quo usque ad Ionum migrationem anni excurrunt 80 [l. 60], et a migratione Ionica usque ad Ol. 1. anni sunt 267*. Syncellus illustrates these dates p. 124. 125. μετὰ Ἀκρίσιον ἔσχατον τῶν Δαναϊδῶν εἰς Μυκῆνας μετετέθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ἀργείων κατὰ Εὐρύσθεα τὸν Σθενέλου τοῦ Περσέως· καὶ διεδέξαντο τὴν βασιλείαν οἱ Πελοπίδαι, ὃν πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε Πέλοψ.—οὗτος Ὀλυμπίων πρόστη, βασιλεύει δὲ ἔτη νηΐ—μετατεθείσης τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Μυκῆνας μετὰ Ἀκρίσιον ἐπὶ Εὐρύσθεως, ὃν οἱ μὲν πρὸ Πέλοπος ἔφη φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι πρὶν οἱ δὲ μετὰ Πέλοπα ἔφη με. εἴτα Πελοπίδαι, μετὰ Πέλοπα Ἀτρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης ἔφη ξέ. μεθ' οὓς Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρεὺς παῖς ἔφη σὺν ἀδελφῷ Μενελάῳ κατὰ μὲν τι-

νας λγ' κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους λ', ἢ καὶ κη'. Αἰγισθος ξ' ἢ ιζ'. Ὀρέστης Ἀγαμέμνονος υἱὸς καὶ Πενθίλος καὶ Κομήτης ἔφη νη'. Ἑρακλεῖδων κάθοδος, οἱ Πελοπόννησον λαβόντες ἐκράτησαν μετὰ τοὺς Πελοπίδας [ἔφη νη']. ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰώνων ἀποικίαν ἔφη ξ'. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰώνων ἀποικίας ἐπὶ πρῶτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔφη ἀναγράφουσι σξξ'. From the number ἔφη ξ' (also ξ' in excerpt. Scal.) we may correct the period to the Ionian colonies 60 for 80. According to this account in Eusebius, the chronology of *Castor* will be this: the years in the last column being the years before the fall of *Troy*.

Kings of Mycenæ :	y.	
<i>Eurystheus</i> .....	45	130
<i>Pelopidæ</i> :	y.	
<i>Atræus</i> and <i>Thyestes</i> 67 .....	85	
<i>Agamemnon</i> .....	30	18
<i>Ægisthus</i> .....	17	—
<i>Orestes</i> , &c. ....	58	
	—172	

But we may suspect that Eusebius has given an inaccurate account of the scheme of *Castor*. 1. *Castor* according to Eusebius himself p. 129. gives 105 years and not 172 as the period of the *Pelopidæ*. 2. Eusebius himself *Chron. II.* p. 291. has preserved a notice, doubtless from *Castor*, to the following effect: *Post Acrisium translato Mycenæ Argivorum dominatu reges fuerunt Perseus, Sthenelus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, Ægisthus, Orestes, Tisamenus, Pentheus* [l. *Penthilus*], *et Cometes, usque ad Heraclidarum incursionem*. In this list *Eurystheus* and *Atræus* are omitted (*Syncellus* p. 156. A. ill inserts Εὐρύσθεως, Πέλοψ, Ἀτρεὺς). *Castor*, then, did not compute their years in stating the period. 3. *Perseus* and *Pelops* began to reign at the same time, after the death of *Acrisius*: *Eurystheus* and *Atræus* both reigned after *Pelops*: consequently their reigns were partly contemporary. 4. The years of *Agamemnon*, as they now stand in Eusebius p. 131.—*Agamemnon annis 30, cujus 18<sup>o</sup> anno Ilium capitur*,—are not intelligible; as he took *Troy* in his eighteenth year, and perished on his return, the remaining twelve years of the thirty ascribed to him must have belonged to *Thyestes*, as his tutor in his minority, according to the account of Eustathius ad *Il.* β'. p. 184. Ἀτρεὺς θνήσκων ἔλιπε τὸ σκήπτρον τῷ Θυέστῃ, ὥς ἐπὶ παιδὶ ἀτελεῖ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι θνήσκων τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν παίδων καὶ ἀναθείς τῷ ἀδελφῷ Θυέστῃ ἐπιτροπεύειν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κ. τ. λ. conf. Schol. *Iliad*. β'. 106, 107. The 105 years, then, of the *Pelopidæ*, as reckoned by *Castor*, were 30 + 17 + 58 = 105, and the sixty-seven years of *Atræus* and *Thyestes* were not reckoned subsequent to the years of *Eurystheus*, but included them. The sixty-seven years probably contained the forty-five of *Eurystheus*



The *Pelopidæ* might be traced in many parts of Peloponnesus, not only in *Pisatis* the original seat of *Pelops* himself, and at Mycenæ the seat of his sons and grandsons, but at Trœzen and in Laconia <sup>w</sup>.

and the first twelve of *Agamemnon*; and the chronology of *Castor* appears to have been this.

The years in the last column are the years before and after the fall of Troy.

Kings of Argos:

<i>Inachidæ</i> ...	382	} 544. See p. 8.
<i>Danaidæ</i> ...	162	
<i>Atreus</i> in <i>Pisatis</i> , first .....	y. 10	85
<i>Eurystheus</i> in Mycenæ .....	45	75
<i>Thyestes</i> in Mycenæ .....	12	30
	—67	
<i>Agamemnon</i> .....	last 18	18
<i>Agamemnon</i> , whole period...	12 + 18 = 30	
<i>Ægisthus</i> .....	17	1
<i>Orestes</i> , <i>Tisamenus</i> , <i>Penthilus</i> , <i>Cometes</i> .....	58	18
	—105	
Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> .....	60	76
Ionic migration .....	267	136
First Olympiad .....		403

The death of *Pelops* is placed eighty-five years before the fall of Troy, which, if *Castor* reckoned fifty-three or fifty-eight years to his reign, would carry back his coming into Greece to the 138th or the 143rd year before that era; and consequently place the death of *Acrisius* and the reign of *Perseus* according to the mind of *Castor* at the same date. But the time of *Eurystheus* is not so far removed from probable accounts as to be inconsistent with the time of *Hercules*, whose death might reasonably be placed thirty-two years before the fall of Troy.

<sup>v</sup> *Pelops* is contemporary with *Laomedon*: Schol. Pindar. Ol. I. 69. "Ἐκτωρ καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων, Ἀτρεΐς καὶ Πρίαμος, Πέλοψ καὶ Λαομέδων. His father *Tantalus* was contemporary with *Ilus* father of *Laomedon*: Diod. IV. 74. *Ilus* according to *Pausanias* II. 22, 4. reached the time of *Pelops* himself. *Hercules* celebrated funeral games to *Pelops*: *Dionys. Ant.* V. p. 885. ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους τιθεμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις ἀνδράσι γυμνικοῖς τε καὶ ἵππικοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἱστορίκασιν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλεύου ἐπὶ Πατρίλῳ καὶ ἑτ. πρότερον ἰφὶ Ἡρακλείου ἐπὶ Πέλοπι. Perhaps the Olympic games mentioned by *Clemens* quoted at p. 76. and by Schol. *Aristid.* apud *Siebel.* ad *Pausan.* V. 8, 1. ἔβδαμος ἀγὼν ὁ Ὀλυμπικὸς Ἡρακλείου νομιθετήσαντος ἐπὶ Πέλοπι. *Apollodorus* II. 7, 2: after the death of the *Molionidæ Hercules* ἔθηκε τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα, Πέλοπος τε βωμὸν ἱδρύσαντο. *Pausan.* V. 13, 1. ἡρώων τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοσούτων προτετιμημένων ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἡλίων ἔσση Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων.—τὸ Πελοπίων—ἀπονεῖμαι τῇ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρυώνος λέγεται· τέταρτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπόγονος καὶ οὗτος ἦν Πέλοπος, λέγεται δὲ

καὶ ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῇ Πέλοπι. The descent was through *Lysidicē* daughter of *Pelops*. *Pindar* Ol. X. 40—60. also places the Olympic games of *Hercules* after the death of the *Molionidæ*. These games of *Hercules* we may suppose to have been celebrated soon after the death of *Pelops*. *Pausanias* V. 8, 1. places *Pelops* in the generation after *Endymion*, who was the third from *Æolus*: Πέλοψ ὕστερον γενεῇ μάλιστα μετὰ Ἐνδυμίωνα, τὸν ἀγῶνα τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ δι' ἐποίησεν—Πέλοπος δὲ τῶν παιδῶν σκεδασθέντων ἐξ Ἡλίδος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον Ἀμυθῶν ὁ Κρηθῆως Ἐνδυμίονι ἀνέψιος πρὸς πατρός—ἔθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια. The celebration of the games by *Pelops* and the dispersion of his sons through Greece are thus placed in the fourth generation before the Trojan war. *Pelops* in *Apollod.* III. 12, 6. makes war upon *Stymphalus* king of Arcadia. But *Stymphalus* the son of *Elatius* (*Pausan.* VIII. 4, 3) is also in the fourth generation before that period. *Pindar* Ol. I. 69=44. places *Ganymedes* after *Pelops*: ἔνθα δευτέρῳ χρόνῳ ἦλθε καὶ Γανυμήδης· which might create a difficulty, if, as the Scholiast observes, πρεσβύτερος Γανυμήδης Πέλοπος. But *Mr. Boeckh* ad loc. p. 108. (who is followed by *Dissen* p. 12.) has removed the difficulty by remarking that *Pindar* might reckon *Ganymedes* the son of *Laomedon* (*Eur. Troad.* 822), or of *Ilus* (*Tzetz.* ad *Lycophr.* 34).

<sup>w</sup> *Heraclides* apud *Athen.* XIV. p. 625. f. ἴδοις ἂν καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, χώματα μεγάλα, ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. *Strabo* VIII. p. 374. Τροίῃν καὶ Πιτθεὺς οἱ Πέλοπος δρμηθέντες ἐκ τῆς Πισατίας, ὁ

*Atreus*, as we have seen, reigned after *Pelops* in *Pisatis*, and upon the testimony of Homer received the sceptre with the consent of his father <sup>x</sup>. After the death of *Eurystheus* he acquired Mycenæ towards the end of his life, when he was probably advanced in age, being the uncle of his predecessor. Hence his reign at Mycenæ and that of *Thyestes* were contained within the narrow space between *Eurystheus* and *Agamemnon*. *Agamemnon* was either the son or grandson of *Atreus* <sup>y</sup>, and yet was preceded by *Thyestes*. Apparently to reconcile this, the grammarians and interpreters have invented the account noticed above <sup>z</sup> that *Agamemnon* was left a minor, and that *Thyestes* governed as his guardian. This, however, is

μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὀμόνυμον ἑαυτῷ κατέλιπεν, ὁ δὲ Πιπθεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκείνῳ διαδεξάμενος. Conf. Pausan. II. 30, 8. Plutarch. Thes. c. 3. Πέλοψ οὐ χρημάτων πλήθει μᾶλλον ἢ παίδων μέγιστον ἴσχυσε τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ βασιλείων, πολλὰς μὲν ἐκδόμενος θυγατέρας τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολλοὺς δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν υἱοὺς ἐγκατασπεύρας ἄρχοντας· ὧν εἰς γενόμενος Πιπθεὺς κ. τ. λ. Six sons of *Pelops* and *Hippodamia* are recorded by Pindar Ol. I. 144. The Scholiast ad loc. gives three lists of the sons of *Pelops*: 'Ατρεία, Θυέστην, Πιπθέα, 'Αλκάθου, Πλεισθένη, Χρυσίππου. 2. 'Ατρεὺς, Θυέστης, 'Αλκάθους, 'Ιππαλκμος, Πιπθεὺς, (ἐκ) Δίας, ἢ Χρυσίππου ἐξ 'Αξιόχης νύμφης· καὶ Πλεισθένης ἐξ ἄλλης. 3. 'Ατρεία, Θυέστην, 'Ιππαλκμον, Πλεισθένην, Πιπθέα, Πέλοπα τὸν νεώτερον. In Schol. Eur. Or. 5. the children of *Pelops* are thus given: Πέλοπος καὶ 'Ιπποδαμείας 'Ατρεὺς, Θυέστης, Δίας, Κυνόσουρος, Κορίνθιος, 'Ιππαλμος, 'Ιππασος, Κλέων, 'Αργεῖος, 'Αλκάθους, Αἴλιος, Πιπθεὺς, Τροίχην, Νικίπην, Λυσιδίκην, καὶ ἕκ τινος 'Αξιόχης νόθος Χρυσίππος. Of these, *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, *Pittheus*, are in all the lists and in Apollodorus. *Traezen* is in Strabo and Pausanias: *Alca-thous* in three, and in Apollod. III. 12, 6. Pausan. I. 41, 5. *Nicippē* is the mother of *Eurystheus*: Apollod. II. 4, 5. Schol. Thucyd. I. 9. calls her *Astydamia*. *Lysidicē* was married to one of the sons of *Perseus*; to *Electryon*: Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 49. 'Αλκμήνῃ μὲν ἐξ 'Ηλεκτρώωνος καὶ Λυσιδίκης τῆς Πέλοπος θυγατρὸς. Plutarch. Thes. c. 7. 'Αλκμήνῃ Λυσιδίκης θυγάτηρ· Λυσιδίκη δὲ καὶ Πιπθεὺς ἀδελφοί. Diod. IV. 9. 'Ηλεκτρώονι τὴν Πέλοπος Εὐρυδικὴν συνοικήσασαν 'Αλκμήνην τεκνῶσαι. or to *Alcaeus*: Pausan. VIII. 14, 2. or to *Mestor*: Apollod. II. 4, 5. *Chrysippus* is mentioned by Apollodorus, Thucydides, Hellanicus apud Schol. Iliad. β'. 105. Pausanias VI. 20, 4. These eight stand upon the best authorities. Of the rest; *Plisthenes* in the three lists of the Scholiast is the son of *Atreus* in Schol. Eur. Or. 5. *Dias* is a son of *Pelops* Ibid. where the writer mentions Κλέων τὴν Δίαντος. Whence we may doubt the emendation of Heyne, who adds ἐκ Δίας in Schol. Pindar. *Copreus*, not named in these lists, is a son of *Pelops* in Apollod. II. 5, 1. Κοπρέα Πέλοπος τοῦ 'Ηλείου. rightly explained by Heyne ad loc. In Schol. Iliad. σ'. 639. Κοπρεὺς 'Ηλείου παῖς

τοῦ Πέλοπος is perhaps from misunderstanding Apollodorus.

<sup>x</sup> Hellanicus apud Schol. Iliad. β'. 105. adopting however, like Thucydides, the tale of *Chrysippus*, describes *Atreus* as seizing upon *Pisatis* after his father's death: Πέλοψ ἐφυγάδευσε τοὺς αὐτόχειρας τῆς σφαγῆς γενομένους παῖδας.—οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἀλλαγῇ ἐκπίπτουσι τῆς Πίσσης· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπος 'Ατρεὺς κατὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερον σὺν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐλθὼν ἐκράτησε τῶν τόπων. Ιστορεῖ 'Ελληνικός. Alius Schol. φασὶν 'Ατρεία καὶ Θυέστην ἐπιβουλεύσαντας Χρυσίππῳ—ἐκβεβλήσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς· μετὰ δὲ θάνατον Πέλοπος 'Ατρεία ἐπιστρατηγήσαντα εἰς Ἥλιν κρατῆσαι τῶν σκήπτρων τοῦ πατρὸς. Schol. Eur. Or. 5. though also following the tale of the murder of *Chrysippus*, and the expulsion of *Atreus* by his father (which, as we have seen, is refuted by Homer), yet acknowledges his reign in Triphylia: ὁ δὲ Πέλοψ ὑπόπτους ἔχων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκβάλλει τῆς πατρὸς ἐπαρασάμενος. τούτων ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλη φήκασαν, 'Ατρεὺς δὲ καὶ Θυέστης ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ κατόκησαν ἐν Μακίστρῳ. According to Apollodorus II. 4, 6. *Sthenelus* the father of *Eurystheus* (and therefore before the reign of *Eurystheus*) planted them in Midea in Argolis: τὴν Μίδειαν μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Πέλοπος παῖδας 'Ατρεία καὶ Θυέστην παρέθετο τούτοις.

<sup>y</sup> Schol. Eur. Or. 5. Ζεὺς, Τάνταλος, Πέλοψ, οὗ 'Ατρεὺς καὶ Θυέστης. ἐκ τοῦ 'Ατρείως 'Αγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος. This genealogy is adopted by Aristides tom. I. p. 270. Πέλοπος—ἄφ' οὗ τρίτος ἔγγονος βασιλεὺς κοινὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. and by Sophocles Aj. 1280. The other is recorded by another Scholiast ad Eur. Or. 5. 'Ατρεὺς Κλέων τὴν Δίαντος ἀγαγόμενος ἔσχε Πλεισθένη τὸ σῶμα ἀσθενῆ· ὃς 'Εριφύλῃν γήμας ἔσχε· 'Αγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον καὶ 'Αναξιβίαν. νέος δὲ τελευτῶν ὁ Πλεισθένης καταλείπει τῷ πατρὶ τοὺς παῖδας. Schol. Iliad. β'. 249. 'Ατρεΐδαι ἦσαν κατὰ μὲν τὸ σύνθετος 'Αερόπης καὶ 'Ατρείως παῖδες τοῦ Πέλοπος. τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ Πλεισθένης, ὡς φασιν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Περφύριος ἐν τοῖς ζήτημασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Πλεισθένης νέος τελευτᾷ μὴδὲν καταλείψας μνήμης ἄξιον, νέοι ἀνατραφέντες ὑπὸ 'Ατρείως αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἐκλήθησαν. They are the sons of *Plisthenes* in Apollod. III. 3, 2. 'Αερόπην ἔγγμε Πλεισθένης, καὶ παῖδας 'Αγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον ἔτεκε.

<sup>z</sup> See p. 81.



not very probable. For *Eurystheus* was slain about twenty-four years before the fall of Troy; and, if *Atræus* survived him, which Thucydides affirms, *Atræus* was still living twenty-one or twenty-two years before that epoch. But *Agamemnon*, who was more than forty years of age at the time of the action of the *Iliad*<sup>a</sup>, was consequently near twenty before the death of *Atræus*. And besides, Homer describes *Thyestes* as holding the sceptre in the same terms in which he had described *Atræus*<sup>b</sup>. It is likely, then, that *Atræus* and *Thyestes* both successively held the sceptre by some mutual compact, and that it was afterwards to descend to *Agamemnon* then in early youth. If the eighteenth year of *Agamemnon's* reign had commenced at the fall of Troy, according to the accounts already given<sup>c</sup>, the short interval of six years will remain from the death of *Eurystheus* to be distributed between *Atræus* and *Thyestes*, in which there is no impossibility, when it is remembered that they were both older than *Eurystheus*<sup>d</sup>. The extensive influence of *Agamemnon* is remarked by Thucydides, and indications of this may be traced in other accounts<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Agamemnon* is addressed as an older prince than himself by *Diomed* *Iliad*. ξ. 112. and *Diomed* was born before the first Theban war, and was old enough to have borne a part in the second. See above p. 51. h. He must accordingly have been past thirty at the time of the action of the *Iliad*. Again, *Helen* had been nineteen years at Troy: *Iliad*. α'. 765. *Menelaüs*, then, the younger brother of *Agamemnon*, had been married more than twenty years, and was probably more than forty years of age at the fall of Troy. That passage, indeed, of Homer:

ἦδη γὰρ οὐν μοι τοδ' εἰκοστὴν ἔτος ἐστίν  
is rejected by Heyne tom. VIII. p. 751. *Si quis alius, hic utique locus rhapsodo debetur, qui tempora ad cyclicorum et tragicorum commenta accommodavit. Sane si Helena hæc dixit:—jam XL saltem annorum matrona erat.* Bayle art. *Hélène* objects to it for the same reason; and Clavier tom. I. p. 254. *Comme les anciens critiques paroissent avoir élevé quelques doutes sur l'authenticité de ce passage, je crois qu'il faut s'en tenir à ce que dit Clément d'Alexandrie, que le siège commença quatre ans après l'enlèvement d'Hélène.* Clemens nowhere assigns this date, and his meaning p. 336. A. has been misunderstood by Clavier. The ancient critics are probably the Scholiast ad *Il.* γ'. 326. where the reason assigned is frivolous: οὐκ ἦσαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς Ἑλένης ἕως τῆς ἀλώσεως α' ἔτη· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ἂν καιρὸν εἶχεν γαμῆσθαι Πηλεΐδης, καὶ Τηλέμαχος ἦν ἂν ἧ' ἐτῶν κ. τ. λ. In Schol. α'. 765. the twenty years are explained: δέκα ἔτη Ἰστυατολόγου κ. τ. λ. with which are intermixed other comments shewing that some ancient critics confounded these twenty years with the twenty years in *Odys.* β. 175. Eustathius ad *Iliad*. α'. p. 1374, who had read these mistaken comments, properly explains both periods: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἕως θαλασσίας μὲν παρελθούσης τῆς στρατολογίης—ἄλλαν δὲ δέκα ἐτῶν συνετελεσμένων τῇ τῆς Τροίας

πολιορκίᾳ. τῇ μὲν τοι εἰκοσαετῇ ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς οὐ προσλογιστέον τὰ ῥηθέντα τῆς στρατολογίας δέκα ἔτη—ἀλλὰ τὰ δέκα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰ ἴσα τῆς πλάνης. The age of *Helen* is no objection to this verse; for this term, expressing nineteen years complete, might imply that she was thirty-seven or thirty-eight at the fall of Troy, and forty-seven when *Telemachus* saw her at Sparta *Odys.* δ'. 120. *Hermionē*, whose marriage with *Neoptolemus* they were then celebrating (*Odys.* δ'. 5), might be thirty years of age. As in that interval of ten years current στρατολογίας the second Theban war occurred, and perhaps the war of the sons of *Tyndareus* in Messenia, these would be among the causes why the expedition to Troy was delayed.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 81.

<sup>c</sup> See above p. 8. 81.

<sup>d</sup> They were already in Triphylia and thence proceeded to Midea in the reign of *Sthenelus*. See p. 83. x. Memorials of *Atræus* were shewn at Mycenæ: Pausan. II. 16, 4. Ἀτρεὺς καὶ τῶν παίδων ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἔνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν, τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀτρεὺς εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δσους σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐπαρήκοντας ἐξ Ἰλίου δεῖπνίσας κατεφόνευσεν Αἴγισθος.

<sup>e</sup> Thucyd. I. 9. Ἀγαμέμνων μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει προῦχων καὶ οὐ τοσούτων τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὄρκοις κατειλημένους τοὺς Ἑλένης μνηστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγεῖραι—δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων—ναυτικῇ ἐπὶ πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ισχύσας τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεόν ἢ φόβῳ ἔκωγα γὰρ ποιήσασθαι. In the *Iliad* α'. 149. he possesses seven towns in the neighbourhood of Pylos: probably derived through *Atræus* from *Pelops*. He was said to have ruled in a part of Laconia: Schol. Eur. Or. 46. Ὅμηρος ἐν Μυκῆναις φησὶ τὰ βασίλεια Ἀγαμέμνονος, Στῆσιχορος δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. That he held connexions and influence in Crete appears from the foundation of three cities there: Velleius I. 1, 2. *Agamemnon tempestate in Cretam insulam rejectus tres ibi urbes*

3. *Cadmus* is placed by the Parian Marble 268 years before the first Theban war and 310 before the fall of Troy<sup>f</sup>. He is a little before *Danaüs* in the Marble, a little after him in Diodorus<sup>g</sup>, with whom those chronologers agree, who refer him to the time of *Lyncæus*<sup>h</sup>. Eusebius has various dates according to the various authors whom he followed, referring *Cadmus* to the 273rd year before the Trojan era, and to the 247th<sup>i</sup>. All these dates are inconsistent with the traditions delivered concerning *Cadmus* and his descendants. We have seen that *Eteocles* fell in the first Theban war about thirty years before the Trojan period<sup>k</sup>. Between *Cadmus* and *Eteocles* were four descents, *Polydorus*, *Labdacus*, *Laius*, *Ædipus*; and of these the second and third were minors under the successive care of the same guardian. *Laius* was slain: *Eteocles* fell in battle<sup>l</sup>. We cannot, then, assign more than a century to the period

*statuit, duas a patriæ nomine unam a victoria memoria, Mycenæ, Tegeam, Pergamum.* Steph. Byz. *Τεγέα*—ἐν Κρήτῃ ὑπὸ Ταλθύβιον κτισθείσα. which (as the interpreters of Velleius have shewn) is no contradiction of Velleius. On Pergamus conf. Serv. ad Virgil. *Æn.* III. 133. See Burman ad Velleium l. c.

Among the additions of later poets may be numbered the concealment of *Achilles* at Scyros. In the *Iliad* i. 252. λ. 766. he proceeds from Thessaly with his father's advice and instructions.

<sup>f</sup> Mar. Par. No. 7. ἀφ' οὗ Κάδμος δ' Ἀγῆνορος εἰς Θήβας ἀφίκετο.....ἔκτισεν τὴν Καδμείαν ἐτη ΧΗΗ [Δ] Π βασιλείοντος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικτύονος. No. 22. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀργεῖοι. ε. Ἀδρασ.....βας.....ευσαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα.

ν....α.θ.σαν....ἔτη [Η] ΗΗΗΗ [Δ] ΔΔΔ Π Π βασιλείοντος Ἀθηνῶν Θησεῶς. The date for the fall of Troy we have already seen p. 60. h. which gives the intervals here expressed.

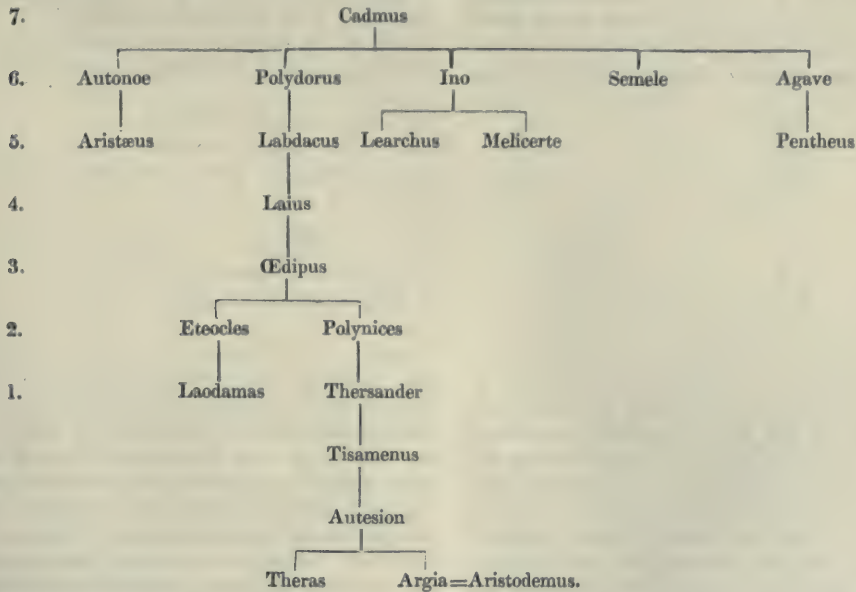
<sup>g</sup> Diod. V. 58. Δαναὸς ἔφυγεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου—μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ταύτων τῶν χρόνων Κάδμος κ. τ. λ.

<sup>h</sup> See above p. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. p. 285. Anno 562 *Phœnix et Cadmus Thebis Ægyptiis in Syriam profecti regnaverunt Tyri et Sidone.* p. 286. Anno 588 *Cadmus apud Thebanos regnavit* &c. We shall see below another date of Eusebius.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 51. h.

<sup>l</sup> The genealogy from *Cadmus* to *Theras*, who lived in the time of *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, is as follows:



Herodotus V. 59, 60. gives the outline: Ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίτοσί τις

ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἔοντα τοῖσι Ἰωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὲ εἰς τῶν τριπῶδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει Ἀμφιτῦρον μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἰὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν.

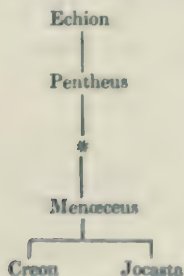


which elapsed from the coming of *Cadmus* to the death of *Eteocles*; which will place *Cadmus* at about 130 years before the fall of *Troy*. And this date, thus confirmed by the

ταῦτα ἡλικίῃ ἂν εἴη κατὰ Λαίῳ τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου. ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους κ. τ. λ.—ἡλικίῃ κατὰ Οἰδίῳ τὸν Λαίῳ. τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ

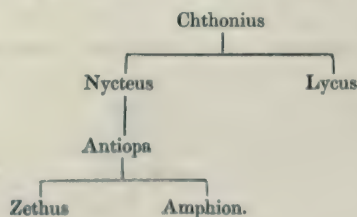
Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸν εὐσκόπῃ Ἀπόλλωνι  
μουναρχῶν ἀνέθηκε τῆν περικαλλῆς ἀγαλμα.

ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμοντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους μουναρχῶντος ἱερασιεύεται Κάδμειος ὑπ' Ἀργείων [see above p. 68]. Idem IV. 147. Θήρας δ' Αἰτεσίανος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἔστειλε ἐς Ἀπικίην ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος· ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος γένος ἐδὼν Κάδμειος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμῳ παισὶ Εὐρυσθέει καὶ Προκλεί. Idem VI. 52. Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα τῇ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀργείην· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αἰτεσίανος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος [conf. Pausan. IV. 3, 3]· ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν διδυμα. The children of *Cadmus* are in *Apollod.* III. 4, 2. According to *Apollodorus* and *Pausanias*, *Cadmus*, *Polydorus*, *Labdacus*, *Laius*, were all overborne by the native chiefs: *Apollod.* III. 5, 2—7. Πενθεὺς γεννηθεὶς ἐξ Ἀγαιῆς Ἐχλίου παρὰ Κάδμου εὐληφὸς τὴν βασιλείαν—ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀγαιῆς ἐμελείσθη κ. τ. λ. ὁ δὲ Κάδμος μετὰ Ἀρμυρίας Θήβας ἐκλήπεν πρὸς Ἐγγέλεας παραγίνεται.—Πολύδωρος δὲ Θηβῶν βασιλεὺς γενόμενος—Νυκτεῖς γαμῆ, Νυκτεὺς τοῦ Χθονίου θυγατέρα, καὶ γεννᾷ Λαβδάκον. οὗτος ἀπέλυτο μετὰ Πενθεία ἐκείνῃ φρονῶν παραπλήσια. καταλύοντος δὲ Λαβδάκου παῖδα ἐνιαυσιαῖον Λαίῳ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο Λύκος (ἕως οὗτος ἦν παῖς)



The *Σπαρτοὶ* were five in number: *Schol. Pindar. Isthm. I. 41.* οἱ ὑπὸ Σπαρτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες οἰκιστὰι τῶν Θηβαίων γενήσαν· Ὑπερήνωρ, Χθόνιος, Πέλωρος, Οἰδαῖος, Ἐχμῖος. *Pausan. IX. 5, 2.* ἐπὶ Κάδμου μέγιστον μετὰ τῷ αὐτῷ Κάδμῳ ἡδύοντο οἱ Σπαρτοὶ Χθόνιος καὶ Ὑπερήνωρ καὶ Πέλωρος καὶ Οἰδαῖος· Ἐχλῖον δὲ ὡς προέχοντα κατ' ἀνδραγαθίαν γαμῆβρον ἤξιωσεν ὁ Κάδμος ποιήσασθαι τοὺς δι' ἀνδρας τούτους (οὗ γὰρ τι ἡδυνάμην ἐς αὐτοὺς παρρησίῃ) ἔποιμαι τῷ μύθῳ Σπαρτοὺς διὰ τὸν τρόπον ἵσταται ἐγένοντο ὀνομασθῆναι. *Apollod. III. 4, 1.* περιεσθῆσαν πέντε, Ἐχλῖον, Οἰδαῖος, Χθόνιος, Ὑπερήνωρ, Πέλωρ. *Schol. Eur. Phœn. 942.* οἱ περιλειφθέντες

ἀδελφὸς δὲ Νυκτεὺς—αἰρεθείς οὖν Λύκος πολέμαρχος ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπετίθετο τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ βασιλεύσας ἔτη εἰκοσι φρονεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ζήθου καὶ Ἀμφίονος θήσκει—οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν Λύκον κτείνουσι—παραλαβόντες δὲ τὴν δυναστείαν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐτείχιζαν Λαίῳ δὲ ἐξέβαλον. γαμῆ δὲ Ζήθος μὲν Θήβην, ἀπ' ἧς ἡ πόλις Θήβαι· Ἀμφίον δὲ Νιόβην τὴν Ταντάλῳ.—μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίονος τελευτὴν Λαῖος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. *Pausan. IX. 5.* Κάδμου ἐς Ἐγγέλεας μετακίησαντος Πολύδωρος ὁ Κάδμου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. Πενθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἐχλῖος ἴσχυε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ γένους ἀξίωμα καὶ φίλῃ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὧν δὲ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὕβριστης καὶ ἀσεβὴς Διονύσου δίκην ἔσχεν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Πολύδωρος δὲ ἦν Λαβδάκος· ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα αὐτὸν—παῖδα εἶτι ἀπολείψειν, καὶ ἐπιτρέπει τὸν τε υἱὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Νυκτεῖ. After the death of *Nycteus* (conf. II. 6, 2) ἐς Λύκον ἀδελφὸν Νυκτεὺς ἢ τ' ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παιδὸς περιῆλθε καὶ ἡ Θηβαίων δυναστεία. Λύκος δὲ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐξήνῃ Λαβδάκῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν· γενομένης δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ καὶ τούτῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, ὁ δὲ ἐπετρέπεν αὐτῷ Λαίῳ Λαβδάκου παῖδα. Λύκου δὲ ἐπιτροπείοντος δεύτερον κατίασιν Ἀμφίον καὶ Ζήθος δύναμιν ἀγείραντες. καὶ Λαίῳ μὲν ὑποκλέπτουσιν οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ Κάδμου γένος—ἀνώνυμον, Λύκου δὲ οἱ τῆς Ἀντιόπης παῖδες τῇ μάχῃ κρατοῦσιν· ὧς δὲ ἐβασίλευσαν, τὴν πόλιν τὴν κάτω προσέκισαν τῇ Καδμείᾳ καὶ Θήβας ὄνομα ἔθεντο κατὰ συγγένειαν τῆς Θήβης. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος [*Odys. λ'. 262*], κ. τ. λ. After the deaths of *Zethus* and *Amphion*, Λαῖον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ κατέγουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι. These chiefs together with *Creon* were of the Aboriginal race. The genealogy is thus given:



τῶν Σπαρτῶν, ὡς Αἰσχύλος φησὶν, ἦσαν Χθόνιος, Οἰδαῖος, Πέλωρος, Ὑπερήνωρ, καὶ Ἐχλῖον ὃς ἐγγημῖν Ἀγαιῶν—ἐξ ἧς ποιεῖ Πενθεία, οὗ—, οὗ Μεινικεύς, οὗ Κρέων καὶ Ἰοκάστη. *Ad v. 670.* the conjectures of various authors are recorded: Πέλωρ, Ἐχλῖον, Οἰδαῖος, Χθόνιος, Ὑπερήνωρ, κατὰ δὲ Τιμαγόραν καὶ Κρέων.—δὲ μὲν Στησίχορος ἐν Εὐρωπείᾳ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ὑποκρίναι τοὺς ὄντας φησὶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρότιον Σπαρτοὺς αὐτοὺς φησὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκολουθήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ Φοινίκης Κάδμῳ σποράδην οἰκῆσαι· Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπιστᾶναι τοὺς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Θήβαις· Διονύσιος δὲ ἔθνος Βοιωτίας αὐτοὺς φησὶν· ἔνιοι δὲ παῖδας Κάδμου κ. τ. λ. *Heyne ad Apollod. III. 4, 1.* supposes

history, is given from Castor by Eusebius, and appears to be approved by Eusebius himself<sup>m</sup>.

Hellanicus made *Cadmus* contemporary with *Dardanus*<sup>n</sup>; but *Dardanus*, although probably before the time of *Cadmus*, is also placed too high by the chronologers; and the five

them to be Phœnician: *Quinque Sparti ad quos totidem familiæ Thebanæ genus referebant: qui Phœniciæ forte originis fuere*. But this is contrary to his own etymology: *σπαρτὸς; ex etymo fabula nata. Idem γηγενεῖς*. Clavier tom. I. p. 142. with much better reason supposes that they were Aboriginal chiefs whom the Phœnician settlers found in the country. And this is confirmed by the account that *Pentheus*, one of the race, resisted the worship of *Bacchus*, which the Phœnicians introduced.

According to Pausanias and Apollodorus the series of kings down to the Trojan era will be this:

1. Cadmus.
2. *Pentheus*.
3. Polydorus.
4. *Nycteus*.
5. Labdacus.
6. *Lycus*.
7. *Amphion* and *Zethus*.
8. *Laius*.
9. *Creon*.
10. *Œdipus*.
11. *Eteocles*.
- Creon* again.
12. *Laodamas*.
13. *Thersander*.
14. *Tisamenus*.

Of fifteen names six were of the Aboriginal race. Clavier tom. I. p. 142. 148. with much probability conjectures that *Polydorus* never reigned at all; that *Nycteus* reigned, and was succeeded by his brother *Lycus* and his grandsons *Zethus* and *Amphion*; and that *Laius* was the first of the family of *Cadmus* who reigned at Thebes after the expulsion or retreat of *Cadmus*.

*Œdipus* according to Homer *Odys.* λ'. 270—279. immediately discovered the marriage with his mother (whence Pausanias IX. 5, 5. collects that *Jocasta* was not the mother of his children: conf. Apollod. III. 5, 8), after whose death he had a troubled reign at Thebes. According to Hesiod he died at Thebes; and Homer *Iliad.* ψ'. 678. records his funeral games celebrated there: *Εὐρύαλος—Μηκιστέως υἱός—*

ὅς ποτε Θήβαςδ' ἤλθε δεδουπότος Οἰδιπόδαο  
ἔς τάφον—

Schol. ad loc. ἐπὶ τοῦ Μηκιστέως ἀκουστέον “ὅς ποτε” —οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐρύαλου, ὡς ὁ Κράτης—νῦν δὲ ὁμολογοῦν ὅτι ἐν Θήβαις ἐτελεύτησεν—βασιλεύοντα ἐν Θήβαις φησὶν

ἀπολέσθαι, οὐχ ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ φησιν ἐν Θήβαις αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος Ἀργεῖαν τὴν Ἀδράστου σὺν ἄλλοις ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κηδεῖαν αὐτοῦ. Pausanias I. 28, 7. understands *Mecisteus*, and Heyne ad Homer. l. c. who observes, *Hæc de Mecisteo accipienda non de Euryalo, ut Crates fecerat; scilicet temporum ratione repugnante*. The death of *Œdipus* was probably little more than thirty years before the fall of Troy, and was therefore within the reach of the life of *Euryalus* himself. We have seen that the first Theban war, in which *Eteocles* and *Polynices* fell, was about thirty years before the Trojan era: see above p. 51. h. The second war is in Apollodorus III. 7, 2. μετὰ ἑτὴ δέκα, or ten years after the first; ἔτισιν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον in Pausanias IX. 9, 2. As *Diomed* was a child at the first war, and yet was present at the second, we may place the second war at least fifteen years after the first, and within fifteen years of the fall of Troy. *Laodamas* according to Apollodorus III. 7, 3. is slain; but Herodotus and Pausanias record that he retired with his followers from Thebes. *Thersander* son of *Polynices* recalled a part of the fugitives: Pausan. IX. 8, 3. and himself fell in Mysia in the beginning of the Trojan war: Ibid. 5, 7. The remaining fortunes of this dynasty are thus told by Pausanias: Ib. §. 8. τελευτήσαντος Θερσάνδρου—Πενέλεω ἀρχόντα εἰλοντο.—Πηνέλεω δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Εὐρυπίλου—Τισαμενὸν βασιλεία αἰροῦνται—τῶν δὲ Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαῶν καὶ Οἰδίποδος Τισαμενῶ μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο μήνιμα, Αἰτεσίωνι δὲ τῷ Τισαμενοῦ, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Δωριέας μετόκησε τοῦ θεοῦ χρίσαντος. This connexion with the Dorians led to the alliance with *Aristodemus* already mentioned.

<sup>m</sup> Castor apud Euseb. p. 135. places *Cadmus* in the time of *Pandion II.* *Octavus Pandion Erechthei annis 25—Sub eodem Europa et Cadmus et quæ de Spartiis narrantur*. But according to the dates of Castor for the Attic kings (who computes 373 years from the first of *Cecrops* to the twenty-second of *Menestheus*, when Troy was taken) *Pandion II.* began to reign 248 years after *Cecrops* and 125 before the fall of Troy. Eusebius himself *Chron.* II. p. 291. 292. agrees with Castor: *Anno 699 Cecropis II. 30<sup>o</sup> Thebis, ut aliqui tradunt, regnat Cadmus. Anno 710 Pandionis II. 1<sup>o</sup> Europa rapta est. Anno 711 Pandionis 2<sup>o</sup> Spartorum res &c.* The first date is 136 years, the last 124, before the Trojan era.

<sup>n</sup> Schol. Apollon. I. 916. quoted above p. 22. h.

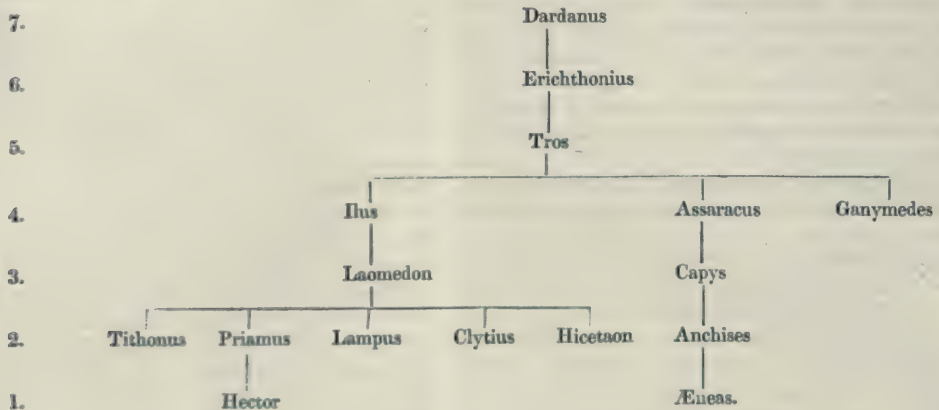


generations recorded in the *Iliad* between *Dardanus* and *Hector* will not admit of more than 200 years between the establishment of *Dardanus* and the fall of the city<sup>o</sup>.

4. The Arcadian kings were traced to *Pelagus*, who appears in Arcadia in the ninth or tenth generation before the Trojan war<sup>p</sup>. *Lycaon* son of *Pelagus* had fifty sons<sup>q</sup>. *Nycti-*

<sup>o</sup> The testimonies which derive *Dardanus* from Peloponnesus have been given at p. 22. h.

Homer *Iliad*. ω'. 215—240. has the following genealogy:



*Dardanus* is placed in the time of *Sthenelus*: see p. 8. Euseb. p. 284. Anno 538 *Dardanus condit Dardaniam*. A date 297 years before the fall of Troy. But p. 291. he again names *Dardanus*: Anno 701 *Pelops—expeditione adversus Ilium suscepta victus a Dardano est*. In Syncellus p. 160. C. ἡττήθη ὑπὸ Δαρδάνου, where *Dardanus* seems a mistake of Eusebius for *Ilus*.—Anno 709. *Ilium ab Ilio (Ilo) conditum est*. Also repeated by Syncellus p. 161. D. These dates are 134 and 126 years before the era. Petavius R. Temp. II. II. 10. mentions the duration of the monarchy as follows: *Auctor ille Troicorum qui cum Iliade parva aliisque carminibus Græce editus est a Michaële Neandro Trojanum regnum 300 annis perseverasse dicit*: εἰς πέρας ἦλθε τριηκοσίων ἡμερῶν. This writer according to Petavius enumerates six kings, whose reigns amount to 296 years; agreeing with the epoch in Eusebius. But the establishment of *Dardanus* may be probably placed a century below this date, and the foundation of *Ilium* by *Ilus* son of *Tros* thirty or forty years below the time assigned by Eusebius.

<sup>p</sup> See above p. 12, 13. Two testimonies place him in the ninth, one in the tenth generation; we may therefore place him with *Danaüs* at 283 years before the Trojan era. See above p. 73. a.

<sup>q</sup> Dionysius Ant. I. p. 31. gives *Lycaon* only

twenty-two sons: δύο καὶ εἴκοσι παῖδων Λυκάων γενομένων, εἰς τοσοῦτους ἔδει κλήρους νεμηθῆναι τὴν Ἀρκάδων χώραν. Apollodorus III. 8, 1. assigns fifty sons: πεντήκοντα παῖδας ἐγέννησε. And Nicolaüs Damascenus p. 239. Λυκάων ὁ Πελαγοῦ υἱὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσρηγμάτα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κ. τ. λ.—τῶν δὲ υἱῶν πεντήκοντα, ὥς φασιν, ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν γυναικῶν κ. τ. λ. Heyne ad Apollod. p. 660. observes, *Lycaonis L. filii. Videntur in hunc censum retulisse Arcades conditores omnium suarum urbium seu vicorum. Adscripserat hæc nomina Pherecydes (Dionys. I. 13). Partem ex iis recitat Pausanias VIII. 3. et Schol. Lycophr. 481. nec tamen conveniunt nomina inter se. Desiderantur in nostro nomina satis clara Acaci, Phigali, Parrhasi. Quid? quod Cnetri, quem non præterit Pausanias p. 603. nulla omnino fit mentio? Sunt ibi quoque filii Lycaonis numero XXII. et, si penitus inspezeris, alius ac senior Lycaon [see above p. 12]. Apollodorus has only forty-eight names; Pausanias VIII. 3, 1. has twenty-eight; and eighteen of these do not occur in Apollodorus. Parrhasus is omitted in Pausanias. Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 481. of the fifty sons of *Lycaon* names twelve who are all in Apollodorus. In Steph. Byz. are some names which occur neither in Apollodorus nor in Pausanias. It may be worth while to exhibit these names of the sons of *Lycaon*, as an example of the practice of feigning genealogies in order to*

*mus* a son of *Lycaon* was by one tradition the father of *Callisto*, and *Callisto* was the mother

express that the different branches of a people belonged to the same race and were sprung from the same stock.

1. Αἰγαίων. Apollod.
2. Αἴμων. Apoll. Schol. Lyc. Paus. conf. VIII. 44, 2. Αἰμονία πόλις—οἰκιστὴς δὲ Αἴμων ὁ Λυκάωνος. Steph. Byz. Αἰμονία p. 64. C.
3. Ἀκαῖος—Ἀκακῆσιον ἔκτισεν. Paus.
4. Ἀγκύωρ. Apollod.
5. Ἀκόντης. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Ἀκόντιον. πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, ἀπὸ Ἀκοντίου τοῦ Λυκάωνος.
6. Ἀλφίηρος. Apoll. Pausan.
7. Ἀρπαλεύς. Apollod.
8. Ἀρτάλκιος Apollod. Perhaps the same as the preceding.
9. Ἀρχεβιάτης. Apollod.
10. Ἀσαιάτης. Paus. Δασεάτης Siebel. ad loc.
11. Βουκολίων. Apollod.
12. Γενέτωρ. Apoll.
13. Ἐλεάτας. Pausan. Δασεάτας Bekker.
14. Ἐλίκας. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Ἐλίκη. πόλις Πελοποννήσου. ἀπὸ Ἐλίκας τοῦ Λυκάωνος, ἥ Ἐλίκης τῆς Ἰανος γυναῖκος κ. τ. λ.
15. Ἐλισσάν. Paus. ἀπὸ Ἐλίσσαντος ἥ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Ἐλίσσαν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐσχέκασιν.
16. Εὐαίμων. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Εὐαίμων. πόλις Ὀρχομενίων. Θεόπομπος ἔκτι.
17. Εὐμων. Apollod.
18. Εὐμήτης. Apollod.
19. Ἡραεὺς. Apoll. Paus.
20. Θεσπρωτός. Apoll. Schol. Lyc. Steph. Byz. Ἐφύρα πόλις Ἠπείρου, ἀπὸ Ἐφύρου τοῦ Ἀμβρακίος τοῦ Θεσπρωτοῦ τοῦ Λυκάωνος τοῦ Πελασγοῦ (sic Palmer.) τοῦ ῥηγενοῦς τοῦ Ἀρκάδος.
21. Θυραῖος. Paus. Idem VIII. 35, 6.
22. Θῶκνος. Paus.
23. Κάνηθος. Apollod.
24. Καρτέρων. Apollod.
25. Καύκων. Apoll. Schol. Lycophr.
26. Κλείτωρ. Apoll. Schol. Lycophr.
27. Κορέθων. Apoll.
28. Κρῶμος. Paus.
29. Κύναιθος. Apoll. Steph. Byz. Κύναιθα.
30. Λέων. Apoll.
31. Λίνος. Apoll.
32. Λύκιος. Apoll. Λυκεὺς Paus. Λύκος Schol. Lyc.
33. Λύκτος. Steph. Byz. Λύκτος. πόλις Κρήτης ἀπὸ Λύκτου τοῦ Λυκάωνος.
34. Μαίναλος. Apoll. Pausan. Schol. Lycophr. Schol. Apollon. I. 168. Μαινάλου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος οὗ πατὴρ Λυκάων. Cod. Par. Μαινάλου υἱοῦ Λυκάωνος.
35. Μακαρεὺς. Apoll. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Μακαρέαι.
36. Μάκεδνος. See above p. 21. g.
37. Μαντινεὺς. Apollod. Pausan. Schol. Lyc.

38. Μελαινεὺς. Pausan. Idem VIII. 26, 5. Steph. Byz. Μέλαινοι.
39. Μηκιστεὺς. Apollod.
40. Νύκτιμος. Apoll. Pausan. Schol. Lyc.
41. Οἶνωτρος. Paus. See above p. 24. e. Pherecydes apud Dionys. I. p. 35.
42. Ὀπλεὺς. Apoll.
43. Ὀρχόμενος. Apoll. Paus. Schol. Lyc.
44. Ὀρος. Apoll. In Ὀρον *potest latere* Οἶνωτρον Heyn.
45. Ὀρεσθεὺς. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Ὀρεσθάσιον.
46. Πάλλας. Apoll. Paus. Hesiod. apud Steph. Byz. Παλλάντιον.
47. Παρβασός. Steph. Byz. Παρβασία.
48. Πέραιθος. Pausan.
49. Πευκέτιος. Apoll. Pherecydes apud Dionys. I. p. 35. See above p. 24. e.
50. Πλάτων. Apollod.
51. Πόλιχος. Apollod.
52. Πορθεὺς. Apollod.
53. Πρόθοος. Apollod.
54. Σουματεὺς. Paus. Steph. Byz. Σουμάτια.
55. Στύμφαλος. Apoll. Schol. Lyc. Schol. Apollon. Cod. Paris. II. 1054. Στύμφηλος δὲ υἱὸς Λυκάωνος, καὶ Στύμφηλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πόλις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.
56. Σωκλεὺς. Apollod.
57. Τεγεάτης. Paus. Idem VIII. 45, 1. Steph. Byz. Τέγεα.
58. Τηλεβόας. Apoll. Schol. Lyc.
59. Τιτάνας. Apollod. Steph. Byz. Τίτανα. Χωρίον τῆς Σικωνίας.
60. Τραπεζεύς. Paus. Steph. Byz. Τραπεζοῦς.
61. Τρικόλωνος. Paus. Steph. Byz. Τρικόλωνι.
62. Τπέρης. Steph. Byz. Τπερησία. πόλις Ἀχαΐας—ὀνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Τπέρητος τοῦ Λυκάωνος υἱοῦ. Pausanias II. 30, 7. mentions *Hyperes* a king of Trœzen, son of *Neptune*, from whom Trœzen was first called *Hyperea*.
63. Τρῖοις. Paus. Steph. Byz. Θυραῖον.
64. Φάσσος. Apollod.
65. Φθῖος. Apoll. Schol. Lycophr.
66. Φίγαλος. Paus. Idem VIII. 5, 5.
67. Φινεὺς. Apollod. For Φινέα, however, we may perhaps read Φενεὺν, from Φενεός. The founder of Pheneos is Φενεὺς ἀντόχθων in Pausan. VIII. 14, 4. who might well be called in some accounts a son of *Lycaon*.
68. Φύσιος. Apollod.
69. Χαρίσιος. Pausan. Steph. Byz. Χαρισία.
70. Ψωφίς. Steph. Byz. Ψωφίς. πόλις Ἀρκαδίας. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Ψωφίδος τοῦ Λυκάωνος, ὃς οὗ φασι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκτίσθαι αὐτὴν ἢ ἀπὸ Ψωφίδος τῆς Ἐρμῆος θυγατρὸς. This last is the account of Pausanias VIII. 24, 1. who mentions two other accounts, that *Psophis* is the son of *Arron* and the seventh



of *Arcas*<sup>r</sup>. *Arcas* had three sons *Azan*, *Aphidas*, *Elatus*. From *Aphidas* *Agapenor*, who led the Arcadians in the Homeric Catalogue, and *Echemus* king of Tegea in the time of *Hylus*, were the fifth descendants<sup>s</sup>. *Hippothus*, also in the same generation, being the fifth from *Nyctimus*, or the daughter of *Xanthus* and the fourth from *Arcas*.

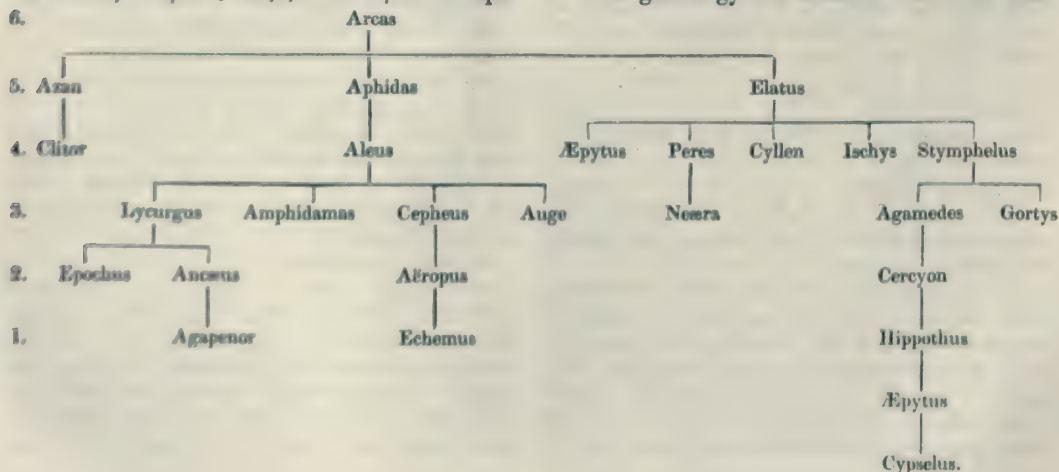
This number of the names may partly arise from corruption in Apollodorus, whose list appears to be both defective and corrupt, and partly from variation in the accounts. The fifty names might be differently supplied by different authorities. Of these names at least thirty-two are the names of places in Arcadia. Of eight others, three at least belong to Peloponnesus. Some of the sons of *Lycaon* appear from Strabo V. p. 221. already quoted to have been recited by Hesiod; and by Pherecydes: see Dionys. quoted above at p. 24. e. Clavier Hist. des Pr. Temps tom. I. p. 108. perhaps without reason supposes that the list of fifty names in Apollodorus was derived from Ephorus. This number 50 occurs frequently in mythology. *Priam* had fifty sons. *Thestius* fifty daughters: Pausan. IX. 27, 5. Apollod. II. 4, 10. *Danaüs* fifty daughters; *Ægyptus* fifty sons: Apollod. II. 1, 4. *Pallas* fifty sons: Plutarch. Thes. c. 3. *Endymion* fifty daughters: Pausan. V. 1, 2. There were fifty *Nereids*: Hesiod. Theog. 264. conf. Valck. ad Ammon. p. 164. The fifty daughters of *Endymion* are ingeniously explained by Mr. Boeckh Expl. ad Pindar. p. 138.

Some traditions gave *Lycaon* a daughter, who was the mother of *Dryops*: see above p. 37. s. and some gave him another daughter, *Callisto* the mother of *Arcas*.

<sup>r</sup> See above p. 12. 13. for the different accounts of the origin of *Arcas*. From him the country was called *Arcadia*: Pausan. VIII. 4, 1. ἀπὸ τοῦτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀρκάδία τε ἀντὶ Πελασγίας ἢ χώρα καὶ ἀντὶ Πελασγῶν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Steph. 6.

Byz. Ἀρκὰς, Ἀρκάδος. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρκάδιος καὶ Ἀρκαδία.—ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Πελασγίη, ὡς Νικόλαος πέμπτη.—ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Παββασία καὶ Λυκαονία. οἱ δὲ καὶ Γίγαντιδα φασὶ καὶ Ἀζανίαν καὶ Πανίαν. We may with Muller vol. I. p. 390. determine that *Lycaon* and *Calisto* were imaginary persons, and that under these names either a deity or a worship was represented. The Arcadians were an aboriginal tribe of the *Pelagic* race. Hence their founder is called *Pelagus*. Under *Arcas* is either designated the Arcadian chief who founded the dynasty of Arcadian kings (the name of the people being transferred to an individual), or, *Arcas* being an expression for the Arcadian people, as Muller vol. I. p. 390. supposes, the three leaders *Azan*, *Aphidas*, and *Elatus*, were called sons of *Arcas* because they were chiefs of Arcadian origin. But the names *Pelagus* and *Arcas* seem to mark two beginnings of the Arcadian people; one in the time of *Pelagus* V.; the other, three or four generations later, when they assumed the name of Arcadians; either the same tribe receiving another appellation, or another tribe of the same nation acquiring the lead. The latter is implied by Aristotle apud Schol. Apollon. IV. 264. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 397. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Τεγεατῶν πολιτείᾳ φησὶν ὅτι βάρβαροι τὴν Ἀρκάδιαν ὤκησαν, οἷτινες ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων [τῶν νῦν Ἀρ. Schol. Aristoph.] ἐπιθεμένων αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ἐπιτεῖλαι τὴν σελήνην. But it is evident from other traditions and testimonies that the barbarians whom the Arcadians expelled were of the same race as the Arcadians themselves: a circumstance of which we have already seen other examples. See above p. 59. d.

<sup>s</sup> The genealogy in Pausanias VIII. 4. is this:



*Elatus*, succeeded *Agapenor* after the Trojan war. His grandson *Cypselus* reigned at the

Pausan. VIII. 4. τοῖς δὲ παῖσιν ὡς ἠξήθησαν διένειμεν Ἀρκὰς τριχῇ τὴν χώραν· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀζᾶνος ἡ Ἀζανία μοῖρα ὀνομάσθη—Ἀφείδας δὲ Τεγέαν καὶ τὴν προσεχῇ ταύτης ἔλαχεν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀφειδάντειον κληῖρον τὴν Τεγέαν [conf. Apollon. I. 162]. Ἐλατος δὲ ἔσχε τὸ ὄρος τὴν Κυλλήνην, ἔτι τότε οὔσαν ἀνώνυμον. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον μετέκρησεν ἐς—Φακίδα καὶ τοῖς τε Φωκεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ὑπὸ Φλεγυῶν πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις, καὶ Ἐλατείας πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστής. παῖδα δὲ Ἀζᾶνι μὲν Κλείτορα Ἀφείδαντι δὲ Ἀλέῳ Ἐλάτῳ δὲ φασιν εἶναι πέντε, Αἴπυτον, Πέρεα, Κυλλήνηα, Ἰσχυρὸν, Στύμφηλον. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀζᾶνι τῷ Ἀρκάδος τελευτήσαντι ἄλλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον. —Κλείτωρ μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀζᾶνος ἐν Λυκοσώρῳ τε ἔκει καὶ ἦν βασιλεὺς δυνατώτατος, καὶ Κλείτορα ἔκτισεν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν· Ἀλεὺς δὲ εἶχε τὴν πατρῴαν λῆξιν. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλάτου τῶν παίδων Κυλλήνην τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνης καὶ ἀπὸ Στυμφήλου πηγῇ τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πόλις Στύμφηλος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. —Κλείτορι δὲ τῷ Ἀζᾶνος οὐ γενομένων παίδων, ἐς Αἴπυτον Ἐλάτου περιεχώρησεν ἡ Ἀρκάδων βασιλεία. The triple division is mentioned by Steph. Byz. Ἀζανία. μέρος τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, ἀπὸ Ἀζανῶς τῆς [I. Ἀζᾶνος τοῦ] Ἀρκάδος—διήρηται δὲ (ἡ Ἀρκαδία) εἰς τρία, Παρρασίους, Ἀζᾶνας, Τραπεζοῦντιους· καὶ ἔχει ἡ Ἀζανία πόλεις ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς ἔλαχεν Ἀζᾶν. And by Schol. Eur. Or. 1642. Ἀρκὰς [see above p. 13. e] ἔσχεν Ἐλατον, Ἀφειδαντα, Ἀζᾶνα. τούτων ἀρξάντων τῆς χώρας, ὁ Ἀζᾶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν μοῖραν Ἀζανίαν ἀνέμασεν. Ἀρκάδες οὖν πάντες κοινῇ ἐκαλοῦντο, μέρος δὲ τούτων Ἀζᾶνες. Another etymology is given Schol. Apollon. II. 53. ἀζαλέους ἀντὶ τοῦ ξηρούς· ὅθεν τινὲς οὐκ ἀπὸ Ἀζᾶνος βασιλείας ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τραχεῖαν εἶναι Ἀζανίαν φασὶ κληθῆναι τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. Apollodorus III. 9, 1. omits *Azan* and three of the sons of *Elatus*: Χρυσοτελείας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἐλατος καὶ Ἀφείδας. οὗτοι τὴν γῆν ἐμερίσαντο, τὸ δὲ πᾶν κράτος εἶχεν Ἐλατος, ὅς—Στύμφηλον καὶ Πέρεα τεκνοῖ, Ἀφείδας δὲ Ἀλεον καὶ Σθενέβοιαν, ἦν γαμῇ Πρῶτος. Conf. Tzetz. ad Lyc. 480. It would seem that Eumelus omitted *Azan*. *Arphidas* is mentioned Schol. Apollon. I. 162. ὁ Ἀλεὺς ἱστορεῖται Ἀφειδαντος υἱὸς εἶναι τοῦ Ἀρκάδος· Ἀφείδας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκάδος ἀρχαῖος ἦρως ἐβασίλευσε Τεγέας. Of the sons of *Elatus*, *Ischys* is attested in a poem ascribed to Hesiod apud Schol. Pindar. Pyth. III. 14. Ἰσχυρὸς Εἰλατιδῆς. and by Pindar Pyth. III. 55. Ἰσχυρὸς Εἰλατιδᾶ. *Æpytus* is mentioned in the *Iliad* β'. 604 (conf. Pausan. VIII. 16, 2) and by Pindar Ol. VI. 55=34. ἥρωϊ Εἰλατιδᾶ ὅς ἀνδρῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀνασσε Φαισάνα.—Αἴπυτον κ. τ. λ. On the town *Phæsaia* see Didymus quoting *Ister* apud Schol. ad loc. *Æpytus*, called in Schol. *Iliad*. β'. 604. ἀρχαιώτατος ἦρως Ἀρκὰς τὸ γένος, is the son of *Arcas* in Hesych. Αἰπύτιον· Αἰπύτος δὲ εἰς ἐστὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἀρκάδος παίδων, ὅς ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων. We have already seen p. 89. that *Clitor* and *Stymphalus* were sometimes called the sons of *Lycæon*.

Pausanias l. c. proceeds with the series down to *Agapenor*: μετὰ δὲ Αἴπυτον ἔσχεν Ἀλεὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀγαμήδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γόρτυς οἱ Στυμφήλου τέταρτον γένος ἦσαν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος, Ἀλεὺς δὲ τρίτον ὁ Ἀφειδαντος. Ἀλεὺς δὲ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀλέῳ τὸ ἱερὸν φιλοδόμησεν ἐν Τεγέῃ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καὶ αὐτῷ κατεσκευάστω αὐτόθι ἡ βασιλεία. Γόρτυς δὲ ὁ Στυμφήλου πόλιν Γόρτυνα ἔκτισεν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ.—Ἀλεῷ δὲ ἄρσενες μὲν παῖδες Λυκοῦργος τε καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Κηφεὺς θυγάτηρ δὲ ἐγένετο Αἴγῃ.—μετὰ δὲ Ἀλεὺν τελευτήσαντα Λυκοῦργος ὁ Ἀλεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν προσβεία ἔσχε—γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων Ἀγκαίου τε καὶ Ἐπόχου, τὸν μὲν νοσήσαντα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν Ἀγκαῖος δὲ Ἰάσονί τε τοῦ πλοῦ μετέσχεν ἐς Κίλχους καὶ ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Καλυδωνί καταργαζόμενος θηρίον ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱός [ex Pherecyde lib. VIII. Schol. Apollon. I. 188]. Λυκοῦργος μὲν δὴ πορρωτάτω γήρως ἀφίκετο ἐπιβὰν τοὺς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρους τελευτήσαντας. Λυκοῦργου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἀερόπου τοῦ Κηφείως τοῦ Ἀλεοῦ τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἔσχεν ἀρχήν.—Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἀγκαίου [Ἀγκαῖοιο πᾶσι *Iliad*. β'. 609] τοῦ Λυκοῦργου μετὰ Ἐχεμον βασιλεύσας ἐς Τροίαν ἠγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν. Apollodorus III. 9, 2. makes *Amphidamas* the son of *Lycurgus*: Ἀλεοῦ δὲ—θυγάτηρ μὲν Αἴγῃ υἱὸς δὲ Κηφεὺς καὶ Λυκοῦργος.—Λυκοῦργου δὲ—Ἀγκαῖος καὶ Ἐποχος καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Ἰασος. Ἀμφιδάμαντος δὲ Μειλανίων καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀντιμάχῃ ἦν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἔγγημεν. The Scholiast on Homer *Iliad* β'. 603. 609, though mutilated, affords when corrected the same generations as Pausanias from *Arcas* to *Agapenor*: Ἀρκαδία ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Διός· οὗ Ἀμφιδάμας, οὗ Ἀλεὺς, οὗ Ἀγκαῖος, οὗ Ἀγαπήνωρ.—Ἀρκάδος τοῦ Διός· οὗ Ἀμφιδάμας, οὗ Λυκοῦργος, οὗ Ἀγκαῖος, οὗ Ἀγαπήνωρ. In the first passage, by an error of the transcriber, Λυκοῦργος is omitted; in the second, Ἀλεὺς and in both Ἀφείδας is called Ἀμφιδάμας. The Scholiast on Apollon. I. 164. also agrees with Pausanias. The adventure of *Augè* with *Hercules* occurred in the lifetime of *Aleus*: Pausan. VIII. 4, 6. Apollod. III. 9, 1. Diod. IV. 33. which supposes *Aleus* to be still living within fifty years of the Trojan era. *Lycurgus*, however, was an old man in the youth of *Nestor*: *Iliad*. γ'. 133—154. *Echemus* reigned at Tegea: Pindar. Ol. X. 79. Hence the *Tegeate* in Herodot. IX. 26: Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡρόπου τοῦ Φηγέως (sic) στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος. He slew *Hyllus* twenty years before the fall of Troy: see p. 79. p. and yet was dead before the expedition, since *Agapenor* commanded. We may suppose *Echemus* to have succeeded *Lycurgus* about thirty years before the fall of Troy. He married *Timandra*: Hesiod. apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. X. 79. Τιμάνδρην Ἐχεμος θαλερὴν ποιήσας· ἄκοιτην. daughter of *Tyndareus*: Pausan. VIII. 5, 1. Apollod. III. 10, 6. Τυνδάρεω καὶ Ἀφείδας Τιμάνδρα ἦν Ἐχεμος ἔγγημε. For her conduct conf. Eustath. ad *Iliad*. β'. p. 305, 17.



return of the *Heracidae* into Peloponnesus<sup>t</sup>. According to Pausanias there were twelve generations (both inclusive) from *Cypselus* to *Aristocrates II.* who was king of Orchomenus in the second Messenian war<sup>v</sup>. In the Arcadians, then, the original Pelasgic race remained unchanged in Peloponnesus<sup>w</sup> through all the revolutions which ensued upon the return of the *Heracidae*.

## IV.

## CONCLUSION FROM THE PRECEDING INQUIRY.

THE preceding view of the early inhabitants of Greece will lead us to the conclusion that the *Pelasgi*, *Leleges*, *Dryopes*, *Aones*, and other antehellenic tribes, were of the same race as the *Hellenes* themselves. Niebuhr, who admits<sup>a</sup> that the Arcadians, the most ancient Argives, and the Ionians, were *Pelasgi*, who admits<sup>b</sup> that the *Pelasgi* and *Hellenes* agreed in religion, yet asserts that the *Hellenes* and the *Pelasgians* were totally distinct races<sup>c</sup>. But if

<sup>t</sup> Pausan. VIII. 5, 3. 4. 'Αγαπήνορος δὲ οὐκ ἀνασθέντες εἰκάδ' ἐξ Ἰλίου, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰππόθους Κερκίους τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφήλιου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπιφανὲς συμβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βίον φασὶν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐν Τεγέρ τὴν βασιλείαν κατιστήσατο ἀλλὰ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι. Αἰπυτος δὲ ὁ Ἰππόθου μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ Ὀρίστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνωνος κατὰ μαντείαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος μετέβησεν εἰς Ἀρκადίαν ἐκ Μυκηθῶν. —Κυψέλου δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύοντος μετὰ Αἰπύτου, ὁ Δωριεὺς στόλος κ. τ. λ. —πυθανόμενός τε ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύψελος ἐν τῶν Ἀριστομάχου παίδων οὐκ ἔχοντά πω γυναῖκα εὗρισκε τούτῃ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδοῖς καὶ οἰκειωσάμενος τὸν Κρυσφόντην αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐκτὸς ἐστήκεσαν δέματος. Conf. IV. 3, 3. Polyæn. I. 7. Κύψελος Ἀρκადίας ἦρχεν. Ἡρακλείδης στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' Ἀρκάδας χρησμός ἦν κ. τ. λ. Siebel. ad Pausan. VIII. 5, 4. rightly observes that the narratives of Pausanias and of Polyænus are not inconsistent with each other.

<sup>v</sup> Pausanias VIII. 5. gives the descendants of *Cypselus* down to *Aristocrates* in the following manner: Λαίας ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς—τοῦ δ' ἦν Βουκολίων. τοῦ δὲ Φάλας. Then followed *Pompus* and *Æginetes*: μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτῃ Πολυμήστῳ ἐγένετο Αἰγινήτου βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Χάριλλος πρῶτον τότε ἐς τὴν Τεγαιτῶν ἐσβόλλουσι στρατιῇ, κ. τ. λ. See F. H. II. p. 417. e. for this war with *Charilaüs*. Pausan. Ibid. Πολυμήστορι δὲ οὐ γενόμενον παίδων παρέλαβεν Αἰχμὶς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βριάκας μὲν παῖς Πολυμήστορος δὲ ἀδελφεοῦς Αἰγινήτου γὰρ ἦν καὶ Βριάκας.—Αἰχμίδης δὲ βασιλεύσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένετο ὁ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμος. This places the reign of *Æchmis* at about B.C. 743; and if *Charilaüs* reigned

in the time of the preceding king, he will be brought down to about B.C. 800. *Aristocrates* son of *Æchmis* is stoned by the Arcadians for sacrilege: Pausan. Ibid. τοῦτου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἰκέτας, Ἰκέτα δὲ Ἀριστοκράτης ἄλλος ἐμώνυμός τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχεν ἐκείνῳ τελευτήν· κατελθῶσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Ἀρκάδες φωράσαντες δῶρα ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰληφότα. The death of *Aristocrates II.* is placed by Pausanias at B.C. 667. For his death and his descendants see below; Appendix c. 2. Called king of Orchomenus by Strabo: see the Tables B. C. 672.

The series of kings stands thus, from *Hippothus* to *Aristocrates II.*:

1. *Hippothus*: Pausan. VIII. 5, 3.
2. *Æpytus II.*
3. *Cypselus*.
4. *Laias*.
5. *Bucolion*.
6. *Phintas*.
7. *Simus*.
8. *Pompus*.
9. *Æginetes*.
10. *Polymestor*; contemporary with *Charilaüs*.
11. *Æchmis*, reigned B. C. 743.
12. *Aristocrates I.*: Pausan. VIII. 5, 8.
13. *Hicetas*.
14. *Aristocrates II.* died soon after B.C. 667.

<sup>w</sup> See above p. 22. 57. b.

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Rom. vol. I. p. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 23. 26.

<sup>c</sup> P. 23. 45.

the *Hellenes* had been a different people from the *Pelasgi*, either that original Pelasgic race must have been extirpated, or some marks of a different language would have remained. But in Greece the aboriginal race was not extirpated; for we have seen that after the Trojan war, and after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, when the several members of the Greek nation were settled in the states which they finally occupied, many Pelasgic tribes remained in the country. The Arcadians were Pelasgic. In Thessaly both the governing and the subject classes were Pelasgic. The Achæans of Peloponnesus were claimed by both races. The legend which made *Achæus* son of *Xuthus* referred them to the *Hellenes*. Another account of an earlier *Achæus* son of *Larissa*<sup>d</sup> derives them from a Pelasgic origin. A remarkable proof of the influence of the *Pelasgi* to a late period is exhibited in the list of Amphictyonic states. That assembly was probably formed sixty years after the fall of Troy; and yet of the twelve nations which composed the league nine were of Pelasgic race<sup>e</sup>. Even in the states which were conquered by the Dorians or other Hellenic tribes, the original inhabitants were not extirpated. The governing class was changed, but the body of the people remained. In *Argolis*, *Laconia*, *Sicyonia*, and Corinth, although the Dorians were the masters, yet the *periæci* or subject classes were still composed of the original occupiers of the country, and were of Lelegian or Pelasgic or Achæan race<sup>f</sup>. Nor was any difference of language to be traced. In South Britain the Welch, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants, still after the lapse of fourteen centuries retain the ancient dialect of the country, a language entirely distinct from that of the Saxons. And yet the Welch are few in number, and occupy a small province in the island. But in Greece, although the antehellenic inhabitants remained in many extensive provinces as masters of the soil, and in all as a part of the population, yet (as Mitford<sup>g</sup> has well remarked) in the civilized ages of Greece no trace of a dialect not Grecian was to be found in the most mountainous part of the country. All agreed in one common language. The *Æolic* dialect was spoken equally by the *Æolian Bæoti*, the *Æolians* of Elis and of Phocis, and by the Pelasgian Arcadians and the Pelasgian *Thessali*<sup>h</sup>. Through the

<sup>d</sup> See above p. 15. <sup>e</sup> See above p. 66.

<sup>f</sup> Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 86. has some very just remarks upon this subject.

<sup>g</sup> History of Greece vol. I. p. 180.

<sup>h</sup> Strabo VIII. p. 333. classing the Greeks according to their dialects, observes that all the Greeks north of the Isthmus were *Æolic* except the Athenians, the Megarians, and the Dorians of Parnassus: πάντες οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων καὶ νῦν ἔτι Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται—and that within the Isthmus all were originally *Æolic* till the Ionians came; and that, after the Dorian settlement, the Arcadians and Eleans remained *Æolic* still: οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους ἐπικρατοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐντὸς Αἰολεῖς πρότερον ἦσαν, εἴτ' ἐμίχθησαν, Ἴωνων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντων τῶν δ' Ἑρακλειδῶν τοὺς Δωριέας καταγαγόντων—οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες ἐξεπέσαν πάλιν ταχέως ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους· ἐλείφθη δ' ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ δύο ἔθνη, τὸ τε Αἰολικὸν καὶ τὸ Δωρικόν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἦττον τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἐπεπλέκοντο, καθάπερ συνέβη τοῖς τε Ἀρκάσι καὶ τοῖς Ἠλείοις, τοῖς μὲν ὀρεινοῖς τελέως οὔσι καὶ οὐκ ἐμπειπωκόσιν εἰς τὸν κλῆρον, τοῖς δ' ἱεροῖς νομισθεῖσι τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς—οὗτοι Αἰολιστὶ

διελέχθησαν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μικτῇ τινὶ ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οἱ μὲν μάλλον οἱ δ' ἥττον αἰολίζοντες. Palmerius Græc. Ant. p. 55. with reason concludes from this testimony that the *Pelasgi* spoke the *Æolic* dialect: *Omnes quæ a Pelasgis ortæ fuerunt gentes sola dialecto diversæ eadem lingua usæ sunt; et quando Arcadas olim lingua Æolica usos fuisse asserit Strabo, non aliunde eam videntur habuisse quam a majoribus suis Pelasgis.* That the *Bæoti* spoke *Æolic* is confirmed by Pausanias IX. 22, 3. φαίνεται δέ μοι ἡ Κόρινθα νικῆσαι τῆς διαλέκτου τε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ἦδεν οὐ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωρίδι ὥσπερ ὁ Πίνδαρος, ἀλλὰ ὅποια συνήσειν ἔμελλον Αἰολεῖς. That *Æolic* was spoken in some parts of Phocis appears from Plutarch Cimon. c. 1. where, speaking of the descendants of *Damon* of Chæronea, he observes, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ (διασώζονται γὰρ ἔτι, μάλιστα τῆς Φωκίδος περὶ Στεῖρην) αἰολίζοντες “ἀσβολαμένους” καλοῦσι. According to Strabo, however, the Doric dialect was only a branch of the *Æolic*, to which it bore the same relation as the Attic to the Ionic: VIII. p. 333. τὴν μὲν Ἰάδῃ τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀτθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φάμεν—τὴν δὲ Δωρίδα τῇ Αἰολίδι. XIV. p. 679. εἰ ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν Ἴωνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λεγέσθωσαν



*Pelasgi* of Italy, as is acknowledged by Niebuhr<sup>i</sup> himself, after many other inquirers<sup>k</sup>, the Æolic dialect of Greek was infused into the Roman language.

Niebuhr founds his opinion upon that well-known passage of Herodotus<sup>l</sup>, in which that historian distinguishes the *Pelasgi* from the *Hellenes*, and concludes their language to be peculiar and not Greek. The first proposition in Herodotus is to the following effect<sup>m</sup>: “The Lacedæmonians were of Doric, the Athenians of Ionic race. The Athenians the Ionic race were Pelasgic, and had never migrated; the Lacedæmonians the Doric race were Hellenic, and had often changed their habitations.” But this does not prove the two nations to be totally distinct; for it is here affirmed that the *Pelasgi* bore the same relation to the *Hellenes* as the Ionians bore to the Dorians, and the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians; which is very far from a total difference of race. The second proposition is in substance as follows<sup>n</sup>: “What language the *Pelasgi* spoke I cannot exactly say; but if I may conjecture from the language spoken by the *Pelasgi* who yet remain, the *Pelasgi* of Croton<sup>o</sup> (who formerly in-

καὶ οἱ Δωριεῖς καὶ οἱ Αἰολεῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ, ὥστε δύο ἔθνη γίνονται· ἂν· εἰ δὲ διαιρετέον κατὰ τὰ ὕστερα ἔθνη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους, τέτταρα ἂν εἴη καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καθάπερ καὶ αἱ διαλέκτοι. In which Eustathius ad II. α'. p. 8. agrees: Ἀττικὸν καὶ Ἰωνικόν—δῆλον ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς ἐπικουνοῦσιν αἱ δύο αὗται διαλέκτοι διὰ τὸ καὶ ἀποκόους Ἀθηναίων εἶναι τοὺς Ἰωνας.—ἴμοιον δὲ τι καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Δωρίδος διαλέκτου λέγεται, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ἴμοιότητά τινα ἔχουσιν. We may remark however that, as the Doric dialect already existed among the mountaineers of *Doris* before the Trojan war, and as the Attic had not separated itself off from the Ionic as a distinct dialect till the time of *Solon*, there were in fact for some ages only three principal dialects in use—the Æolic, out of which branched the Doric; and the Ionic, which was spoken both at Athens and in the Ionic colonies. These three were ancient dialects: the Attic was comparatively modern. We may also remark that the differences of these three dialects would be less strongly marked in the early ages, while the nations were intermixed, than in the subsequent times, when they had ceased to migrate, and had settled into their separate states.

<sup>i</sup> Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 23. 45.

<sup>k</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 232. Ῥωμαῖοι φωνὴν μὲν οὐτ' ἄκραν βάρβαρον οὐτ' ἀπερητισμένην Ἑλλάδα φθέγγονται, μητὴν δὲ τινα ἐξ Ἀμφυῖν, ἥς ἐστὶν ἡ πλεῖον Αἰολίς. Lydus de Mag. Rom. p. 18. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγνοήσας ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἥ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν, δέκονται κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν τὴν Αἰολίδα λέγειν, ὡς φασιν ὁ τε Κάτων ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαῖότητος Βάρβαν τε ὁ πολυμαθίστατος ἐν προεμίαις τῶν πρὸς Πομπήϊον αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων, Εὐάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντων ποτὶ καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνσπειράντων φωνῇ. Quintilian I. 6, 31. Continet in se (etymologia) multam eruditionem, sive illa ex Græcis orta tractemus, quæ sunt plurima, præcipueque Æolica ratione (cui est sermo noster simillimus)

*declinata*. The passages in which Priscian traces the analogy between the Latin and the Æolic have been collected by Foster Accent and Quantity p. 97. who also quotes p. 93. to illustrate the introduction of the Greek tongue into Italy Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. 347. and Plin. H. N. VII. 56. We may add, that the scanty specimens of the Pelasgic language which have escaped indicate the Pelasgic to be Greek: Aristot. de Mirabil. p. 843. b. Bekk. κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ τὴν Περραιβῶν τὸ αἰμάξαι φαινίξαι. Plutarch. Mor. p. 22. C. Δρύοιες δὲ πόποις τοὺς δαίμονας καλοῦσι. These were both Pelasgic tribes. Another example is quoted by Valckenauer Etymol. p. 73. and pointed out to me by Mr. Lewis: Schol. Apollon. III. 1323. Πελασγίδι ἀκαίνη: ἄκαινά ἐστι μέτρον δεκάπουν Θεσσαλῶν εὔρεμα· ἡ ῥάβδος ποιμενική, παρὰ Πελασγοῖς εὐρημένη. But ἄκαινα is a genuine Greek form: see Valcken. Ibid. p. 58.

<sup>l</sup> Herodot. I. 56—58.

<sup>m</sup> Herodot. I. 56. Λακεδαιμόνους καὶ Ἀθηναίους—τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔθνη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος· καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ καὶ ἐξεχώρησε τὸ δὲ πολυπλάγητον κάρτα κ.τ.λ. This passage has been misunderstood by Palmerius Græc. Antiq. p. 55. 57. Gronovius in his version, Guinoz in Mém. de l'Acad. apud Larcher. Herod. tom. I. p. 272. and by Bishop Marsh Horæ Pelasg. p. 28. who all suppose that the Dorians are here called *Pelasgi* and the *Pelasgi* wanderers. The true meaning is given by Steph. Byz. Δόριον, Salmasius de Hellenistica p. 235. Larcher himself, Wesseling, Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 21. and Niebuhr Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 23. 25. Herodotus intended to express that the Ionians were *Pelasgi*, and that the Dorians were wanderers.

<sup>n</sup> Herodot. I. 57.

<sup>o</sup> Herodot. I. c. τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι δοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐπὶ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκούντων, οἱ ἄλλοι ποτε



“habited Thessaly) and of Placia and Scylacē on the Hellespont (who dwelt with the Athenians), and of some other Pelasgic towns, their language was not Greek. If the speech of these towns was the speech of the whole Pelasgic nation, the Attic people, being Pelasgic, must have laid aside their original speech when they were transformed into Greeks<sup>p</sup>: for the people of Croton and Placia agree with each other in language, though not with any of their respective neighbours; a proof that they retained the dialect which they carried with them into those settlements.” The admission of Herodotus himself that the old Pelasgic language had disappeared in Attica is a proof that there was no radical difference between the Pelasgic and the Greek: for if this province was always inhabited by *Pelasgi* (the Ionians being Pelasgic), how happened the inhabitants to unlearn their original speech? and by whom was this new language introduced? No Hellenic tribe entered Attica. Herodotus both here and elsewhere affirms that the inhabitants were the original Pelasgic population, which had never migrated. The change which had passed upon them was a change of name but not of race<sup>q</sup>. If, then, it had been possible for a whole nation to have adopted a new language<sup>r</sup>, this could not have happened here, where there was no impulse of any foreign tribe to cause the change and communicate the new language. We are justified, then, by the nature of the case, in rejecting the inference which Herodotus has deduced from the dialect of Croton and of Placia<sup>s</sup>. Even Niebuhr himself acknowledges that the assertion of Herodotus must not be

ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι· οἶκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην· καὶ τὴν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι—καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνῆται σὺδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι κ. τ. λ. Dionysius Ant. I. p. 77. —οὔτε Κροτωνῆται—understanding Herodotus to speak of Croton in Umbria, and to pronounce that the language of the inhabitants differed from that of the *Tyrrhenes* their neighbours. Κρηστωνῆται is retained by Larcher Herod. tom. VIII. p. 149. and by Raoul-Rochette tom. I. p. 431. who quotes Theopompus apud Athen. III. p. 77. d. mentioning Creston in Macedonia inhabited by *Pelasgi*. Theopompus, however, makes no mention of *Pelasgi*. Dionysius is followed by Casaubon and by Niebuhr Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 29. who read in Herodotus Κρότωνα—Κροτωνῆται. The arguments of Niebuhr are forcible; and yet the term ὑπὲρ Τυρρηνῶν would be an improper description of the position of Croton, because in the age of Herodotus the whole of Western Italy was called Tyrrhenia: Dionys. p. 68. Τυρρηνίας ὄνομα τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ προσεσπείριος Ἰταλία—τὴν ἐπικλήσιν ἐκείνην ἐλάμβανεν. And we might doubt whether Croton, a remote and inland situation, would be accurately known to Herodotus at Thurii.

<sup>p</sup> Herodot. Ibid. εἰ τοῖνον ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτον τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐν Πελασγικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε.

<sup>q</sup> Herodot. VIII. 44. Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἔσαν Πελασγοί, οὐ-

νομαζόμενοι Κραναιοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέρκωτος βασιλῆος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κερκοπίδαι· ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθῆος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν· Ἴωνες δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχου γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες. VII. 94. Ἴωνες—ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαλεές· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴανος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἴωνες. In VII. 161. he again asserts that the Athenians were a most ancient people, and had never quitted their country.

<sup>r</sup> Bishop Marsh Horæ Pelasg. p. 29. justly ridicules the idea of a whole nation all at once forgetting its former language, and learning a new one.

<sup>s</sup> If Κροτωνῆται is the reading (see note <sup>o</sup>), we may discover the cause why the inhabitants of Croton and of Placia spoke the same language. The Pelasgians of Placia had come from the west, and after dwelling for a time in Attica had been driven from thence to Lemnos, from whence they had been expelled about seventy years before the settlement of Herodotus at Thurium. This we may collect from comparing Herodotus with Strabo, Philochorus, Myrsilus, Pausanias, and Thucydides: Strabo V. p. 226. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεταξὺ [between Cosa and Gravisce on the coast of Tuscany] τόπος ἐστὶ καλούμενος Ῥημισούλλα· ἱστορεῖται δὲ γενέσθαι τοῦτο βασίλειον Μαλαιῶτου Πελασγοῦ, ὃν φασὶ δυναστεύσαντα ἐν τοῖς τόποις μετὰ τῶν συνοίκων Πελασγῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐνθὺς εἰς Ἀθήνας. Pausan. I. 28, 3. τῇ ἀκροπόλει, πλὴν ὅσον Κίμαν φιλοδόμησεν αὐτῆς ὁ Μιλτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν λέγεται τοῦ τείχους Πελασγοῦς οἰκήσαντάς ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρίλαν καὶ Ἐπέρβριον· πυνθανόμενος δὲ οἵτινες ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελούς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας ἐς



Ἀκαρνανίαν μετακίησαι. Plin. H. N. VII. 56. *Lacertarias ac domos constituerunt primi Euryalus et Hyperbius fratres Athenis*. Schol. Lucian. Capitul. c. 1. tom. III. p. 172. τύραννος εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τῶν βιαιῶν καὶ ἡσυχῶν ἐξαρχῆς, ὃς φησι Φιλόχορος. Τυρρῆνοι γὰρ ἐλθόντες τινὰ χρόνον οἰκήσαντες ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὠφθησαν ἐξανιστάμενοι τῇ πόλει, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέλυντο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκφυγόντες Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον ᾤκησαν. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 75. Μυρσίλος—τοὺς Τυρρηνίους φησιν ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξέλιπον ἐν τῇ πλάτῃ μετονομασθῆναι Πελαργούς, τῶν ὀρνέων τοῖς καλουμένοις πελαργαῖς εἰκασθέντας, ὡς κατὰ ἀγέλας ἐφύτταν εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον τούτους περιβαλεῖν. Phot. Lex. Πελαργικόν: τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράνων [I. Τυρρηνῶν] κατασκευασθὲν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεῖχος. τοῖς τοῖς γὰρ κληθῆναι πελαργούς οἶον Πελασγούς, ὡς ἐλαφύτας τινάς. Etymol. p. 659. Πελαργικόν: τὸ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν κατασκευῆν [I. κατασκευασθὲν] τεῖχος ὡς καὶ θεασάμεναι τινες Πελαργούς ὠνόμασαν. διὰ τὰς συνόδας αἱ ἐφόρου. Hesych. Πελασγικόν: τειχίον εἶτω ἐν Ἀθήναις καλούμενον, Τυρρηνῶν κτισμάτων. Alberti and Ruhnkenius have restored Τυρρηνῶν to Photius and κατασκευασθὲν to Etymol. Magn. We may remark that the term πελαργοὶ was not applied to the whole Pelasgian race, as Bishop Marsh Horæ Pelasg. p. 17. appears to suppose, but only to these Pelasgi from the west who came into Attica. Herodot. VI. 137. Πελασγοὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐκτὸς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξελάθησαν, εἴτε ἂν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως, τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἐφῆσεν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων ἀδίκως ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφίσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσοῦ ἐῴσαν εἶδωσαν οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τεύχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατεῖληκαμένου, —ἐξεργασμένη εἶ—λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἴμερον τῆς γῆς κ. τ. λ. He relates in the sequel that they were expelled from Lemnos by *Miltiades*. Thucyd. IV. 109. ὁ Ἄθως ὄρος—πέλεις ἔχει Σάπην μὲν Ἀνδρίαν ἀποικίαν—τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Θύσσαν καὶ Κλεονῆς καὶ Ἀκροθῶους καὶ Ὀλόφυξον καὶ Δίον [conf. Herodot. VII. 22] αἱ οἰκοῦνται ξυμμικτοῖς ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων. καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχὺ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λημιδῶν ποτε καὶ Ἀθηνῆς Τυρρηνῶν οἰκησάντων. Thucydides appears to concur with Herodotus that these Τυρρῆνοὶ Πελασγοὶ did not speak Greek; and these perhaps were the “other towns” to which Herodotus referred. Dionysius p. 68. refers the Tyrrhenian migration into Greece described by Myrsilus to about the second generation before the Trojan war. Strabo however, IX. p. 401. ascribes the walls of the Acropolis to Pelasgi from Bæotia, who had expelled the Bæotians into Thessaly, where they dwelt at Ἀρνὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον. At their return ἦδη τῷ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρσκευασμένον—ἐξέβαλον τοὺς μὲν Πελασγούς εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκλήθη μέρος τι τῆς

πόλεως Πελασγικόν ᾤκησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμηττῷ. This brings the Pelasgi who built the walls into Attica sixty years after the Trojan war; a date consistent with Velleius I. 3. who places it at the return of the *Heracidae*: *Tum Græcia maximis concussa est motibus. Achæi ex Laconica pulsas occupavere sedes quas nunc obtinent; Pelasgi Athenas commigravere*. Where Bæcler ad loc. rightly explains Dionysius. The variation in Strabo is easily reconciled. The Pelasgi from the west (or Sicels according to Pausanias) first visited Acarnania, then Bæotia, and lastly Attica; as Niebuhr understands it Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 34. Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 100. unnecessarily distinguishes the Bæotian Pelasgi from the Tyrrhenian. Their expulsion from Attica and occupation of Lemnos was in the time of *Theras*: Schol. Apollon. IV. 1764. (the *Minyæ*) ἐκβληθέντες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης ἐποικοῦν. —συνηκολούθησαν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν τῷ Θέρῃ καὶ Λήμνῳ, ἐκβληθέντες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἐκ τῆς Λήμνου. Herodotus IV. 145—148. relates their expulsion from Lemnos by the Pelasgi from Attica—ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες—in the time of *Theras*; and Pausanias VII. 2. 1. Μινίας τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκ Λήμνου Θήρας ἤγαγεν. which would place the occupation of Lemnos by the Pelasgi from Attica about 100 years after the fall of Troy. They appear under the name of Τυρρῆνοὶ in many narratives: Plutarch. Mor. p. 247. A. Τυρρηνῶν τῶν Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον κατασχόντων. p. 296. B. Τυρρηνούς—ὑπὸ τῆς Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον κατέχουσιν κ. τ. λ. where they are confounded with the *Minyæ* whom they expelled: Larcher Herod. tom. III. p. 536. These Τυρρῆνοὶ appear in Schol. Apollon. I. 580. Laërt. VIII. 1. Πυθαγόρας—ὡς Ἀριστοξένος, Τυρρῆνός ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν νήσων αἱ κατέσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Τυρρηνούς ἐκβαλόντες. Porphy. Vit. Pythag. c. 1. λέγει δὲ ὁ Κλεάνθης ἄλλους εἶναι οἱ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Τυρρῆνὸν ἀποφαίνονται τῶν τὴν Λήμνον ἀποικισάντων. They were still in Lemnos in the reign of *Darius*, when *Otanes* reduced Lemnos and Imbros: Herodot. V. 26. εἶλε Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον ἀμφοτέρους ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν εἰκομένης—about B. C. 505: see F. H. II. p. 314. The expedition of *Miltiades* (Herodot. VI. 140) may be placed after this date.

These *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* alone were known in Greece in the time of Herodotus as Pelasgians; as Niebuhr vol. I. p. 35. rightly remarks. But the fact that the language of these Pelasgi from the west was barbarous, may lead us to suspect that they were not of Pelasgic race at all. We have seen p. 25. that the Pelasgi were established in Tuscany, and p. 27. that they were expelled or conquered by the *Hetrusci*. But according to Cato apud Servium ad Æn. X. 179. these Pelasgi who preceded the *Hetrusci* spoke the Greek



stretched too far<sup>t</sup>, and rather inconsistently observes<sup>v</sup>, "That there was an essential affinity between the *Pelasgi* and the *Hellenes*, notwithstanding this difference, is probable from the ease with which so many Pelasgic nations ripened into Hellens; and from the Latin language containing an element which is half Greek, the Pelasgian origin of which seems unquestionable." And concludes<sup>w</sup> that the Greeks and Pelasgians, though "essentially distinct," were yet "kindred races." How the Pelasgians could have ripened into Greeks in Arcadia and Thessaly and Attica, if the two races had been essentially distinct<sup>x</sup>, or how the two races could have been essentially different, and yet at the same time kindred races with an essential affinity, is not very clear.

Dionysius, then, with great reason affirmed the Pelasgians to be Greeks<sup>y</sup>. The *Pelasgi* and *Leleges* were kindred tribes. The *Æolians* and *Dorians* were Hellenic. The *Achæans* and *Ionians* were Pelasgic nations, but intermingled with the *Hellenes*. All these were branches springing from the same stock, and members of one great family. To what race of mankind this family of nations belonged has been the subject of much inquiry and great diversity of opinion. Most writers ascribe to them a foreign original. The *Pelasgi* are derived from Phœnicia by Jackson<sup>z</sup>; from Egypt and Syria by Bryant<sup>a</sup>. Others suppose them to be from India<sup>b</sup>. Stillingfleet<sup>c</sup> and Salmasius<sup>d</sup> derive them from *Peleg*. Bishop Marsh<sup>e</sup> in-

language: *Cato originum I. qui Pisas tenuerint ante adventum Etruscorum negat sibi comperit, sed inveniri Tarchonem Tyrrheno oriundum — Pisas condidisse, cum ante regionem eandem Teutones quidam [doubtless some Pelasgic tribe] Græce loquentes possederint.* Now it is very possible that some other people, neither Pelasgic nor Etruscan, might, upon the decline of the *Pelasgi* in Tuscany, have in reality possessed Croton and the country near Gravisæ, from whence they proceeded in quest of new settlements. That these were called *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* by the early Greek historians is no proof that they were Pelasgic, since the same error which prevailed respecting the *Tyrrhenes* (see p. 27) might occur respecting these. The migration from Tuscany happened in so early a period, before the historical times, and from so remote a region, that the colonists might easily have been mistaken for *Pelasgi*, because they came from a country which the *Pelasgi* had once possessed. It does not appear that Dionysius p. 69. 77. had any other authority than Herodotus (as he understood Herodotus) for recording that the *Pelasgi*, when driven from other places, retained Croton. Herodotus could only relate the opinions of his own age. Pausanias believed the settlers from the west to be Sicels.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. I. p. 23. "His assertion, however, must not be stretched to mean a difference like that between the Greek and the Illyrian or Thracian. Nations whose languages were more nearly akin than the Latin and Greek would still speak so as not to be mutually under-

"stood; and this is all that Herodotus attends to."

<sup>v</sup> Vol. I. p. 23.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. p. 45. 50.

<sup>x</sup> Niebuhr p. 50. argues that by the magical power exercised by the Greek language and national character over foreign races, the inhabitants of Asia Minor hellenized themselves after the Macedonian conquest. But the cases are not parallel, because, in the first place, the Macedonian Greeks occupied Asia as conquerors (a circumstance which was wanting in Arcadia and other provinces); and, in the next place, the original Asiatic dialects were not extinguished.

<sup>y</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 25. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πελασγοὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς κ.τ.λ. p. 45. ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

<sup>z</sup> Chronol. Antiquities vol. III. p. 49. 62.

<sup>a</sup> Ancient Mythology vol. I. p. 187.

<sup>b</sup> Lempriere by Barker art. *Pelasgi*. 2nd ed. 1832.

<sup>c</sup> Stillingfleet Origines Sacræ III. IV. 13. supposes the *Pelasgi* to have possessed Greece before it was occupied by the sons of *Japheth*; deriving them from *Phaleg*, from the resemblance of name. This branch of the family of *Phaleg* he supposes proceeded northwards to Scythia, and thence they drew downwards towards Thracia, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Salmas. de Hellenist. p. 342. *Pelasgos a Phaleg et Græcos sive Γραικούς a Rhagau dictos esse certa fides est ex nominis indicio et re ipsa. Pelasgorum τὸ πολυπλάγητον appellatio Phaleg ostendit, quæ divisionem sonat.*

<sup>e</sup> Horæ Pelasg. p. 17.



clines to agree with Salmasius. These opinions, however, deriving them from Phœnicia or Egypt or India or from *Peleg*, are mere conjectures founded upon no authority. All that we know of the *Pelasgi* is derived from the Greeks: and in their accounts, as we have already observed<sup>f</sup>, the *Pelasgi* appear in Peloponnesus as an aboriginal race eighteen generations before the Trojan war. Beyond that point the Grecian annals cannot reach. This being the extent of our information, why should we reject the very obvious conclusion that the *Pelasgi* were not a foreign people but the *Aborigines* of the country, and that they belonged to that original race by whom the isles of the Gentiles were first peopled? The Mosaic history ascribes the planting of this land to the sons of *Japheth*<sup>g</sup>: the national traditions of the Greeks ascend to the times of *Moses* himself; and, if these traditions contain no positive testimonies to confirm the Scripture account (which was not to be expected), yet at least they contain nothing which in the slightest degree impeaches the Mosaic narrative<sup>h</sup>. Moreover, if the Mosaic account is accurate, that Greece was planted by the family of *Japheth* (which no rational mind will doubt), the authority of *Moses* contributes to refute the theories which have been mentioned, and to confirm the fact collected from the Greek writers themselves, that the *Pelasgi* were aboriginal; for in the time of *Moses* the *Pelasgi* were in the country. Now it is not probable that he would have assigned the isles of the Gentiles, in which Greece is included, to the children of *Japheth*, if at that very time this race had already disappeared, and the country had been occupied by the children of *Ham* or the descendants of *Peleg*<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> See above p. 24. The first occupiers of Southern Greece might either enter from the north through the Isthmus, or they might reach the coasts of Peloponnesus across the islands of the Ægean from the southern coast of Asia Minor. If, which is most probable, they proceeded by a gradual progress from the original seat of mankind in Asia through the north-west countries of Asia Minor, and thence through Thrace and Macedon and Thessaly into Peloponnesus, yet this original movement was in too remote an age to be reached by the traditions of the Greeks. It has already been shewn at p. 23. that the accounts which place the *Pelasgi* in Thrace refer to a later occupancy.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. X. 2. *The sons of Japheth, Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras: and the sons of Gomer, Ashkenaz and Riphath and Togarmah: and the sons of Javan, Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.* This last clause is to be referred not only to the sons of *Javan*, but to all the sons of *Japheth*. Josephus Ant. I. 6, 1. interprets thus: 'Ιαφέθου μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νινύου πατρὸς ἦσαν ἑπτὰ υἱοί. κατοικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀράβου τῶν ἑρῶν ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ὄχμῃ πιναμῶν Ταυράδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὡς Γαδαίρων. From *Javan* and *Elishah* he derives the Greeks: ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνάνου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες

γενόμενοι.—Ἰωνάνου δὲ τοῦ Ἰαφέθου, τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παίδων γενομένων, Ἐλισᾶς μὲν Ἐλισαίους ἐκάλεσεν ὃν ἤρχεν Ἀιολεῖς δὲ οὖν εἰσί. Bochart lib. III. cap. 3. in the interpretation of *Javan* follows Josephus. Of *Elishah* he observes cap. 4. *Elisa Chaldaeis est Hellas, Josepho Æoles: mihi Peloponnesus, in quo Elis vetustissima est et amplissima regio.* But *Elis* was not so named till a later period. The two former interpretations are the best.

<sup>h</sup> The names *Japheth*, *Javan*, *Elishah*, *Dodanim*, have been ingeniously traced in *Iapetus*, *Iones*, *Æoles*, *Dodona*; and although a cautious criticism might reject these etymologies as not wholly certain, yet we assert that these coincidences of name strongly confirm the position that Greece was really first peopled by the sons of *Japheth*: and that in the tribes so often mentioned in this inquiry, the *Pelasgi*, the *Hellenes*, the *Æoles*, the *Iones*, the *Achæi*, we have the descendants of that original race. Niebuhr Rom. Hist. vol. I. p. 21. 22. speaking of the Mosaic pedigrees in general, is of opinion that *Moses* represents races belonging unquestionably to entirely different families as connected. The only mode of supporting this opinion is to produce testimonies superior in age and authority to the book of Genesis. As Niebuhr has not done this, we shall continue to hold that the Mosaic genealogies are accurate.

<sup>i</sup> *Javan* is Greece in Dan. X. 20. XI. 2. Ezek. XXVII. 13. Isaiah LXVI. 19. *Chittim*

## V.

## FROM THE FALL OF TROY TO THE IONIC MIGRATION.

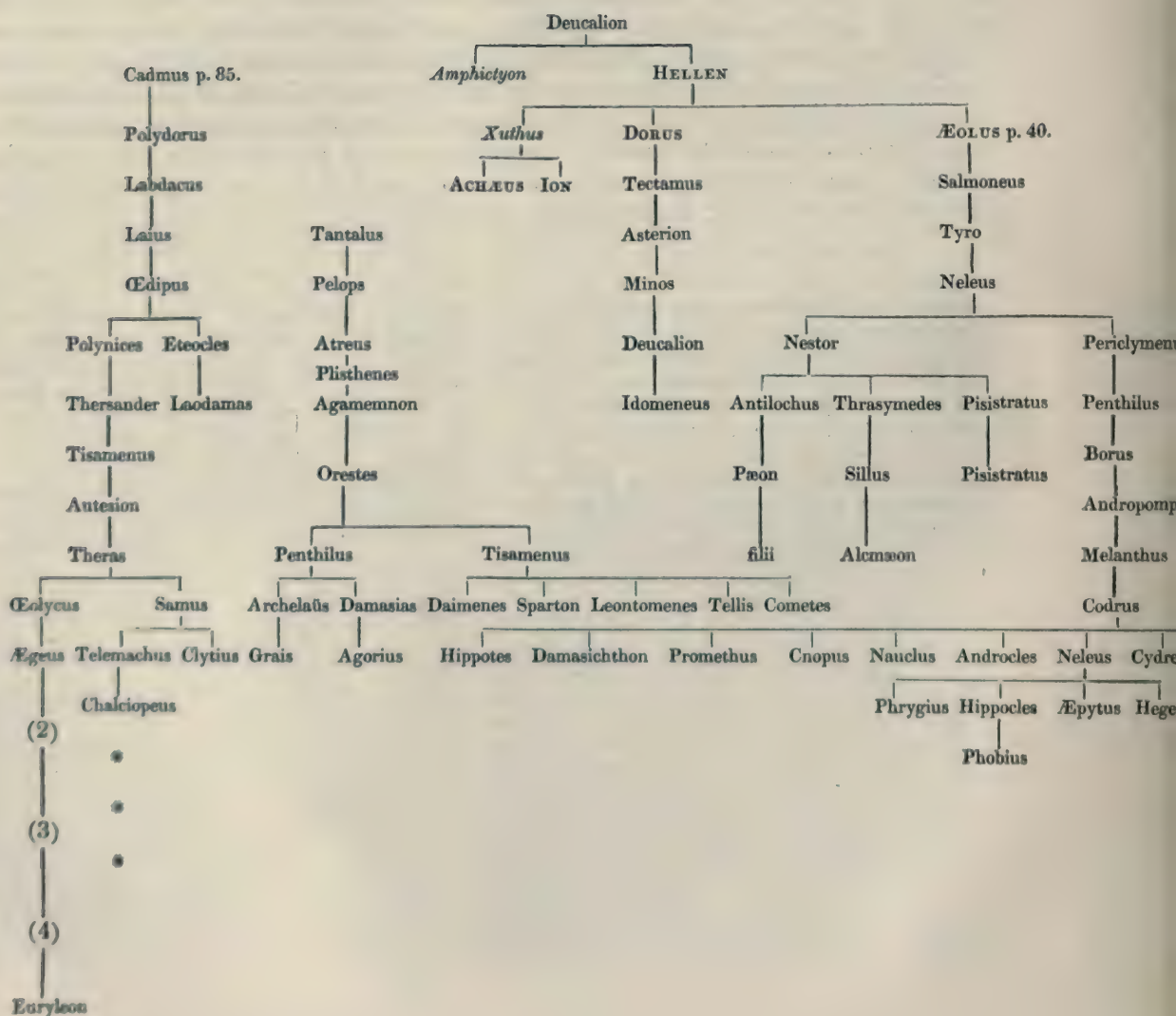
AFTER the Trojan war the family of *Agamemnon* led the Æolic migration into Asia; the descendants of *Neleus*, an Æolian race, acquired the ascendancy at Athens, and conducted the Ionian colonists. In Peloponnesus many states were occupied by the Dorians under the *Heraclidæ*, and an ancient Pelasgic dynasty continued, as we have seen, to reign in Arcadia. All these families are exhibited in the following Table, which deduces them from their real or supposed originals, *Deucalion* and *Danaüs* and *Tantalus* and *Pelasgus*. Those who seem to be real historical persons are distinguished from the others in this Table according to the principles described in the Introduction. When the genealogy has been given before, only those parts of the descent are repeated here which were necessary to shew the connexion. Thus the children of *Cadmus* have been given at p. 85, the *Æolidæ* at p. 40, the children of *Arcas* at p. 90, the descendants of *Niobë* at p. 18.

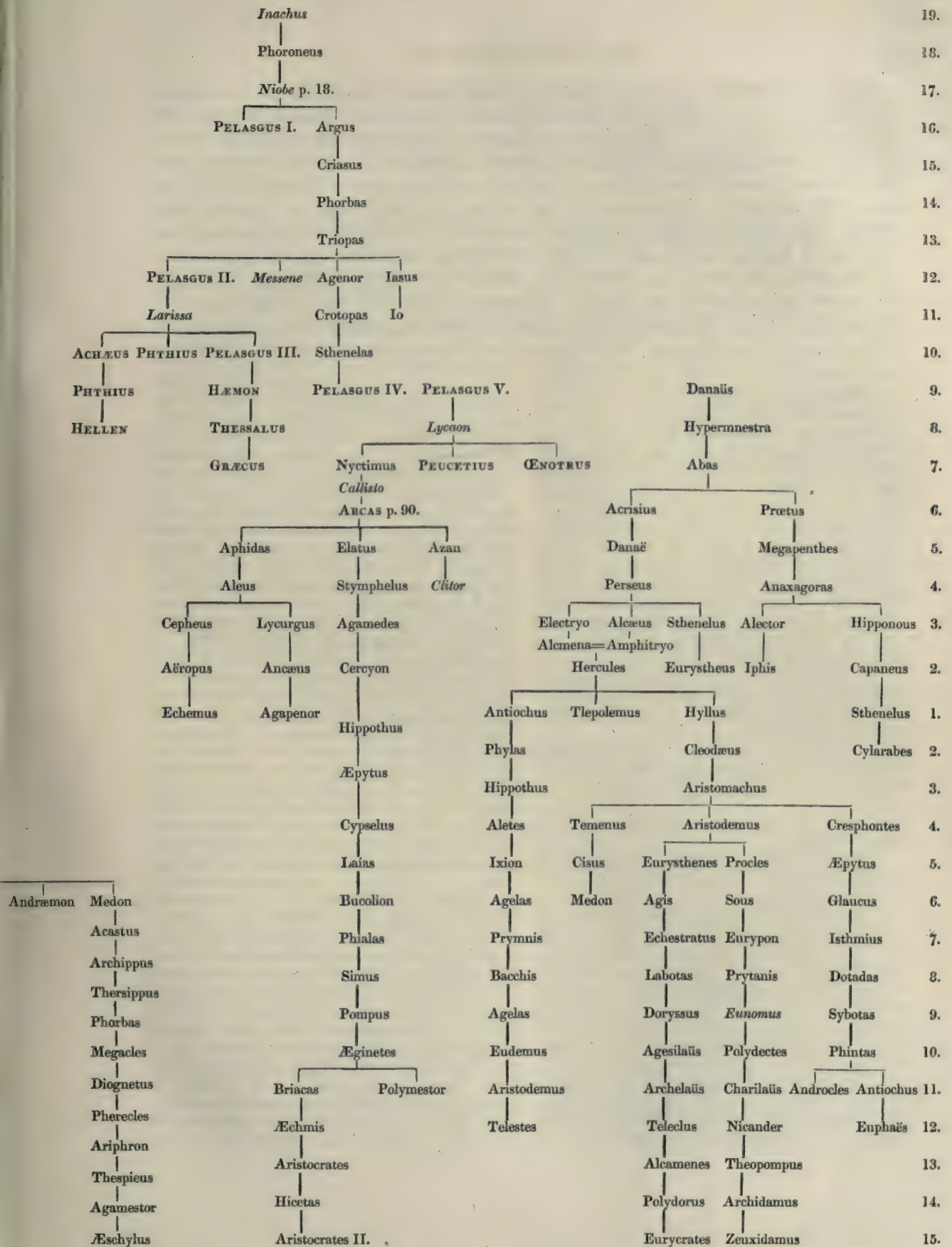
is Greece and Macedonia in Isaiah XXIII. 1. 12. These names would be no proof that the race of *Javan* were still in the land in the times of Isaiah and Daniel and Ezekiel; because, when the name had been once given, it would continue to be applied when the cause for assigning it had ceased. But there must have been once a reason for the name. *Moses* was delineating the families of mankind, and describing the countries of which they were in possession. Had "the great Amonian family," according to Bryant, or the race

of *Peleg*, according to others, already overwhelmed Greece and the adjoining countries, it is likely that *Moses*, who not only as an inspired writer, but as acquainted with Egyptian learning, had means enough of knowing it, would have described that family as possessing those countries. Greece would scarcely have been called the land of *Javan* in the Hebrew writings from *Moses* to *Ezekiel*, if already before the time of *Moses* it had ceased to be the land of *Javan*.



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*Orestes* recovered Mycenæ in the eighth year after the death of his father<sup>a</sup>. He acquired the kingdom of Lacedæmon at the death of *Menelaüs*, and annexed Argos to Mycenæ, and some portion of Arcadia<sup>b</sup>. He withdrew to Tegea in the latter part of his life, and died in Arcadia<sup>c</sup>; probably at Tegea<sup>d</sup>. He was succeeded by his son *Tisamenus*, in whose reign the *Heraclidæ* recovered Peloponnesus<sup>e</sup>. According to Apollodorus, *Tisamenus* fell in the action with the sons of *Aristomachus*<sup>f</sup>; but according to other accounts he seized upon Achaia. He at first attempted an amicable coalition with the Ionians of that province, but their leaders fearing the influence of *Tisamenus* rejected his propositions, and opposed him with an army. *Tisamenus* was slain, but his followers were victorious, and their adversaries the Ionian leaders retired into Attica<sup>g</sup>. *Tisamenus* being thus slain in the conquest of Achaia, his four sons *Daimenes*, *Sparton*, *Tellis*, *Leontomenes*, reigned there, together with *Damasias* son of *Penthilus*, and with *Preuges* and *Patreus*, Achæans from Lacedæmon<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Homer. *Odys.* γ'. 305.

ἐπτάετες δ' ἦν' ἤσασσε πολυχρῆστοι Μυκῆνης,  
τῷ δέ οἱ ἐνθάδ' ἄργον κακὸν ἤλυθε διὸς Ὀρέστης.

<sup>b</sup> He occupied Argos upon the failure of the line of *Megapenthes*, which had ruled there from the time of *Acrisius*: Pausan. II. 18, 5. Κυλαρᾶ-βος ὁ Σθενίλου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν· οὐ μέντοι παῖδας κατέλειπε· οὐδ' οὕτως, ἀλλὰ Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνωνος τὸ Ἄργος κατέσχε παροικῶν τε ἐγγίς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνευ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς προσπεποιημένους μὲν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς πολλοὺς παρειληφώς· δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείαν, συμμαχικοῦ δὲ ἐκ Φωκίων ἀεί ποτε ἐπ' ἀφελείᾳ ἐτοίμου παρόντος. Λακεδαιμονίαν δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν Ὀρέστης Λακεδαιμονίαν ἐφέντων αὐτῷ—Ὀρέστου δὲ ἀποθανόντος, ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἑρμῖνης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς.

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. VIII. 5, 3. Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνωνος κατὰ μακτίαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος μετέφικσεν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐκ Μυκηνῶν. Strabo XIII. p. 582. records his death in Arcadia.

<sup>d</sup> The bones of *Orestes* were said to be found at Tegea in the reign of *Anaxandrides*: Herodot. I. 67. who is followed by Pausanias III. 3, 6, 11, 8.

<sup>e</sup> Pausan. II. 18, 6. ἐπὶ τούτου κατάσιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἡρακλεΐδαι.

<sup>f</sup> Apollod. II. 8, 3. συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τῷ πύρρῳ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προτεροῦσι στρατῶν, καὶ Τισαμενὸν κτείνουσι τὸν Ὀρέστου.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. II. 18, 7. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐς τὴν οὖν Ἀχαΐαν. VII. 1, 3, 4. τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπὲρξεν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνων καὶ Ἀργεῖς ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξεληλάσθη. —τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐκ τῆς Ἀργεῖς καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνων ἐπεκρηκυέοντο Ἰωσὶν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέσθαι σύνοικοι σφισιν ὅσων πάλμῳ. τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑπῆκε ἰσχυρὰ μὴ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνομιχεύειν αὐτοῖς Τισαμενὸν ἐν κοινῇ βασιλείᾳ ὕλινται κατὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ γένους δόξαν. Ἰόνων δὲ οὐ προσεμίμῳ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ ἐπεξεληλύθων σὺν ὕλιν, Τισαμενὸς μὲν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Ἰωνας δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ κρατήσαντες ἐπελήρουν καταπεφυγῆτας ἐς Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἕσπερον ἀφίαιον ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπένδους. Τι-

σαμενὸς δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι θαψάντων, ἕσπερον χρόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς σφισιν ἀνεπιόντος χρηστήριον κομίζουσι τὰ ὅσα ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ τάφῳ ἔσθαι τὰ δειπνα Λακεδαιμονίους ἐστὶ τὰ φειδίτια καλούμενα. Polyb. II. 41, 4. ἀπὸ γὰρ Τισαμενῷ βασιλευθέντες (οἱ Ἀχαιοί), δὲ ἦν Ὀρέστου μὲν υἱὸς κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλεϊδῶν κάθοδον ἐκπεσὼν τῆς Σπάρτης κατέσχε τοὺς περὶ Ἀχαΐαν τόπους, ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ τὸ συνεχές καὶ κατὰ τὸ γένος ἕως Ὀγύγου βασιλευθέντες, μετὰ ταῦτα δυσαρεστήσαντες τοῖς τοῦ προειρημένου παισὶ—μετέστησαν εἰς δημοκρατίαν τὴν πολιτείαν. Idem IV. 1, 5. ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Τισαμενῷ τῶν Ὀρέστου παίδων ἐνὸς καὶ φήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου βασιλευθῆναι κατὰ γένος ἕως εἰς Ὀγύγον. Strabo VIII. p. 383. οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιώται μὲν ἦσαν τὸ γένος ἄκρως δ' ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι· τῶν δ' Ἡρακλεϊδῶν ἐπικρατήσαντων, ἀναληφθέντες ὑπὸ Τισαμενῷ τοῦ Ὀρέστου παιδὸς—τοῖς Ἰωσὶν ἐπέθεντο, καὶ γενόμενοι κρείττους τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὶ δὲ κατέσχον τὴν γῆν, καὶ διεφύλαξαν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς χώρας μέισμον ὅππῃ καὶ παρέλαβον.—ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν Τισαμενῷ μετὰ Ὀγύγου βασιλευόμενοι διετέλεσαν, εἴτα δημοκρατήθέντες κ. τ. λ. Polyæn. II. 37. Τισαμενὸς ἄγων τὸ στρατόπεδον ὄρνεις πολλοὺς ἰδὼν ὑπὲρ τὸν τόπον περιπετομένους, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰζάνοντας, συνήκεν ὡς δεδιότες ἀνθρώπους ἐγκαθημένους ἰζάνειν ἰκνοῦν, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐρευνησάμενος τοῖς ἐγκαθημένοις ἐπιθέμενος κατέκοψε τοὺς λαχόντας Ἰωνας.

<sup>h</sup> Pausan. VII. 6, 2. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τὸ μέγιστον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχοντες κράτος οἱ τε Τισαμενῷ παῖδες, Δαϊμένης καὶ Σπάρτων καὶ Τέλλης τε καὶ Λεοντομένης· Κομήτης δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Τισαμενῶν παίδων πρότερον ἔτι διαβεβήκει ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. οὗτοι τε δὴ τηρικαῦτα ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδινάστευαν καὶ Δαμασίος ὁ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, τοῖς Τισαμενῶν πασὶν ἀνεφύς πρὸς πατρός· ἴσχυον δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς κατελεγκμένοις καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος Πρευγῆνης καὶ οὐδὲς, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Πατρεὺς. Agorius son of *Damasias* settled with *Oxylos* in Elis: Pausan. V. 4, 2. ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ [*Oxylo*] καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμός τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεισθαι συνοικιστήν. Ὁξύλος δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἰποιεῖτο σπουδῇ, καὶ ἀναζητῶν εὗρεν Ἀγῶριον τὸν Δαμασίῳ τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, καὶ



*Penthilus* another son of *Orestes*<sup>i</sup> led the Æolic migration which was destined to settle in the Troad; a settlement originally planned by *Orestes* himself, after whose death *Penthilus* proceeded from *Aulis*, in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, at the time when the Bœotians returned into their own province from Arnë<sup>k</sup>; many of whom joined the followers of

αὐτὸν τε ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀγορίῳ μοῖραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο οὐ πολλήν.

<sup>i</sup> Pausan. II. 18, 5. τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστου νόθον Πενθίλου Κυναίθων ἔγραψεν ἐν ταῖς ἔπεισιν Ἡριγόνην τὴν Αἰγίσθου τεκεῖν. Conf. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1374.

<sup>k</sup> Strabo XIII. p. 582. τέτρασι γὰρ δὴ γενεαῖς πρεσβυτέραν φασὶ τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς διατριβάς δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ χρόνους μακροτέρους. Ὀρέστην μὲν γὰρ ἄρξαι τοῦ στόλου· τούτου δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, διαδέξασθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πενθίλον καὶ προελθεῖν μέχρι Θράκης, ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερον, ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλείδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον καθόδον· εἴτ' Ἀρχέλαον υἱὸν ἐκείνου περαιῶσαι τὸν Αἰολικὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνήν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δασκύνιον. Γρῶν δὲ τὸν υἱὸν τούτου τὸν νεώτατον προελθόντα μέχρι τοῦ Γρανικοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἄμεινον περαιῶσαι τὸ πλεόν τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Λέσβον καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν. According to Pausanias III. 2, 1. *Penthilus* penetrated to Lesbos: Λακεδαιμόνιοι συνήρατο Γρῶν τῷ Ἐχέλῳ τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου στελλομένου ναυσὶν εἰς ἀποικίαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ καὶ Μυσῶν, καλουμένην δὲ Αἰολίδα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καθέξειν ἐμελλεν· ὁ δὲ οἱ πρόγονος Πενθίλος Λέσβον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης νῆσον εἶλεν ἔτι πρότερον. According to another account, *Orestes* himself: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1374. ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὅτι Ὀρέστης—χρησμὸν ἔλαβε στέλλεσθαι πρὸς ἀποικίαν· ὃς συνάξας ἐκ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν λαοὺς, οὓς ἐκάλεσεν Αἰολεῖς—ἦλθεν εἰς Λέσβον. αὐτὸς μὲν ταχὺ ἀποθανὼν πόλιν κτίσαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, ἀπὸγονος δὲ τούτου καλούμενος Γρᾶς μετὰ ἐκατὸν ἔτη κυριεύσας τῆς Λέσβου πόλιν ἔκτισε—τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας Λέσβου Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν πρώτῃ Αἰολικῶν. The leader of the Æolian settlement in Tenedos is named by Pindar Nem. XI. 43=33. who ascribes the settlement to *Orestes*: τὸ τε Πεισάνδρου πάλαι Αἴμ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτας· Ἀμύκλαθεν γὰρ ἔβρα σὺν Ὀρέστῃ, Αἰολέων στρατιὰν χαλεντέα δεῦρ' ἀνάγων. Schol. ad loc. τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ Πεισάνδρου—τοῦ ποτε σὺν τῷ Ὀρέστῃ ἀποικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος εἰς Λέσβον στελαιμένου τὸ τῶν Αἰολέων γένος· τὸ δὲ δεῦρο ὡς πρὸς τὴν Τένεδον τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς Λέσβου.—Πεισάνδρου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου—οὗτος δὲ (φησὶ) σὺν Ὀρέστῃ ἀπέφικεν ἐκ Σπάρτης καὶ τὴν Τένεδον κατέκτισε—περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὀρέστου εἰς τὴν Αἰολίδα ἀποικίας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Αἰολικῶν ἱστορήκεν. Demo apud Schol. Eur. Rhes. 250. e cod. Vat. does not name Lesbos, but mentions *Orestes* and *Penthilus*: Δήμῳ γοῦν ἐξηγοῦμενος περὶ αὐτῶν... φησὶν ὡς ὕστερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν λοιμοῦ καὶ φθορᾶς καρποῦ περιελθυσίας τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μαντευομένην [I.—ων vel —οις] περὶ τῶν παρόντων χρῆσθαι τὴν πυθίαν τηλικαῦτα παῦλαν αὐτοῖς τῶν δεινῶν ἐπειδὴν τινες τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐχόντων τὸ γένος πλείους—

τες εἰς Τροίαν τὰς πόλεις κτίσωσι, καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ἀναλάβωσιν, ὥς ἡφανίσθαι συνέβαινεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ταύτην τὴν μαντείαν παραδεξάμενον τὸν Ὀρέστην συνέβη λυπεῖν τὸν βίον. μετὰ δὲ Ὀρέστην Τισαμένον λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Κομήτην. οὗ χρωμένου πού δεοὶ πλεῖν—δοθῆναι χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον Μυσῶν πλεῖν. κατολιγορήσαντας δὲ πολλῶν συνηθροισμένων τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἀφίστασθαι καὶ τὸν Κομήτην καταλιπεῖν μακρὸν πεφροντικέναι λέγοντας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Μυσῶν ἐσχάτου. κατὰ τὴν ἐχομένην γενεάν Πενθίλου πάλιν συναγείραντος τὴν στρατιάν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπενέγκαντος χρησμὸν, διὰ τὸ παράδοξον εἰς παροιμίαν διὰ τοῦτο προστεῖναι φασιν. This passage was in the work περὶ Παροιμιῶν. Conf. Harpocr. v. Μυσῶν λιάν. Demo has here confounded the times, if he placed *Penthilus* in the generation after *Cometes*. The accounts however which ascribe to *Orestes* or to *Penthilus* a settlement in Lesbos may be reconciled with Strabo, if we suppose that *Orestes* himself designed a settlement there which was to proceed not under his own personal conduct, but under his auspices; that *Penthilus* attempted an establishment in the island, which was for the time abandoned; and that *Grais* finally completed the settlement. The name *Penthilus* is traced in Lesbos: Steph. Byz. Πενθίλῃ, πόλις Λέσβου· οἱ πολῖται Πενθιλεῖς, ἀπὸ Πενθίλου. Aristot. Rep. V. 10.= 8, 13. ἐν Μιτυληνῇ τοῖς Πενθαλίδας Μεγακλῆς περιόντας καὶ τύπτοντας ταῖς κορινθίαις ἐπιθέμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀνείλεν. Plutarch. Mor. p. 984. E. Ἐναλον τὸν Αἰολέα, Μύρτιλος ὁ Λέσβιος ἱστορεῖ, τῆς Φινέως ἐρῶντα θυγατρὸς ριφείας κατὰ χρησμὸν τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης ὑπὸ τῶν Πενθιλιδῶν [conf. Wyttenb. ad loc. tom. IV. p. 992]. But these passages do not prove (as Raoul-Rochette Col. Grecques tom. III. p. 36. supposes them to do) that *Penthilus* himself was personally resident in Lesbos. The tale of *Enalus*, quoted by Plutarch from Myrtilus, is also told at large by Anticlides ἐν νόστοις apud Athenæum XI. p. 466. c. who likewise attributes the occupation of Lesbos to *Grais*: Ἀντικλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ ἐκκαίδεκάτῃ νόστον περὶ Γρᾶ διηγούμενος τοῦ τὴν ἀποικίαν εἰς Λέσβον στείλαντος σὺν ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ὅτι χρησμός ἦν αὐτοῖς δηλώσας καταθεῖναι διαπλέοντας τῇ Ποσειδῶνι εἰς τὸ πέλαγος παρθένον, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ. And by Plutarch VII. Sap. p. 163. A: χρησμῷ γενομένου τοῖς οἰκίζουσι Λέσβον, ὅταν ἔρματι πλείοντες προστίχωσιν ὃ καλεῖται μεσόγειον τότε ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδῶνι μὲν ταῦρον Ἀμφιτρίτῃ δὲ καὶ Νηρηΐδι ζῶσαν καθιέναι παρθένον· ὅταν οὖν ἀρχηγῶν ἐπτά καὶ βασιλέων, ὀγδόου δὲ τοῦ Ἐχελάου πυθοχρήστου τῆς ἀποικίας



*Penthilus*<sup>1</sup>. This date, which is fixed by Thucydides and Strabo, determines the reigns of *Orestes* and *Tisamenus*. If *Orestes* was dead in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, and had recovered his kingdom in the eighth year, he might reign about fifty-two, and his son *Tisamenus* (who filled the space till the Dorian conquest) about twenty years. And this agrees with the account that *Tisamenus* was in the throne when a former expedition was led by *Aristomachus*<sup>m</sup>; and the chronology adopted by Velleius<sup>n</sup>, who gives seventy years to *Orestes* and three to *Tisamenus*, seems to be erroneous.

About the same time that *Penthilus* prepared his expedition, *Cleues* and *Malaius*, also descendants of *Agamemnon*, collected a band of followers. But they fixed for some time in Locris; and the settlement of *Penthilus* and his sons passed first into Asia. The settlers from Locris afterwards founded Cymē<sup>o</sup>.

ἡγεμόνος, αὐτος μὲν ἦν εἶς, τῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ κληρομένων ὅταις ἄγαμαι παῖδες ἦσαν, καταλαμβάνει θυγατέρα Σμινθέως ὁ κλῆρος κ. τ. λ. where τοῦ Ἐχελάου does not mean *Echelatus* (as rendered in the Latin version) but the son of *Echelatus*, namely *Grais*; who is at this time said to be ἦν εἶς. Σμινθέως θυγατέρα is, as we have seen, Φινέως θυγατέρα in the other passage of Plutarch. The name therefore is corrupt in one of the two passages.

The date of Strabo, in the sixtieth year from the fall of Troy, is confirmed by Thucydides I. 12. Βοιωτοὶ ἐξηκοστῇ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν—τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν—καλουμένην ᾤκισαν. Strabo IX. p. 401. Βοιωτοὶ ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἥδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένοι περὶ Αἰλῖδα τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὃν ἔστειλλον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ τοῦ Ὀρέστου παῖδες. The expression in Strabo XIII. p. 582. ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθον is not to be understood too strictly, but with some latitude, as expressing the period generally. Strabo again XIII. p. 621. consistently marks the beginning of the Æolic migration: πᾶσα ἡ Αἰολικὴ ἱστορία μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενομένη.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo IX. p. 402. οἱ Βοιωτοὶ—τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποικίαν συνέπραξαν τοῖς περὶ Πενθίλου, πλείστοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν συμπίμπαντες, ὥστε καὶ Βοιωτικὴν προσαγορευθῆναι. Hence the Bœotians in after times accounted themselves ξυγγενεῖς τῶν Πελασγίων Thucyd. III. 2. Schol. ad loc. τὸ συγγενῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐκτείνω· αὐτοὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ Αἰολικὸν συγγενεῖς τῶν Πελασγίων. Again Thucyd. VII. 57. Μηθυμναῖοι καὶ Τεινῖοι καὶ Αἰῖοι—Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς ἰμάχοντο. And *Anaxander* the Theban commands the Æolians from Cymē κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Thucyd. VIII. 100. Probably from this large proportion of Æolo-Bœotian followers, and not for the reason given by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1374., the settlement was named Æolian rather than Achæan.

<sup>m</sup> Apollod. II. 8, 2. Τισαμενὸς τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος Πελοποννησίων—γεννημένης πάλιν μάχης, νικῶσι Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ Ἀριστίμαχος θνήσκει.

<sup>n</sup> Velleius I. 1. (whom Larcher follows Herod.

tom. VII. p. 584) Regni potitur Ægisthus per annos septem. Hunc Orestes—obtruncat. Factum ejus a diis comprobatur, spatio vitæ et felicitate imperii apparuit; quippe vixit annis 90 regnavit 70.—Post Orestis interitum filii ejus Penthilus et Tisamenus regnare triennio. Castor, as we have seen p. 81. gives fifty-eight years to *Orestes*, *Penthilus*, *Tisamenus*, and *Cometes*. But his account by an opposite error brings the succession of *Orestes* too low. *Penthilus* never reigned at all. *Cometes* according to Pausanias VII. 6, 2. also migrated to Asia. Demo (as we have seen) apud Schol. Eur. Rhes. 250. makes him reign after *Tisamenus* in Peloponnesus. Asclepiades apud Schol. Eur. Or. 1640. makes *Orestes* die at the age of seventy years: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ φησὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην ὑπὸ ἄφεως ἀναιρεθῆναι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν. which agrees with the account that he was already dead in the sixtieth year from the Trojan era. This account of Asclepiades, confirmed by Strabo, is justly preferred to that of Velleius by Raoul-Rochette tom. II. p. 447.

<sup>o</sup> Strabo XIII. p. 582. Κλεῖν δὲ τὸν Δόρου καὶ Μαλαῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπογόνους ὄντας Ἀγαμέμνονος, συναγαγεῖν μὲν τὴν στρατίαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν καὶ Πενθίλος· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν τοῦ Πενθίλου στόλον φθῆναι περαιωθέντα ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτους δὲ περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ τὸ Φρίκιον ὅρος διατρίψαι πολὺν χρόνον· ὕστερον δὲ διαβάντας κτίσαι τὴν Κύμην τὴν Φρικωνίδα κληθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους. Ib. p. 621. φασὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Φρικίου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους ὀρμηθέντας κατὰραι μὲν εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου νῦν ἡ Κύμη ἐστί, καταλαβόντας δὲ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς κεκακωμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου κατέχοντας δ' ὁμοῖς ἔτι τὴν Λαρίσσαν, διέχουσιν τῆς Κύμης ὅσον ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους, ἐπιτελεῖσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ νῦν ἔτι λεγόμενον Νέον Τεῖχος, ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς Λαρίσσης, ἐλθόντας δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Κύμην καὶ τοὺς περγενομένους ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖσε ἀνοικίσαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους τὴν τε Κύμην Φρικωνίδα καλοῦσιν ὁμοῖως δὲ καὶ τὴν Λαρίσσαν. For the *Pelasgi* see above p. 22. 23.

In the gradual progress of the Æolian settlements a long period of years necessarily elapsed between the first migration under the direction of *Orestes* and the establishment of Cymë. Hence various dates are assigned by different authors. Strabo affirms that the Æolic migration preceded the Ionic four generations <sup>p</sup>; which is true of *Orestes*, for *Neleus* son of *Codrus* was contemporary with his fourth descendants *Graüs* and *Agorius* <sup>q</sup>. Pherecydes <sup>r</sup> in general terms observes that the Æolic migration preceded the Ionic. The settlement of *Graüs* was computed <sup>s</sup> to be 100 years after the establishment planned by *Orestes*. The author of the life of Homer ascribed to Herodotus <sup>t</sup> reckons 130 years from the Trojan war to the occupation of Lesbos, twenty years more to the foundation of Cymë, and eighteen from this event to the foundation of Smyrna. If we understand this computation to proceed from the end of the Trojan war, we shall have about 70 years from the expedition of *Penthius* to the settlement of Lesbos, and about 90 from *Penthius* to the foundation of Cymë; which is not inconsistent with the former calculation of 100 years from *Orestes* to *Graüs*. Velleius is less accurate, who places the Æolic migration after the Ionic, and yet assigns the colonization of Lesbos to the fifteenth year after the return of the *Heraclidæ* <sup>v</sup>.

According to Herodotus the Æolians had twelve states on the continent after the foundation of Smyrna, and eight in the islands exclusive of some settlements around mount Ida. Smyrna was lost to the Colophonians, and in Lesbos five states only remained in the time of Herodotus, the sixth, Arisba, being conquered by the Methymnæans <sup>w</sup>; so that in his age

<sup>p</sup> See p. 103. k.

<sup>q</sup> See p. 100.

<sup>r</sup> Apud Strab. XIV. p. 632.

<sup>s</sup> Probably by Hellanicus. See above p. 103. k.

<sup>t</sup> Vit. Hom. c. 38. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς εἰς Ἴλιον στρατείας ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος ἡγεῖραν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα Λέσβος ᾤκισθη κατὰ πόλεις, πρότερον ἐοῦσα ἄπολις. μετὰ δὲ Λέσβον οἰκισθεῖσαν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον εἴκοσι Κύμη ἢ Αἰολίῳτις καὶ Φρικῳτις [Φρικωνίς Strabo XIII. p. 582] καλεομένη ᾤκισθη. μετὰ δὲ Κύμην ἑκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Σμύρνα ὑπὸ Κυμαίων καταρτίσθη.

<sup>v</sup> Vell. I. 2. *Exclusi ab Heraclidis Orestis liberi jactatique cum variis casibus tum sævilia maris quintodecimo anno sedem cepere circa Lesbum insulam.* Idem I. 4. *Iones—urbes constituere Miletum, Ephesum, &c.—Et mox Æolii eadem profecti Græcia longissimisque acti erroribus non minus illustres obtinuerunt locos, &c.* The fifteenth year after the Return might be the date of an establishment on the coast of Asia under Archelaus son of *Penthius*.

<sup>w</sup> Herodot. I. 149—151. The twelve states named by Herodotus were these:

1. Cyme: Κύμη ἢ Φρικωνίς Herodot. See above p. 104. o.

2. Larissæ: see above p. 25. n.

3. Neon Teichos: πόλις τῆς Αἰολίδος Steph. Byz. conf. Strabon. XIII. p. 621.

4. Temnos: πόλις τῆς Αἰολίδος Steph. Byz. Strab. XIII. p. 621. Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 5.

5. Cilla.

6. Notium: called πόλις Ἰωνίας by Steph. Byz.

7. Ægiroessa: Steph. Byz. ἔστι καὶ Αἰολίδος πόλις Αἰγείρουσα, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος.

8. Pitane: πόλις Αἰολίδος Steph. Byz. Besieged by *Parmenio* in B. C. 335: Diod. XVII. 7.

9. Ægææ: Steph. Byz. Αἰγαί—ἢ ἐν Μυρρίνῃ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι. τὰς Αἰγὰς Strabo XIII. p. 621. Αἰγαί Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 5.

10. Myrina: Αἰολίς πόλις Strabo XIII. p. 622. conf. Steph. Byz.

11. Grynea: Strabo XIII. p. 622. Herodot. αὐται ἑνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι. Taken by *Parmenio* in B. C. 335. Diod. XVII. 7.

12. Smyrna: abandoned to the Colophonians: Herodot. I. 150. Hence πόλις Ἰωνίας Steph. Byz. Pausan. VII. 5, 1. Σμύρναν ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὖσαν Αἰολέων—Ἰωνες ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ὀρμηθέντες ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον χρόνον δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἰωνες μετέδοσαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ συλλόγου. By the influence of the Ephesians: Strabo XIV. p. 633. αὐται μὲν δώδεκα Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις προσελήφθη δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον καὶ Σμύρνα, εἰς τὸ Ἰωνικὸν ἐναγαγόντων Ἐφεσίων. ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σύνοικοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἥνικα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Ἐφεσος.—ἀπελθόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἐφεσίων οἱ Σμυρναῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ Σμύρνα, Λελέγων κατεχόντων ἐκβαλοντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἔκτισαν τὴν παλαιὰν Σμύρναν διέχουσιν τῆς νῦν περὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων. ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἐκπεσόντες κατέφυγον εἰς Κολοφῶνα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐπιόντες τὴν σφετέραν ἀπέλαβον [Σμύρνην τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν Herodot. I. 16]. Smyrna therefore had first an Ionic origin from Ephesus, and then received Æolian settlers; which is consistent with the dates as-



there remained eleven states on the continent (exclusive of some settlements on mount Ida) and seven in the islands.

During the reign of *Orestes* the *Heraclidæ* made no impression upon Peloponnesus. In the first attempt *Hyllus* was slain \*. A second was made in the reign of *Orestes*, led by *Cleo-*

signed, if we assume with Eratosthenes 140 years after the fall of Troy for the era of Ephesus, and with the authorities already quoted (p. 105. t) 168 years after the same epoch for the Æolian era of Smyrna. For the time at which Smyrna was received into the Ionian league see the tables B. C. 688. Vitruvius IV. 1., in a passage in which he confounds times and persons, erroneously supposes *regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio Smyrnaeorum civitas inter Ionas est recepta*. A treaty with *Seleucus Callinicus*, made by the Smyrnæans some years after B. C. 246, has been given in F. H. III. p. 313.

In the islands Herodotus names the following :  
Lesbos :

1. Mytilene : Thucyd. III. 18. VIII. 23. Steph. Byz. πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ μεγίστη. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. ἀπὸ Μυτιλήνης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς, ἣ Πέλεος· οἱ δὲ ἔτι Μυτίλης ἦν ὁ οἰκιστής. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μύτωνος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Μυτιλήνης. Ἰδεν Μυτινίδα καλεῖ τὴν Λέσβον Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ. Παρθένιος δὲ Μυτινίδας τὰς Λεσβικάς φησι. For the orthography of the word conf. Wess. ad Herodot. I. 160. The name is spelt Μυτιλήνη in Menandr. de encom. p. 96. Heeren. Isocrates p. 424. a. τοῖς Μυτιληναίων ἀρχαῖς Bekker ex MS. G. Coray tom. I. p. 430. Conf. Coray ad loc. tom. II. p. 316. Boissonade ad Herodian. ἐπιμερισμ. p. 84. Voss. ad Melam p. 502. In Athenæus XIII. p. 606. a. the edd. have Μυτηλην. the MS. Μυτυλην. male Schweigh. Μιτυλην. Μιτυλήνης however, not Μυτιλήνης, occurs in the Parian marble No. 37.

2. Methymna : Thucyd. III. 18. VIII. 23. Steph. Byz.

3. Antissa : Thucyd. Ibid. Steph. Byz.

4. Pyrrha : Thucyd. Ibid. Steph. Byz.

5. Eressus : Thucyd. Ibid. Steph. Byz. Herodot. I. 151. πέντε πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται.

6. Arisba : Herodot. Ibid. τὴν ἔκτῃ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκισμένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡδραποῦσαν Μηθυμναῖοι. conf. Steph. Byz.

7. Tenedos : Thucyd. VII. 57. Herodot. I. 151. ἐν Τενέδῳ μία οἰκείται πόλις.

8. Hecatonnesi : Herodot. Ibid. ἐν τῇσι Ἐκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένῃσι ἑλλή μία.

Velleius I. 4. names *Smyrnam*, *Cymen*, *Larissam*, *Myrinam*, *Mitylenemque*, et alias urbes quæ sunt in *Lesbo insula*. Herodot. I. 151. αἷται αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐκ τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκισμένων· κεχωρῖσται γὰρ αἷται. One of the towns in Ida was Antandros : Steph. Byz. Ἀνταῖρος. πόλις ἐπὶ

τὴν Ἰδὴν πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῆς Αἰολίδας, ἀπὸ Ἀντάνδρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Αἰολέων.

\* See above p. 79. In the first attempt in which *Hyllus* fell, the *Heraclidæ* were met at the Isthmus by the Achæans, Ionians, and Arcadians of Tegea ; and *Hyllus* was slain in single combat by *Echemus* : Herodot. IX. 26. προεκρίθη ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἐβελοντῆς Ἐχεμος. Schol. Pindar. Ol. X. 79. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἐχέμου τὸν Ἕλλον φασὶ τελευτῆσαι κατιόντα εἰς Πελοπόννησον. This happened ἐπεὶ τε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Herodot. Ibid. That is, soon after the death of *Eurystheus*. In the reign of *Atreus* : Diod. IV. 58. who had been raised to the government through fear of this attempt of the *Heraclidæ* : Thucyd. I. 9. *Echemus*, who slew *Hyllus*, was himself dead before the Trojan war : Pausan. VIII. 5, 2. and the account of Apollodorus II. 8, 2. places the expedition of *Hyllus* four years after the death of *Eurystheus* : ἀπολομένου δὲ Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἦλθον οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι καὶ πάσας εἶλον τὰς πόλεις. ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ γενομένη φθορὰ πᾶσαν Πελοπόννησον κατέσχε κ. τ. λ.—Ἄλλος δὲ—παραγενόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπυνθάνετο πῶς ἂν κατέλθοιεν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔφησε περιμείναντας τὸν τρίτον καρπὸν κατέρχεσθαι. νομίσας δὲ Ἄλλος τρίτον καρπὸν λέγεσθαι τὴν τριετίαν τοσούτων περιμείνας χρόνον σὺν τῷ στρατῷ κατῆι \* \* These positions coincide with the dates already given p. 77. 78. from Herodotus and Schol. Thucyd. which place the death of *Hyllus* twenty years before the fall of Troy. And if four years had elapsed from the death of *Eurystheus*, we may place the death of *Hercules* about six years before the death of *Hyllus*, and in the twenty-sixth year before the Trojan era, as in the table at p. 77. Diodorus I. c. makes the return of the *Heraclidæ* to be effected fifty years after the death of *Hyllus* : Ἄλλος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλέους εἰς μονομαχίαν προκαλέσαστο τῶν πολεμίων τὸν βουλόμενον ὁμολογίας θέμενος τοιαύτας κ. τ. λ.—εἰ Ἄλλος λευφθεῖ μὴ κατιέναι τοὺς Ἡρακλεῖδας εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐντὸς ἐτῶν πενήκοντα. καταβάντες δ' εἰς τὴν πρόκλησιν Ἐχέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τεγεατῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἄλλος ἀνῆρθη οἱ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀπέστησαν τῆς καθόδου, καὶ τὴν εἰς Τρικόρινθον ἱπάνοδον ἐποιήσαντο.—ὥς ὁ πεντηκονταετῆς χρόνος διῆλθε, κατῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. Diodorus is here inconsistent with himself ; for he places the death of *Hyllus* thirty years after the Trojan war, since he places it fifty years before the return, which according to Diodorus himself was eighty years



*daus* γ; a third by *Aristomachus* son of *Cleodæus*, after the death of *Orestes*, which was repelled by *Tisamenus* z. After the sons of *Aristomachus* were grown up, the Dorians made another effort, which succeeded. This fourth invasion, led by *Temenus*, *Aristodemus*, and *Cresphontes*, sons of *Aristomachus* a, which was in the eightieth year after the fall of Troy b,

after that war. And yet he himself relates that *Hyllus* was slain immediately after the death of *Eurystheus* and in the reign of *Atreus*. It is evident that he has confounded two accounts of this event; the erroneous account noticed by Pausanias I. 41, 3. which placed the death of *Hyllus* in the reign of *Orestes*, with the true account, also noticed by Pausanias, VIII. 5, 1. which placed it before the Trojan war and before the reign of *Agapenor*.

y Heyne ad Apollod. II. 8, 2. and others have remarked the corruption of this name. Few names have been more corrupted. He is 'Αριδαῖος in Euseb. Præp. V. 20. Κλεόδοτος Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 804. Κλεοδάμου Pausan. II. 7, 6. Κλεοδέου III. 15, 7. Κλεάδας in Schol. Pindar. Isthm. VII. 18. Κλεαδάτης in Syncellus p. 262. C. The expedition of *Cleodæus* is recorded by *Cænomaus* apud Euseb. Præp. V. p. 210. C. φέρε τὰ καθήκοντα διέλθω τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας διηγήματος. οἱτοι γάρ ποθ' ὠρμημένοι κατὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐσφάλησαν. 'Αριστόμαχος οὖν ὁ 'Αριδαίου, ἐπειδὴ ὁ 'Αριδαῖος ἐτεθνῆκει ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ, ἔρχεται ἀκουσόμενος παρὰ σοῦ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπεθύμει δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πατήρ. σὺ δ' αὐτῷ λέγεις,

νίκην σοι φαίνουσι θεοὶ δι' ὁδοῦ στενύγων.

καὶ ὅς κατὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ὤρμησεν ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ μάχῃ τελευτῆ. τοῦτον δὲ υἱὸς ὦν ὁ Τήμενος κακοδαίμων [1. ὁ κ.] ἦκεν ἐκ κακοδαίμωνων τρίτος. σὺ δ' αὐτῷ παρεγγυῆς ἃ καὶ 'Αριστομάχῳ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα. κάκεινός σοι (ἔφη) πεισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ, καὶ σὺ ἔφης, οὐ κατὰ γῆν λέγω στενύγην ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐρυγαστέρα. ἐπειδὴ χαλεπὸν ἦν εἰπεῖν “κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν.” κάκεινός ἦε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν κ. τ. λ. Theodoret Therapeut. X. p. 628. C.=958. mentions the expedition of *Aristomachus*: καὶ γὰρ 'Αριστόμαχος οὐ νενηκώς τὴν στενύγην τὸν μὲν πορθμὸν καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέλιπε, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ προσβαλὼν τὸν βίον κατέλυσεν. The Scholiast on Pindar Isthm. VII. 18. mentions also that of *Cleodæus*: τῶν σὺν ταῖς Ἡρακλείδαις εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατελθόντων, ὃν 'Αριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεάδα καὶ Κλεάδας ὁ Τλλοῦ ἡγούντα. The text in Apollodorus II. 8, 2. is mutilated:—'Αριστόμαχος θήσκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠνδρόθησαν οἱ Κλεοδαίου παῖδες, ἐχρῶντο περὶ καθόδου. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅ τι καὶ τὸ πρότερον, Τήμενος ἡττιᾶτο λέγων ταῦτα πεισθέντα ἀτυχῆσαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀντεῖπε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ χρησμούς οὐ συμβάλλειν· λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον, καὶ στενύγαν τὴν εὐρυγαστέρα, δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. ταῖτα Τήμενος ἀκούσας ἡτοίμαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἐπήξατο κ. τ. λ. The

name Κλεοδάου, as Heyne ad loc. remarks, is here out of place: *insertum alieno loco, cum sint hoc loco οἱ 'Αριστομάχου παῖδες intelligendi*. But Heyne justly determines that a chasm occurs in the text between the mention of *Hyllus* and the mention of *Aristomachus*: *Mihi quidem manifestum fit post καθεῖ esse lacunam et excidisse locum de Hylli cæde, &c.* It is manifest that *Cleodæus* and the oracle νίκην—στενύγων had both been mentioned. According to Schol. Aristid. tom. III. p. 651. Dindorf. this oracle had been given to *Hyllus* himself: οἱ περὶ Τλλοῦ Ἡρακλείδαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἤροντο πῶς ἂν κρατήσῃ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, καὶ ἔχρησεν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατελθεῖν. μὴ συνιέντες δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κατήρχοντο ἀπαντησάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἔδοξε μονομαχήσαι κ. τ. λ.

z See Apollodorus quoted above p. 104. m. We have seen already some testimonies to the expedition of *Aristomachus*. He occurs in Pausanias II. 7, 6. 'Αριστόμαχος ὁ Κλεοδάμου τῆς γενομένης μαντείας ἀμαρτῶν δι' αὐτὸ καὶ καθόδου τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤμαρτεν.

a Their descent is given by Herodotus VII. 204. 'Αριστοδήμου τοῦ 'Αριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Τλλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. And again VI. 52. Syncellus p. 262. C. Τημένου τοῦ 'Αριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεαδάτου τοῦ Τλλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Phlegon de Olymp. p. 142. 'Αριστοδήμου τοῦ 'Αριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Τλλοῦ, Ἡρακλέους. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 804. omits *Aristomachus*: ὁ Τήμενος οὗτος ἐκγονος ἦν Ἡρακλέους· Ἡρακλέος γὰρ καὶ Διγανείρας Τλλος. Τλλοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἰόλης τῆς Εὐρύτου Κλεόδοτος, Λίχας, καὶ Κῆρξ, Κλεοδότου δὲ καὶ Περιδείας ὁ Τήμενος οὗτος καὶ ἕτεροι.

b Thucyd. I. 12. Δωριῆς τε ὀδοηκοστῆς ἔτει (μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσης) ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον. Eratosthenes apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 336. B. ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδων καθόδον ἔτη ὀδοήκοντα. Apollodorus apud Diod. I. 5. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀκολουθῶς Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τίθεμεν ὀδοήκοντα ἔτη πρὸς τὴν καθόδον τῶν Ἡρακλείδων. This number has been adopted by Velleius I. 2. *Tum fere anno octogesimo post Trojam captam—Pelopis progenies—ab Herculis progenie expellitur. Duces recuperandi imperii fuerunt Temenus, Cresphontes, Aristodemus, quorum atavus fuerat.* Crates apud Tatian. p. 107. οἱ περὶ Κράτητα πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείδων καθόδου φασὶν Ὀμηρον ἡκμακέναι, μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, ἐνδοτέρω τὴν ὀδοήκοντα ἐτῶν. Pseudo-Plutarch. de vita Homeri tom. V. p. 1070. Wytt. οἱ μὲν περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον φασὶν Ὀμηρον γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν, ἥτις ὑστερεῖ τῆς τῶν Ἡρακλείδων καθόδου



and 100 years after the attempt of *Hyllus*, we may place perhaps fifty years after the death of *Cleodæus*<sup>c</sup> and about twenty after the death of *Aristomachus*<sup>d</sup>. The three brothers, ac-

ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λείπεται τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἔτεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα. εἰ δὲ περὶ Κράτητα καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείδων καθόδου λέγουσιν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, ὡς οὐδὲ ὅλα ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχειν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. From this passage compared with Tatian p. 108. Clemens p. 326. D. we may collect that Aristarchus also adopted the date of Eratosthenes. All however did not agree in this amount. Some computed the period at 120 years, according to Clemens Strom. I. p. 336. D. ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείδων καθόδον ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, ἢ ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα. Castor, as we have seen p. 82, if Eusebius rightly represents his numbers, reckoned the interval at less than eighty years.

<sup>c</sup> Eusebius Chron. II. p. 300. records anno 869. *Oxyntis* 1<sup>o</sup> secundum nonnullos *Heraclidarum incursio*; which Syncellus thus expresses p. 177. D. Ἡρακλείδων καθόδος ἑτῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παίδος Ἡρακλείου ἡγουμένου τῆς κατὰ Πελοποννησίαν μάχης; κ. τ. λ. The date of Eusebius gives the thirty-fourth year from the fall of Troy. When we compare Diodorus quoted p. 106. x. who reckons that the *Heraclidæ* returned fifty years after the attempt of *Hyllus* in the reign of *Atræus*, and the account in Pausanias I. 41, 3. (which he afterwards rejects) that the expedition of *Hyllus* was in the reign of *Orestes*, we may conclude that this expedition in the reign of *Orestes*, about the thirty-fourth year from the Trojan era, or the thirtieth according to Diodorus, was in reality the expedition of *Cleodæus*, which was confounded with that of *Hyllus* by some, and with the true return by others. From the date, then, in Eusebius, compared with Diodorus, it appears probable that the attempt of *Cleodæus* was referred to the fiftieth or the fifty-fourth year after the death of *Hyllus*; and this would place it at about the twenty-second or twenty-sixth year of the reign of *Orestes*.

It is no argument against the truce for 100 years that this term was not completed. The thirty years' truce in B. C. 445, and the fifty years' truce in B. C. 421, were not observed. But it is also probable that the tradition of a fifty years' truce might have been preserved because fifty years elapsed from the death of *Hyllus* to the death of *Cleodæus*, and the tradition of a 100 years' truce because that period intervened between the death of *Hyllus* and the actual return of the *Heraclidæ*.

<sup>d</sup> *Aristomachus* fell not more than twenty years before the final conquest; because his death occurred within the reign of *Tisamenus*, as already shewn, and probably not much less, be-

cause in the interval his sons grew to manhood—ἠνδρώθησαν Apollod. II. 8, 2. Larcher Herod. tom. VII. p. 583, 584. rightly makes the interval nineteen years, but improperly places the death of *Aristomachus* within the reign of *Orestes*, contrary to Apollodorus. Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 3. brings down the death of *Hyllus* to a lower point, and supposes him to have fallen during the absence of *Agamemnon* at the siege of Troy, because if *Agamemnon* had remained in Greece *Echemus* would not have had the command of the army, and because *Echemus* reigned at the same time with *Agapenor*. But this is contrary to the authorities already produced; and those testimonies are confirmed by the probable state of things. For it is much more likely that the *Pelopidæ* would have carried their forces to Troy after the danger from the Dorians was at an end, than that they would have withdrawn their army while the attack of *Hyllus* was yet impending. Moreover *Echemus* preceded *Agapenor*. And it is not said that *Echemus* commanded; he is only one of the allied leaders. Clavier also p. 8. places the death of *Aristomachus* fifty years after the death of *Hyllus*, and rejects the expedition of *Cleodæus*, which he affirms to rest on the sole authority of Cénomaus. But we have seen it also mentioned by the Scholiast on Pindar, and strongly indicated by the date which Eusebius preserves, thirty-four years from the fall of Troy. Isocrates Archidam. p. 119. b. in his narrative of the claims of the *Heraclidæ* only notices the final and successful effort: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον—κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναμιν ἐν πολλοῖς πλόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἦσαν, τελευτήσαντος δ' Εὐρυσθέως κατέκλινον ἐν Δωριεῦσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρίτης γενεᾶς ἀφίκοντο εἰς Δελφοὺς, χρήσασθαι τῇ μαντείᾳ περὶ τινῶν βουλευθέντες. ὁ δὲ θεὸς περὶ μὲν ὧν ἐπηρώτησαν οὐκ ἀνέειπεν ἐκέλευσε δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἵεναι χώραν. σκοπούμενοι δὲ τὴν μαντείαν εὗρισκον Ἀργὸς μὲν κατ' ἀγχιστείαν αὐτῶν γινόμενον—Λακεδαιμόνα δὲ κατὰ δόσιν—Μεσσηνίαν δὲ δοριμέλῳ ληφθεῖσαν—ὑπολαβόντες δ' οὕτως ἔχριν τὴν μαντείαν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἑματέρους παραλαβόντες καὶ στρατόπεδον συστήσαντες τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν χώραν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς συνακολουθήσαντι ἔδοσαν τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἐξαιρετὸν αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἔλαβον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς πλοῖσις ἀλλήλοις δόντες ἐποιούντο τὴν στρατείαν. But we cannot conclude from hence that Isocrates had never heard of the other attempts. He mentions only what was necessary to his purpose. Thus in Panath. p. 286. a. he gives a different account of the motives of the invaders: Δωριεῖς ὄντες ἐπειδὴ κατεῖδον τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἀδίδους καὶ



accompanied by *Oxylus* from *Ætolia*\*, conquered *Tisamenus*. *Oxylus* was established in Elis†;

μικρὰς καὶ πολλῶν ἰνδεεῖς οὔσας, ὑπεριδόντες ταύτας ἐστρά-  
τευσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρωτευούσας, ἐπ' Ἄργος  
καὶ Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ Μεσσήνην, μάχῃ δὲ νικήσαντες τοὺς  
μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξέβαλον  
κ. τ. λ. He omits here the oracle and the claims  
of the *Heraclidæ*: he omits in both passages the  
attempt of *Hyllus*, which he could not but have  
known. We are not then to infer from the si-  
lence of Isocrates that he only believed one expe-  
dition. Aristides tom. II. p. 215. notices the un-  
successful attacks: ἔως μὲν γὰρ δι' Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς εἰσβο-  
λῆς ἐπειρώοντο, ἡτύχουν· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν Ἀ-  
χαϊκὸν εὗρον αὐτὸν πόρον ὄντα τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς. διόπερ  
ἐκείνοις ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῶν στενῶν τούτων ἐπιχειρεῖν προὔλεγεν.  
οἱ δὲ ἀγνοήσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τραπόμενοι μικροῦ καθά-  
παξ ἀπώλοντο.

\* According to Apollodorus II. 8, 3. they were  
also accompanied by *Pamphylus* and *Dymas* sons  
of *Ægimius*, who fell in the action: ὑπόκειται δὲ  
συμμάχουντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Αἰγίμιου παῖδες Πάμφυλος καὶ  
Δύμας. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. V. 92. ὅηλον ὅτι καὶ οἱ  
Αἰγίμιου παῖδες Δύμας καὶ Πάμφυλος συγκατήλθον τοῖς  
Ἡρακλείδαις. But these were contemporary with  
*Hyllus*. From these three the three Dorian  
tribes received their names: see above p. 70. l.  
Herodot. V. 68. Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανά-  
τας. Pindarus apud Boeckh. tom. I. p. 577. κλεινὰ  
δὲ καὶ ναυσίκλητος Αἰγίνα· σὺν θεῶν δὲ νῦν αἴσῃ Ὑλλου τε  
καὶ Αἰγίμιου Δωριεὺς ἐλθὼν στρατὸς ἐκτίσσετο. Boeckh.  
Inscr. Gr. No. 1128. *Argis*.—ἀ φύλα τῶν Ὑλλέων.  
No. 1123. *Argis*.—ἀ φύλα τῶν Δυμάνων. See Mul-  
ler Dor. vol. II. p. 76. who refers to these testi-  
monies together with some others, and justly  
concludes that wherever there were Dorians  
there were also Hyllæans, Pamphylians, and *Dy-  
manes*. Hence he explains the term *τριχάικες* in  
Homer and Hesiod to mean “the thrice divided  
“Dorians.” If the account in Apollodorus and  
in the Scholiast had any foundation, we must  
suppose that the names of the tribes had been  
converted into the names of individuals, and that  
under the terms *Pamphylus* and *Dymas* were  
described the leaders of those two tribes who ac-  
companied the *Heraclidæ* into Peloponnesus.  
Pausanias II. 28, 3. preserves a narrative which  
places *Pamphylus* a generation later still, and de-  
viates yet further from the truth; where it is  
related that *Pamphylus* married a daughter of  
*Deiphontes*: ταύτην Πάμφυλον τὸν Αἰγίμιον λέγουσιν  
ὑστερον γῆμαι.

† *Oxylus* was the grandson of *Thoas* (who was  
present at Troy) and descended in the ninth or  
tenth degree from *Ætolus*. Pausanias V. 3, 5.  
makes him the ninth from *Ætolus*: Ὀξύλος Αἰμο-  
νος τοῦ Θόατος. Θόας δὲ ἦν αὐτός ὃς καὶ τοῖς Ἀτρείας παι-

σὶν ἀρχὴν συγκαθεῖλε τὴν Πριάμου. γενεαὶ δὲ ἀπὸ Θόα-  
τος ἀνήκουσιν ἐξ ἑς Αἰτωλῶν τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνος. See above  
p. 41. An epigram apud Strabon. X. p. 463.  
makes him the tenth: Ἐφορος—φρῆσιν ἀφικομένου  
ἐξ Ἡλίδος Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος—τοὺς μὲν Κουρήτας  
εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἀκαρνανίαν ὑποχωρήσας τοὺς δ' Αἰ-  
τωλοὺς συγκατελθόντας Ἐπειοὺς τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας κτίσας  
τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πόλεων· δεκάτῃ δ' ὕστερον γενεῇ τὴν Ἡλιν  
ὑπὸ Ὀξύλου τοῦ Αἰμονος συνοικισθῆναι περαιωθέντος ἐκ τῆς  
Αἰτωλίας. παρατίθησι δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων μαρτύρια τὰ ἐπι-  
γράμματα, τὸ μὲν ἐν Θέρμοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὅπου τὰς ἀρ-  
χαϊρεσίας ποιεῖσθαι πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, ἐγκεχαραγμένον  
τῇ βάσει τῆς Αἰτωλοῦ εἰκόνης· “Χώρης” κ. τ. λ.—τὸ δ' ἐν  
τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀξύλου ἀνδριάντι·

Αἰτωλὸς ποτε τόνδε λιπὼν αὐτόχθονα δῆμον  
κτίσαστο Κουρήτιν γῆν δορί πολλὰ καμῶν·  
τῆς δ' αὐτῆς γενεᾶς δεκατὸς πορος Αἰμονος υἱὸς  
Ὀξύλος ἀρχαίην ἔκτισε τῆνδε πόλιν.

Apollodorus I. 7, 7. combined with Antoninus  
Liberal. would place only six generations between  
*Ætolus* and *Oxylus*: Αἰτωλοῦ—Πλεύρων καὶ Καλυδῶν  
ἐγένετο—Καλυδῶνος δὲ καὶ Αἰολίας τῆς Ἀμφυθάνος  
Ἐπικάστη καὶ Πρωτογένεια, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἄρεος Ὀξύλος.  
Antonin. c. 32. mentions Ἀνδράμιον δ' Ὀξύλου. If  
*Andraemon* son of *Oxylus* was the father of *Thoas*,  
as Clavier Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 97. supposes  
(which however is not very clear, since *Andrae-  
mon* son of *Oxylus* lived in *Dryopis* and mar-  
ried *Dryopē*: Antonin. Ibid. and *Andraemon* fa-  
ther of *Thoas* lived in *Ætolia* and married *Gorgē*:  
Apollod. I. 8, 1), then the first *Oxylus* was  
grandfather of *Thoas*, and the second *Oxylus*  
was the eighth from *Ætolus*. The Scholiast on  
Homer. *Iliad*. v. 218. will add another genera-  
tion: Αἰτωλὸς—τεκνοῦται Πλευρόνα—τούτου δὲ γίνονται  
δύο παῖδες, Κούρης καὶ Καλυδῶν. οὗτω Δημάχρος, which  
would agree with the nine generations of Pausa-  
nias. In Strabo δεκάτῃ seems to have been  
rightly restored by some editors. In the extant  
copies the passage stands, τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας δέκα. τῇ  
δ' ὕστερον γενεῇ. retained by Siebel. ad Pausan.  
and by Marx Ephori fragm. p. 127.

*Oxylus* became the guide of the *Heraclidæ*:  
Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 22. Ὀξύλος τις ἀνὴρ, εἰς τῶν  
Αἰτωλῶν, ἦν ἵκα ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἡπει-  
ραντο καθηγῆσθαι αὐτοῖς τῆς οδοῦ, ἀντιδόσεως δὲ τρόφον  
τὴν Ἡλείων ἡγεμονίαν παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνει. Pausan.  
V. 3, 5. ἐπὶ Ἡλείῳ βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἡλίδι [the grand-  
son of *Amphimachus* who fought at Troy], τηνι-  
καῦτα ὁ Δωριεὺς στόλος σὺν τοῖς Ἀριστομάχῳ πασι  
ἡθροΐετο ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐς Πελοπόννησον. γίγνεται δὲ τοῖς βα-  
σιλεύουσιν αὐτῶν λόγῳ τῷδε, ἡγεμονία τῆς καθόδου ποιεῖσθαι  
τὸν τριόφθαλμον. ἀποροῦσι δὲ σφισιν ὅτι ὁ χρῆσμος ἐθέλοι  
συνέτυχεν ἐλαύνων ἀνὴρ ἡμίονον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος διέφθαρτο τῇ  
ἡμίονῳ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Κρεσφόντου δὲ συμφρονήσαντος



*Temenus* the eldest of the brothers had Argos for his share ε, where *Cisus* his eldest son succeeded him. But the people so abridged the royal authority that they left to *Medon*, son of *Cisus*, and to his successors, little more than the name of king<sup>h</sup>. *Temenus* himself was murdered by his sons, jealous of his son-in-law *Deiphontes*, also descended from *Hercules*<sup>i</sup>. *Cres-*

ως ἐς τούτων τὸν ἄνδρα ἔχει τὸ μάντευμα, οὕτως φκείωσαν-  
το αὐτὸν οἱ Δωριεῖς—ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἦν Ὀξύλος.—συνεπε-  
τάκει δὲ τῷ Ὀξύλῳ φυγάδι ἐξ Αἰτωλίας εἶναι. Apol-  
lod. II. 8, 3. τὸν τριφθαλμον ἐξήτουν· καὶ περιτυγχά-  
νουσιν Ὀξύλῳ τῷ Ἀνδραίμανος ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενῳ μονοφ-  
θάλμῳ· τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκκέκοπτο τόξῳ· ἐπὶ  
φόνῳ γὰρ οὕτως φυγὰν εἰς Ἥλιον καὶ ἐκείθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν,  
ἐνῆεν αὐτῷ διελθόντος, ἐπανήρχετο. Strabo VIII. p. 357.  
Ἐφερός φησιν Αἰτωλῶν ἐκπεσόντα—ἐκ τῆς Ἥλειας εἰς τὴν  
Αἰτωλίαν ἰνυμάσαι τε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν—τούτου δ'  
ἀπόγονον ὑπάρξαστα Ὀξύλον φίλον τοῖς περὶ Τήμενον Ἡρα-  
κλειδαῖς ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ὁδῶν—ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου λαβεῖν χά-  
ριον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἥλειαν κάθοδον προγονικὴν εἶσαν. To  
this return of *Oxyllus* Herodotus refers VIII. 73. when he assigns Elis to the Ætolians: Αἰτω-  
λῶν Ἥλις· μάλιστα. Larcher ad loc. not adverting to  
this Ætolian original of *Oxyllus* and his followers,  
proposes to alter Αἰτωλῶν into Αἰολέων.

ε Plato Leg. III. p. 683. d. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς γε  
λέγεται τὸ τοῦ μύθου, τριχῇ τὸ στράτευμα διανεμάντας  
τρεῖς πόλεις κατοικίσειν, Ἀργος, Μεσσήνην, Λακεδαίμονα.  
καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀργεὺς Τήμενος ἐγήνητο Μεσσήνης δὲ  
Κρεσφόντης Λακεδαίμονος δὲ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης.  
Schol. Pindar. Pyth. V. 92. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοδήμου  
παῖδες Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἔσχον τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ὁ δὲ  
Τήμενος τὸ Ἀργος, ὁ δὲ Κρεσφόντης τὴν Μεσσήνην. Pau-  
san. IV. 3, 3. Τημέμφ τῶν Δωριέων Ἀργος ἐφέντων  
ἔχειν, Κρεσφόντης γῆν σφᾶς ἤτει τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἄτε καὶ  
αὐτὸς Ἀριστοδήμου πρεσβύτερος. Ἀριστοδήμος μὲν οὖν  
ἐτόγγαζεν ἦδη τετινῶς, Θήρας δὲ ὁ Αἰτεσίνοος τῷ Κρεσ-  
φόντῃ μάλιστα ἠφανιστοῦτο, τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Θηβαῖός τε  
καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Πελινέικος τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, τότε δὲ  
ἐπετρέπευεν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Αἰτεσίνοος πρὸς μητρός  
[see p. 86. l.] *Temenus* takes the lead in the ex-  
pedition in Apollod. II. 8, 2. *Cenomaüs* apud  
Euseb. Præp. p. 211.

<sup>h</sup> Pausan. II. 19, 2. See below, Appendix c. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Apollod. II. 8, 5. Τήμενος μὲν οὖν παραπεμπόμενος  
τοῖς παῖδας Ἀγέλαν καὶ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Καλλίαν τῇ θυ-  
γατρὶ προσαίχων Τρηβοῖ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ Δηϊφόντῃ  
ἔδεν οἱ παῖδες πείθουσι Τιτᾶνας ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὸν πατέρα αὐ-  
τῶν φονεῖν. γινόμενοι δὲ τοῦ φόνου, τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ  
στρατὴς ἔχειν ὀικαίωσεν Τρηβοῖ καὶ Δηϊφόντῃ. Pau-  
sanias II. 19, 1. gives the following account:  
Τήμενος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φανερῷ Δηϊφόντῃ τῷ Ἀντιμάχῳ τοῦ  
Θρασυάωρος τοῦ Κτησιππεύ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου στρατηγῷ  
πρὸς τὰς μάχας ἐχρήσατο ἀντὶ τῶν υἱῶν καὶ σύμβουλων ἐς  
τὰ πάντα εἶχεν, ἅτε αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πεποιημένους πρότερον  
εἶναι γαμβρῶν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ Τρηβοῖ μάλ-  
ιστα. ὡς περὶ τὸν δὲ ἦδη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς ἐκείνην  
καὶ Δηϊφόντην τρέπειν. ἐπιβουλήθη δὲ τούτων εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ

τῶν υἱῶν. ἐκείνων δὲ αὐτῷ Κεῖσος πρεσβύτατος ὃν ἔσχε  
τὴν ἀρχήν. He relates II. 28. what occurred after  
the death of *Temenus*: ὥς Ἐπιδάυριοι τε λέγουσι καὶ  
εἰκὸς ἔχει γράφω. Κεῖσος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τημένου παῖδες μάλ-  
ιστα ἤδεσαν Δηϊφόντην λυπήσοντες εἰ διαλύσαι πῶς ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ τὴν Τρηβοῖ δινηθεῖεν· ἀφίκοντο οὖν ἐς Ἐπιδάυρον  
Κερύνης καὶ Φάλκης· Ἀγραῖα γὰρ τῷ νεωτάτῳ τὰ ποιού-  
μενα οὐκ ἤρεσκεν· οὗτοι δὲ στήσαντες τὸ ἄρμα ὑπὸ τῷ τεῖ-  
χος κήρυκα ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν—ὥς δὲ ὑπὸ  
καυσε καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ νεανίσκοι πολλὰ μὲν Δηϊφόντου  
κατηγόρου πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἰκέτευον ἐκείνην ἐπανάκειν ἐς  
Ἀργος—Τρηβοῖ δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀλγίστα ἀπεδίδου  
σφίσι τὴν ἴσπην, Δηϊφόντην μὲν αὐτῇ τε ἀνδρὰ ἀρεστὸν εἶ-  
ναι φήσασα καὶ Τημέμφ γενέσθαι γαμβρὸν οὐ μεμπτόν,  
ἐκείνοις δὲ Τημένον προσήκειν σφαγεῦσιν ἰνυμάζεσθαι μά-  
λον ἢ παισὶ κ. τ. λ. In the sequel *Deiphontes* kills  
*Cerynes*, and *Phalces Hyrnetho*. Δηϊφόντης δὲ σὺν  
τοῖς παισὶν—ἀναλαβόντες τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Τρηβοῖς κομί-  
ζουσιν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀνὰ χρόνον Τρηβοῖ κληθέν.  
Idem II. 26, 1. (Ἐπιδάυρου) βασιλεῦσαι φασί Πιτυρέα  
Ἰωνος ἀπόγονον τοῦ Εὐρύτου. τούτων παραδύναμι λέγουσιν  
ἀμαχεῖ τὴν γῆν Δηϊφόντῃ καὶ Ἀργείοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀ-  
θήνας ὁμοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἄκησε, Δηϊ-  
φόντης δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Ἐπιδάυριαν ἔσχον. ἀπεσχίσθη-  
σαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀργεῖων, Τημένου τελευτήσαντος,  
Δηϊφόντης μὲν καὶ Τρηβοῖ κατ' ἔχθος τῶν Τημένου παί-  
δων, ὁ δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατὸς Δηϊφόντῃ καὶ Τρηβοῖ πλέον  
ἢ Κεῖσος καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς νέμοντες. *Deiphontes* there-  
fore reigned or dwelt at Epidaurus after the  
death of *Temenus*, and *Cisus* at Argos. Other  
passages record that *Deiphontes* occupied Epi-  
daurus: Pausan. II. 29, 5. μοῖρα Ἀργεῖων τῶν Ἐπί-  
δαυρον ὁμοῦ Δηϊφόντῃ κατασχόντων διαβᾶσα ἐς Αἰγίνα  
καὶ Αἰγινήταις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γενόμενοι σύνοικοι τὰ Δωριέων  
ἔθνη καὶ φωνὴν κατεστήσαντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. Conf. VII.  
4, 3. And *Phalces* Sicyon: see II. 6, 4. quoted  
at p. 29. q. Ephorus apud Strab. VIII. p. 389.  
τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τοὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον, Κορίνθου  
μὲν Ἀλήτην, Σικυῶνος δὲ Φάλκην, Ἀχαΐας δὲ Τισαμενὸν,  
Ἡλίδος δ' Ὀξύλον, Μεσσήνης δὲ Κρεσφόντην, Λακεδαίμο-  
νος δὲ Εὐρυσθένη καὶ Προκλῆν, Ἀργεὺς δὲ Τήμενον, καὶ τῶν  
περὶ τὴν Ἀκτὴν Αἰγαῖον καὶ Δηϊφόντην. Hence Scym-  
nus 528.

Φάλκην δὲ τὸν Σικυῶνα· τὴν δ' Ἀχαΐαν  
Τισαμενὸν· Ἡλίδος δ' ὑπάρχειν Ὀξύλον  
ἡγήμενα, Κρεσφόντην δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνιας,  
Εὐρυσθένη δὲ καὶ Πρόκλῃν Λακεδαίμονος,  
Ἀργεὺς δὲ Κίρσον καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Τήμενον,  
τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀκτὴν Ἀγαῶν, ὥς λόγος,  
καὶ Δηϊφόντην υἱὸν οὕτω Τημένου.

The words in Strabo περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν are verified



*phontes*, who obtained Messenia, was also slain with two of his sons by a faction<sup>k</sup>. *Aristodemus*, the youngest of the three brothers, died according to some accounts before the armament had entered Peloponnesus<sup>l</sup>; but according to the Lacedæmonians themselves he survived till the termination of the expedition, and died in possession of Sparta<sup>m</sup>.

by Scymnus, who doubtless followed Ephorus. Heyne ad Apollod. II. 8, 5. p. 518. has neglected this passage of Scymnus. The various names 'Αργαῖος in Pausanias, 'Αγαυός in Scymnus, Αἰγαῖος in Strabo, 'Αγέλαος in Apollodorus, are probably corruptions of the same name, and designate the same person, with scarcely more variations than we have seen at p. 107. γ. in the name Κλεοδαῖος. Wesseling ad Diod. XV. 31. reads 'Αργαῖος in Scymnus and Pausanias, which was perhaps the true form, since it occurs in the Macedonian kings who were descended from *Temenus*. The memory of *Hyrnetho* was preserved by the Argives in the name of a tribe added to the three Doric tribes: Steph. Byz. Δυμῶν. προσετίθη ἡ 'Τρηθία. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 1130. p. 582. *Argis*:—ἀ φύλα τῶν 'Τραθίων. No. 1131. *Argis*:—ἀ φύλα ὧν .ναθίων. *Althamenes* a son of *Cisus* settled a colony in Crete, and *Cisus* himself according to Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 481. reigned at Argos in the time of *Procles* king of Sparta: 'Εφορός φησι—τὸν νομοθέτην Λυκοῦργον πέντε γενεαῖς νεώτερον 'Αλθαίμενον εἶναι τοῦ στεφαντος τὴν εἰς Κρήτην ἀποικίαν τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἱστορεῖσθαι Κίσσον παῖδα τοῦ τὸ 'Αργος κτίσαντος περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἦνίκα Προκλῆς τὴν Σπάρτην συνῴκιζε.

<sup>k</sup> Strabo VIII. p. 361. 'Εφορός δὲ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἐπειδὴ εἶλε Μεσσήνην διελὼν φησιν εἰς πέντε πόλεις αὐτὴν, ὥστε τὴν Στενίκλαρον μὲν ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τῆς χώρας ταύτης κειμένην ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλείαν αὐτῇ τῆς βασιλείας. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ 'Ιαμίτην πέμψαι πρεσβευτὴν εἰς Πύλον καὶ 'Ρίον τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπαντας τοὺς Δωριεῦσιν ἰσχυροῦς ποιήσοντας· ἀναξιοπαθόντων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων, μεταγρόντα μόνην τὴν Στενίκλαρον νομίσαι πόλιν, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς Δωριέας συναγαγεῖν πάντας. Pausan. IV. 3, 3. Μεσσηνίων τῶν ἀρχαίων οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν Δωριέων ὁ δῆμος ἀνάστατος, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύεσθαι τε συγχωροῦσιν ὑπὸ Κρεσφόντου καὶ ἀναδάσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Δωριέας τὴν γῆν· ταῦτα δὲ σφισιν εἶκον παρίστατο ὑποψία πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεύοντας, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐξ 'Ιωλκοῦ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Μινύαι. γυναῖκα δὲ ἔσχε Κρεσφόντης Μερόπην τὴν Κυλέην, βασιλεύοντος τότε 'Αρκάδων [see p. 92. t.], ἀφ' ἧς ἄλλοι τε δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο αὐτῇ καὶ νεώτατος Αἴπυτος. τὰ δὲ βασιλεία—ῥυκοδομήσατο ἐν Στενικλήρῃ.—διοικούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ πολλὰ ἐς χάριν τοῦ δήμου μᾶλλον, οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες αὐτὸν τε Κρεσφόντην ἐπανάσταντες καὶ τοὺς υἱὸς ἀπακτείνουσι τοὺς λοιποὺς· ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος—περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου. Apollod. II. 8, 5. Κρεσφόντης οὐ πολὺν Μεσσήνης βασιλεύσας χρόνον μετὰ δύο παῖδων φονευθεὶς ἀπέθανε. Πολυφόντης δὲ ἐβασιλευσεν, αὐτῶν τῶν 'Ηρακλείδων ὑπάρχων. καὶ τὴν τοῦ φονευθέντος γυναῖκα ἄκουσαν Μερόπην ἔλαβεν. ἀνηρέθη

δὲ καὶ οὗτος. τρίτον γὰρ ἔχουσα παῖδα Μερόπην καλούμενον Αἴπυτον ἔδωκε τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρὶ τρέφειν· οὗτος ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ κρύφα κατελθὼν ἔκτεινε τὸν Πολυφόντην καὶ τὴν πατρίαν βασιλείαν ἀπέλαβεν. The account of the stratagem by which *Cresphontes* obtained Messenia is told by Apollodorus II. 8, 4. Pausanias IV. 3, 3. In Apollodorus all the three provinces are assigned by lot: πρώτη μὲν λῆξις 'Αργος, δευτέρα Λακεδαιμόνων, τρίτη δὲ Μεσσήνη. the lot of *Cresphontes* remains the last, and he obtains Messenia. In Pausanias Argos is given to *Temenus*, and lots are cast for the other two. The lot of *Cresphontes* by a stratagem comes out the first, and he takes Messenia. Polyænus I. 6. and Schol. Soph. Aj. 1271=1285. agree with the tale of Apollodorus. Euripides apud Strab. VIII. p. 366. appears to agree with Pausanias that there were two lots, and with Apollodorus that Messenia was the last. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 73. pronounces that we are indebted to the tragic poets alone for the invention of this fable. That it was a poetical embellishment is very probable. But it is also probable that this invention was of earlier date, because Apollodorus and Pausanias usually draw their materials and their facts from older poets than the tragedians. Pausanias IV. 4, 4. makes this fraudulent acquisition one of the causes of war between Sparta and Messenia: πρότερον ἔτι ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ Κρεσφόντου κακούρηγμα ἐς τὸν κλῆρον. Isocrates Archid. p. 120. acknowledges a triple division (though not naming lots), but ascribes the claim of the Spartans upon Messenia to another cause: Μεσσηνίον εἰς τοῦτ' ἀσεβείας ἦλθον ὥστ' ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν Κρεσφόντην—διαφυγόντες δ' οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τοὺς κινδύνους ἰκέται κατέστησαν ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, ἀξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν τῇ τελευτῇ καὶ τὴν χώραν δίδοντες ἡμῖν.

<sup>l</sup> See above p. 110. g. and Ephorus apud Strab. et Scymn. at p. 110. i. According to Apollodorus II. 8, 2. he died while the armament was at Naupactus: ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ στρατεύματος 'Αριστόδημος κεραυνωθείς ἀπέθανε. According to Pausanias III. 1, 5. he was slain at Delphi: οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀποσεμνύνοντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν τοξευθῆναι λέγουσιν 'Αριστόδημον ὑπὸ 'Απόλλωνος—ὁ δὲ ἀληθέστερος ἔχει λόγος Πυλάδου τοὺς παῖδας καὶ 'Ηλέκτρας, ἀνεψιοὺς ὄντας Τισαμενεῖ τῇ 'Ορέστου, φονεῦσαι τὸν 'Αριστόδημον.

<sup>m</sup> Herodot. VI. 52. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁμολογούντες οὐδὲν ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν 'Αριστόδημον—βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν οὖν ἐκτέταται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς 'Αριστοδήμου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν 'Αρι-



At the time of the Dorian conquest, *Melanthus*, a descendant of *Neleus*, was king of Messenia. He retired to Athens, accompanied by two other branches of the family of the *Nelidae* and a large body of followers. He probably owed it to the influence of these, not less than to his success in the war against the Thebans, that he was elected king by the Athenians<sup>n</sup>. His son *Codrus* is described in many early testimonies<sup>o</sup>.

τοῦ δὲ μὲν τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα—ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοδήμον τὰ τέσσα νύμφαι τελευτῆς. In the narrative of *Enomaüs* apud Euseb. *Præp.* V. p. 210. he entered Peloponnesus, but before the expedition was completed *Aristodemus* died, and a retreat ensued: ἐπειδὴ συνεκέρησε νόσος πλησία, καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀριστοδήμος, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ Τήμενος ἐλθὼν ἀπεμέμαρτο τῇ ἀποτυχίᾳ. *Xenophon* *Ages.* 8, 7. after the Spartan account describes *Aristodemus* at Sparta: Πέτω μὲν εἷς οἰκία ἤρκει αὐτῷ [sc. Ἀγροσίλαρ] θεάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἂν τις ἐτι ταύτας ἐκείνας εἶναι ὥσπερ Ἀριστοδήμος ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ὅτε κατήλθε λαβεῖν ἐπεσθῆσθαι. Repeated by *Plutarch* *Ages.* c. 19. *Blair* in his *Tables B. C.* 1102 allows one year to *Aristodemus*, and *Mr. Muller Dor.* vol. II. p. 510. also allows "about a year" for *Aristodemus*;" which he thinks expressed by χρόνος οὐ πολλὸν in *Herodotus*. But this term οὐ πολλὸν χρόνος is used by *Herodotus* on another occasion to describe the reign of *Cleomenes I.*, nineteen or twenty-nine years: see *F. H.* II. p. 208. and may accordingly well express more than a single year in the case of *Aristodemus*, and would sufficiently agree with the twelve years assigned by *Larcher* tom. VII. p. 584. We may allow four or five years to the reign of *Aristodemus*, and place the birth of *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* in the fifth year after the Return.

<sup>n</sup> *Pausan.* II. 18, 7. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν ἐκ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ Ἀργεῖος Τισαμενὴν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορας ἀπογόνους, Ἀλκμαίωνα Σίλλου τοῦ Θρασυμήδους καὶ Πεισιστράτην τὸν Πεισιστράτου καὶ τοὺς Παίονος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπτου τοῦ Βάρου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Περικλυμένου. Τισαμενὸς μὲν οὖν ἦλθε σὺν στρατιᾷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἀχαΐαν· οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι πλὴν Πεισιστράτου (τοῦτον γὰρ οὐκ εἶδαν παρ' ὧς τινας ἀπεχώρησεν) ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο οἱ λοιποὶ, καὶ τὸ Παιονιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀνωμάσθησαν. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν, ἀφελόμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ὀξύντου. Θυμολίτης γὰρ Θησειδῶν ἱσχυαῖος ἱερασκεύειν Ἀθηναίων. *Periclymenus* the ancestor of *Melanthus* is the brother of *Nestor*: *Odys.* x'. 285. *Apollod.* I. 9, 9. II. 7, 3. Whence correct the genealogy in *F. H.* II. p. 299. k. *Larcher* tom. IV. p. 471. is inconsistent with himself at tom. VII. p. 191. 349. 350. *Antilochus* fell at Troy: *Odys.* γ'. 111. 112. *Thraexymedes* was present at Troy: *Iliad* ι'. 81. and is mentioned among the six sons of *Nestor* *Odys.* γ'. 412. See above p. 51. g. *Pisistratus* the

youngest son of *Nestor* was of the same age as *Telemachus*: *Odys.* γ'. 49. and, if his son lived till the return of the *Heracidae*, there might be about 80+12=92 years between the birth of the father and the expulsion of the son.

*Strabo* VIII. p. 359. describes the fortunes of *Melanthus*: κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἦν Μέλανθος βασιλεὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων καθ' αὐτοὺς τασσομένων· πρότερον δ' ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν τοῦ Μενελάου. XIV. p. 633. τοὺς περὶ Μέλανθον τὸν Κόδρου πατέρα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν Πυλίων συνεξαῖραι φασιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. IX. p. 393. μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον—ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς οἰκείας συνέβη πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς Μεσσηνίας βασιλεὺς Μέλανθος· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκόντων νικήσας ἐκ μονομαχίας τὸν τῶν Βωιωτῶν βασιλέα Ξάνθον.

<sup>o</sup> *Herodotus* V. 76. relates that the Dorians invaded Attica πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκησαν· οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο. V. 65. οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι—έόντες ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρου τε καὶ Μέλανθον· οὗ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες έόντες έγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλεῖς. *Plato* *Conviv.* p. 208. d. οἱ σὺ—προαποθανεῖν ἂν τὸν ὑμέτερον Κόδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παιδῶν, μὴ οἴομενον ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔσσεσθαι; *Lycurgus* *Leocr.* p. 158. relates his death: ἐπὶ Κόδρου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος Πελοποννησίοις γενομένης ἀφορίας κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔδοξε στρατεῦειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ. *Phot.* *Suid.* εὐγενέστερος Κόδρου. τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Μελάνθου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου, πατέρος δὲ Μῆδοτος καὶ Νειλέω. οὗτος ὁ Κόδρος Δωριέων ἐπιστρατεύσαντων Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φινγάδας ἐδέξαντο, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μέλανθον, χρησμοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς δοθέντος αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν ἐὰν ἀπόσχωνται τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων βασιλείως, νήσας τὸν χρησμὸν, ἀναλαβὼν ὑλοτόμου ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν Δωριέων ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνείλε. διοργισθέντες δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἀνείλαν, ὥς ἄημο... (ὥς Εὐδήμος *Suid.*) *Suidas* adds a narrative, οἱ δὲ περὶ Κόδρου φασιν ὅτι ——— ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἀνείλε τὸν Κόδρου. which is from a different source, and is entirely abridged from *Lycurgus* l. c. except that *Κλεόμαντις* the Delphian in *Lycurgus* is *Κλεομένης* the Delphian in *Suidas*. *Suidas* concludes, οἱ δὲ βῆτορες τῷ Κόδρῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐντίμου ἐχρήσαντο, ὧς φησιν Εὐδήμος ἐν τῷ περὶ λείων ῥητορικῶν. ἄημο... in *Photius* seems to have been rightly corrected into *Δῆμων*. that is, *Δῆμων* περὶ παροιμιῶν, in which he might explain the proverb εὖγ. Κόδ. *Cicero* *Tusc.* I. 48. *Codrum qui se in medios immisit hostes veste famulari, ne posset agnosci si*



In the reign of *Medon* son of *Codrus* the second great migration from Greece after the Trojan war began to occupy the coasts of Asia. These migrations of early Greece—*ἀποικίαι*—were of a different character from those which have occurred in modern Europe. The colonies which the nations of modern Europe have planted in the East and in America were not emancipated from their allegiance to the mother country. They existed for the supposed benefit of the parent state. But by the emigrations of the Greeks a new state was created, legislating for itself, and conducting its own concerns in peace and war. In the Greek emigrations the new establishment was not the vassal, but the equal of its parent state<sup>p</sup>. The spirit of modern colonization appears in what the South American states and the United States of the North originally were to the mother countries, Spain and Britain. The character of the Grecian settlements is seen in what they have become since their independence. But as among the Greeks this independence existed from the first, there was nothing to produce hostile feelings between the old and the new state. They were bound together by a community of interest and of language, by common institutions and religious rites; and the relation in which they stood led to a respect which was not forcibly exacted by the one, but voluntarily yielded by the other, without interfering with its freedom. The effects of the two systems were as opposite as the principles on which they were conducted. The South American colonies ruined Spain without producing a flourishing people in the new country. The settlements of Greece left the mother state stronger than before, and gave birth to new and prosperous communities, equal and often superior in wealth and population to the mother city.

The Ionian settlers who passed from Attica into Asia partly expelled and partly associated with themselves the Carian and Lelegian inhabitants of the country<sup>q</sup>. The adventurers themselves were composed of a mixed race. The leaders were Æolians from Pylos. The followers were Ionians (who composed the greater part) from Peloponnesus and Attica, Bœotians from Thebes, *Minyæ* from Orchomenus, Pylions, Locrians, *Abantes*, Molossians, *Dryopes*, Pelasgians from Arcadia<sup>r</sup>. This various body of settlers married Lelegian and Carian

*esset ornatu regio, quod oraculum erat datum si rex interfectus esset victrices Athenas fore.* Strabo IX. p. 393. οἱ Ἡρακλεΐδαι παροξυνάντων αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ,——ὅτι Κόδρος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἀττικῆς τότε ὁ τοῦ Μελάνθου παῖς, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν· ἡττηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐξέστησαν γῆς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν δὲ κατέσχον, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐκτίσαν τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Δωριέας ἀντὶ Ἰώνων ἐποίησαν. Mitford vol. I. p. 336. observes, referring to this passage of Strabo, “When *Codrus* succeeded his father *Melanthus*, “Megara seems to have been already firmly settled.” But in this passage it is affirmed, as in Herodotus already quoted, that Megara was founded after the war with *Codrus*. Plutarch de Exil. p. 607. B. mentions *Codrus*: Κόδρος δὲ τίνος ὦν ἐβασίλευσεν; ὃν Μελάνθου φυγάδος ἐκ Μεσσήνης; Pausanias VII. 25, 1. relates a circumstance of this war: ὅτε ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι, τότε Κόδρου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντος, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄλλος στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπειδὴ ἐπίθοντο τοῦ Κόδρου τὴν τελευτὴν κ.

τ. λ. I. 19, 6. δέκνυνται δὲ καὶ ἐνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι. Polyænus I. 18. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1378. Justin II. 6. Velleius I. 2. Valerius Maximus V. 6, 1. extern. concisely describe this war and the death of *Codrus*. At the time of his death he was said to be seventy years of age: Conon Narr. 26.

<sup>p</sup> Thucyd. I. 34. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται.

<sup>q</sup> See above p. 34. h.

<sup>r</sup> Pausan. VII. 2, 2. Ἰωσι δὲ τοῦ στόλου μετασχόντες οἷδε Ἑλλήνων, Θηβαῖοι τε οἱ ὁμοῦ Φιλώτα γεγονότι ἀπογόνῳ Πηνέλεω, καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύας συγγενεῖα τῶν Κόδρου παίδων. μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Φωκεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Δελφῶν καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. IX. 37, 3. μετέσχον Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ τοῖς Κόδρου πασιδν ἐς Ἰωνίαν τοῦ στόλου. The relationship here mentioned was not because *utrique Æolidæ fuere, Orchomenii a Sisyphe Codridæ a Cretheo*, as Palmerius and Siebel. ad locum suppose, but for the reason recorded by Pausanias himself IX. 36, 4. Νηλεὺς Κρηθῆως βασι-



women<sup>s</sup>; so that their descendants were derived from mingled Hellenic and Pelasgic together with Lelegian and Carian ancestors. The Ionian name, however, prevailed; and the *Codridæ* had the lead<sup>t</sup>. The sons or grandsons of *Codrus*<sup>v</sup> occupied eight of the Ionian cities; Miletus<sup>w</sup>,

λεῖων Πύλον γυναῖκα ἔσχον ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ Χλῶριν Ἀμφίονος τοῦ Ἰασίου. and by Strabo VIII. p. 347. τῶν μετὰ Χλωρίδος τῆς Νέστορος μητρὸς ἐλθόντων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Μινυαίου. The various races are also noticed by Herodotus I. 146. τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσι οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οἰδέν. Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομενίοι ἀναμεμῖχται, καὶ Καδμεῖναι, καὶ Δρύοτες, καὶ Φωκίαι ἀποδάσμιαι, καὶ Μολισσοὶ, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ—ἅλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμῖχται. Strabo XIV. p. 633. τοῖς περὶ Μελασθον—παλλοὺς καὶ τῶν Πυλίων συνεῶραι φασιν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τῶντων δὴ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετὰ τῶν Ἰώνων κοινῇ στεῖλαι τὴν ἀποικίαν.

<sup>s</sup> Pausan. VII. 2, 3. ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλήσιων οἱ Ἴωνες, τὸ μὲν γένος πᾶν τὸ ἄρσεν ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης ἐκιδιδράσκουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἐκείνων γαμοῦσι. Herodot. I. 146. οἱ δὲ αἰτεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανήσιον τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γενναῖοι εἶναι Ἰόνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἡγάγαντο εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν, ἀλλὰ Καεῖρας ἔσχον τῶν ἐφόνεισαν τῶς γυναῖκας.

<sup>t</sup> Herodot. I. 147. βασιλεὺς ἐστῆσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καίικωας Πυλῖους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγόνητες Ἴωνες εἰσι δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων γεγενῆσιν καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρθήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων—καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φύσιν τινὰ σέψιν. The new settlers adopted the worship of the Heliconian Neptune, which they derived from the Ionians of Peloponnesus: Herodot. I. 148. τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρας ἱερὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἑξαμνημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδῶνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. Pausan. VII. 24, 4. Ἑλικὴ πόλις, καὶ Ἰώσιν ἱερὸν ἀγιάτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίῳ. διαμεμενηκέαι δὲ σφισι, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντες εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἔσπερον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας σέβεσθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἑλικωνίῳ. The Prienians especially shared in this worship: Strabo VIII. p. 384, 385. τῆς Πανωνικῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐν τῇ Πριηνίῳ χώρα συντελοῦσιν Ἴωνες τῇ Ἑλικωνίῳ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς ἐξ Ἑλικῆς εἶναι λήγονται· καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην βασιλέα καθιστάσιν ἄνδρα νῦν Πριηνέα τὸν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελησόμενον. Long after the Ionic migration, τὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλικῆς ἐκπεσόντας Ἴωνας αἰτεῖν πέμψαντας παρὰ τῶν Ἑλικωνίων μάλιστα μὲν τὸ βρέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῦ γε ἱεροῦ τὴν ἀφίερσιν· οἱ ὄντων δὲ, πέμψαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν κ. τ. λ. The twelve Ionian states were a number retained from the original institution in Peloponnesus: Pausan. VII. 6, 1.

<sup>v</sup> See p. 100.

<sup>w</sup> Neleus occupied Miletus: Pausan. VII. 2, 1. Μέδων καὶ Νηλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐστάσασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νηλεὺς ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλεύμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χαλός. δόξαν δὲ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἡ Πυθία βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Νηλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον σφισιν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες.—οἱ Κόδρου παῖδες ἐπτάχθησαν Ἴωσιν ἄρχοντες, οὐδὲν σφισι γένους τοῦ Ἰώνων μετὸν, ἀλλὰ Μεσσηνίοι μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τὰ πρὸς Κόδρου καὶ Μελάνθου, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὗτος τὰ πρὸς μητρός.—ὡς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατήσαν, ἐπ' ἄλλην ἐτρέποντο ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πλεον, Νηλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ μοῖρα εἰς Μίλητον.—τοῦ δὲ Νηλεὺς ὁ τάφος ἰόντων εἰς Διδύμους ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς οδοῦ. Ælian. V. H. VIII. 5. ὅτι Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου τῆς βασιλείας ἀμειρήσας ἀπέλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας, διὰ τὸ τὴν Πυθίαν Μέδοντι τὴν ἀρχὴν περιᾶναι εἰς ἀποικίαν στελλόμενος. τῇ Νάξῳ δὲ προσωρμίσθη οὐχ ἐκὼν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χεῖμωνος βιασθείς· ἀπᾶραι δὲ βουλόμενοι καταπνέοντες ἐναντίῳ ἄνεμα διεκώλυνον. ἀποροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστώτων οἱ μάντιες ἔφασαν δεῖν καθαρῶσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον.—προσεπονήσατο δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποκτεῖναι τινα παῖδα, καὶ δεῖσθαι καθαρμῶ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεχώρησε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέειπε τοὺς συνεδόντας ἐαυτοῖς. οὗ γενομένου, καὶ γνωσθέντων ἐκείνων, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀπέλιπε, οἱ δὲ ἔκρησαν τὴν Νάξον. Νηλεὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔκρησε Μίλητον, Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ Μυθόνας καὶ Δέλεγας καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους. Herodot. IX. 97. (at Mycalē) Δήμητρος Ἑλευσινίης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλήης ἰδρύσατο, Νηλεὺς τῷ Κόδρῳ ἐπιστόμενος ἐπὶ Μίλητου κτιστὴν. Strabo XIV. p. 633. Μίλητον δ' ἔκτισεν Νηλεὺς ἐκ Πύλου τὸ γένος ὧν—τοῦ δὲ Νηλεὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶν βωμῶς ἱδρυμα δεικνύται. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 823. ἡ δὲ Μίλητος κτίσμα Νηλεὺς ἀνδρὸς Πυλίου αὐτόθι μετοικήσαντος, κατὰ δὲ Ἡρόδοτον Νήλεως ὁ Κόδρου ἔκτισεν αὐτήν. where Eustathius does not seem to know that Neleus the Pylian and Neleus son of Codrus were the same person. Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1373. preserves some of the traditions concerning Neleus: Κόδρου τελευτήσαντος, Μέδων καὶ Νηλεὺς οἱ ταύτου παῖδες ἤρξαντο περὶ βασιλείας. ἐχρήσθη οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸν πρῶτον θύσαντα κ. τ. λ.—

Νηλεὺς δὲ πάλιν χρησμὸν λαβὼν ἤκουσε, Νηλεῦ, φράξεν ὅπως ἀδικῶν Καρῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν—λαβὼν οὖν Ἴωνας τοὺς ἐλαθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡγάγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ἐκράτησε Μίλητον καὶ Καρίαν, καὶ ἔκτισε τρεῖς πόλεις, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν. ἕτεροι δὲ πάλιν φασιν ὅτι Νηλεὺς χρησ-



μὴν ἔλαβε Δελφικὸν στέλλεσθαι ἐπὶ χρυσοῦς ἄνδρας, δεῖξεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα, κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δὲ Νηλεὺς χρησμὸν εἰληφεν ἐκεῖ οἰκεῖν ἔνθα ἂν παρθένος αὐτῷ δῖῃ γῆν ὕδατι βεβρηγμένην. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Μίλητον παρεκελεύσατο κεραμέως θυγατρὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ πηλὸν εἰς σφραγίδα' τῆς δὲ προθύμως διδούσης, Νηλεὺς ἐκράτησε τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ ἔκτισε τρεῖς πόλεις. Another tradition concerning the daughter of *Neleus* is noticed by Lycophron 1385: ὅταν κόρη κασσωρίς—and explained by Tzetz. ad loc. She is mentioned Etym. Magn. v. 'Ελεγείης, ἡ θυγάτηρ Νηλέως τοῦ ἡγχοσαμένου εἰς Καρίαν τῆς Ἰώνων ἀποικίας' ἥς τὸ κύριον ὄνομα Πειρῶ φασὶν εἶναι. εἰρήται δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐλεγείην [ἐλεγαιύνει Sylburg.] τὸ ἀκόλασταίνειν. διὸ οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν Ἀθηναίων ἡβουλήθη γῆμαι. The adventurers encountered many difficulties from adverse weather and from the enemy: Strabo I. p. 10. ἡ τῶν Αἰολέων δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰώνων ἀποικία πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πταίσματα [sc. σφάλματα ἐξ ἀνοίας] παραδεδωκεν. Isocrates Panath. p. 272. d. mentions two wars, one at the first settlement: ὁ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἀποικίων, εἰς ὃν Δωριέων μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε συμπολεμήσων, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμὼν καταστᾶσα τῶν οὐκ εἰπορούντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βουλομένων τοσούτων τὰ πράγματα μετέστησεν ὥστε—ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅ πρότερον ἔπασχον ταῦτα δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. The other at a later period: ὅς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἄρτι κατακισμένων, τῆς δ' ἡμετέρας ἔτι βασιλευμένης. He appears to refer to a war in the time of the sons or grandsons of *Neleus*, while Athens was still under the perpetual archons. Polybius XVI. 12. speaks of a Carian war in which the loss fell upon the city of Iassus: εὐχονται τὸ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν Ἀργεῖων ἄποικοι γεγενῆσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίων, ἐπαγαγόμενων τῶν προγόνων τὸν Νηλεὺς υἱὸν τοῦ κτίσαντος Μίλητον διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Καρικῇ πολέμῳ γενομένην φθορὰν αὐτῶν. Parthenius c. 14. and Alexander Ætolus there quoted mention a grandson of *Neleus* named *Phobius*, who reigned at Miletus and was succeeded by *Phrygius*: Φοβίῳ ἐν τῶν Νηλειδῶν Parthen. παῖς Ἰπποκλῆος Φόβιος Νηληϊάδαο Alex. Ætol. Parthenius adds, Φόβιος—παρεχώρησε Φρυγίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. *Hippocles* son of *Neleus* is also mentioned by Zenobius Adag. V. 17. p. 118. who with *Hegetor* occupied the islands: μᾶλα Μύκονος [l. Μύκονος]. Νηλεὺς προσέταξε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν Ἠγήτορι καὶ Ἰπποκλεῖ τὰς νήσους καταστρέψασθαι. χειρωσαμένου δὲ πολλὰς τοῦ Ἠγήτορος Ἰπποκλέους δὲ μίαν τὴν Μύκονον,—πέμψαντες ἡρώτησαν κοινῇ τὸν θεὸν τίνας εἶεν τοῦ Ἰπποκλέους νῆσοι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “μᾶλα Μύκονος.” *Hippocles* is called Ἰππικλος in Schol. Dionys. Perieg. 526. *Phrygius* was also a son of *Neleus*, and a war between Miletus and Myus in his time is mentioned by Plutarch Virt. Mul. p. 253. F. Polyæn. VIII. 35. τῶν εἰς Μίλητον ἀφικομένων Ἰώνων στασιάζαντες ἐνιοι πρὸς τοὺς Νείλεω παῖδας ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς Μυόντα κάκεῖ κατῴκουν, πολλὰ κακὰ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Μιλησίων ἐπολέμουν γὰρ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀποστασίαν· οὐ μὴν ἀκήρυκτος ἦν οὐδὲ ἀνεπίμικτος ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλ' ἐν τισιν

ἑορταῖς ἐφόιτων εἰς Μίλητον ἐκ τοῦ Μυόντος αἱ γυναῖκες. ἦν δὲ Πύθης ἀνὴρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανὲς γυναῖκα μὲν ἔχων Ἰαπυγίαν θυγατέρα δὲ Πιερίαν. κ. τ. λ. —τῶν δὲ Νείλεω παίδων ὁ δυνατότατος ὄνομα Φρύγιος τῆς Πιερίας ἐρασθεὶς ἐνενοεῖ τί ἂν αὐτῇ μάλιστα γένοιτο παρ' αὐτοῦ κεχαρισμένον· εἰπούσης δὲ ἐκείνης, εἰ διαπράξαιό μοι τὸ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν βαδίζειν, συνείς οὖν ὁ Φρύγιος δεομένην φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης τοῖς πολῖταις κατέπαυσε τὸν πόλεμον κ. τ. λ.

The Ionians of Miletus were at first of a stern and hardy character, but afterwards degenerated into luxury: Athen. XII. p. 523. e. Μιλήσιοι ἕως μὲν οὐκ ἐτρέφον ἐνίκων Σκύθας, ὥς φησιν Ἐφορος, καὶ τὰς τε ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις ἔκτισαν καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον κατόικισαν πόλεσι λαμπραῖς, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον ἔθεον. ὥς δ' ἐπύχθησαν ἡδονῇ καὶ τρυφῇ, κατεβῆν τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδρείον, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ παροιμίαι τις ἐγενήθη ἐπ' αὐτῶν· πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι. The description in Heraclides apud Athen. XIV. p. 625. b. refers to their early period, before they had become effeminate: ἐπισκεψόμεθα τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων ἦθος, ὃ διαφαινέουσιν οἱ Ἴωνες, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωματικῶν εὐεξίαις βρενθύνεσθαι καὶ θυμοῦ πλήρεις, δυσκατάλλακτοι, φιλόνοικοι, οὐδὲν φιλάνθρωπον οὐδὲ ἱλαρὸν ἐνδιδόντες, ἀστοργίαν καὶ σκληρότητα ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἐμφαίνοντες. After the decline of manners, there were fierce contests between the rich and the lower classes: Athen. XII. p. 523. f. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ δικαιοσύνης φησὶν, “Ἡ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέπτωκεν ἀτυχχαῖς διὰ τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικᾶς ἔχθρας· οἱ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἀνείλαν τοὺς ἐχθρούς· στασιαζόντων γὰρ τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὗς ἐκεῖνοι Γέρρηθας ἐκάλουον, πρῶτον μὲν κρατήσας ὁ δῆμος” κ. τ. λ. To this period may be referred the narrative in Plutarch Q. Gr. p. 298. C. τίνες οἱ Ἀειναῦται παρὰ Μιλησίοις; Τῶν περὶ Θάνατα καὶ Δαμασῆνορα τυράννων καταλυθέντων, εἰταιρείας δύο τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεον, ὃν ἡ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Πλουτίς [l. Πλουτίς. conf. Wytténb. Animadv. tom. II. p. 69] ἡ δὲ Χειρομάχας. κρατήσαντες οὖν οἱ δυνατοὶ κ. τ. λ. If, as Ephorus l. c. observes, the settlements of Miletus were planted in the period of its activity and vigour, these qualities were retained to a late period. Some of those colonies were founded as late as the reign of *Gyges*: see the Tables B. C. 715. The naval dominion of the Milesians commenced in B. C. 750. Borysthenes was founded after B. C. 711, Cyzicus in B. C. 676; Lampsacus in 651, Istrus in 633, Sinopë in 629; Naucratis perhaps about the same time; Odessus after B. C. 594: see the Tables in B. C. 750, 630, 592. De St. Croix apud Barthelem. Anachars. tom. VII. p. 177. gives a catalogue of sixty-three Milesian colonies. In that list many are inserted improperly: as, for instance, Trapezus and Cotyora and Cerasus belong to Sinopë; Anchialë and Thynias to Apollonia; Heraclea Ponti to Megara. Ampë on the Tigris is not to be classed



Ephesus<sup>x</sup>, Myus<sup>y</sup>, Teos<sup>z</sup>, Prienē<sup>a</sup>, Lebedos, Colophon<sup>b</sup>, Erythræ<sup>c</sup>. Of the other four,

with the other settlements, since it was inhabited by Milesian captives placed there by *Darius Hystaspis*: Herodot. VI. 20. The colonies, however, of Miletus were numerous and powerful (see the Tables B. C. 750); and so many settlements established in the midst of warlike barbarians on the coasts of Thrace and Scythia and the Euxine are a sufficient proof that the Ionians of Miletus (although justly perhaps charged with luxury) were not only intelligent, but brave and enterprising, for many ages after the time of *Nelus* their founder. The proverb against the Milesians already quoted—*πάλας ποτ' ἦσαν*—appears from Demo *περὶ παροιμιῶν* apud Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1003. to be not older than the time of *Darius Hystaspis*.

<sup>x</sup> Ephesus was occupied by *Androclus*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. ἀρξαι δὲ φησὶ Φερεκλῆς Ἀνδρόκλον τῆς τῶν Ἰώνων ἀποικίας ὕστερον τῆς Αἰολικῆς, υἱὸν γρήσιον Κόδρου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀθηῶν γενέσθαι τοῦτον Ἐφέσου κτίστην· διόπερ τὸ βασιλείων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκεῖ συστήναί φασι· καὶ ἔτι οὖν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζονται βασιλεῖς, ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, προεδρίαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπισήμων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπτουσα ἀντὶ σκήπτρου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος. Pausan. VII. 2, 4. Ἀνδρόκλος ὁ Κόδρου (οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπεδέδεκτο Ἰόνων τῶν ἐς Ἐφεσον πλευσάντων βασιλεὺς) Λέλεγας μὲν καὶ Λυδοὺς τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας [see above p. 34. h.]—ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ Σάμον Ἀνδρόκλος Σαμίους, καὶ ἔσχον Ἐφέσιοι χρόνον τινα Σάμον καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς νήσους. Σαμίους δὲ ᾗρῃ κατεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκία Πριηνεῦσιν ἤμυνον ἐπὶ τοῖς Κῆρας ὁ Ἀνδρόκλος, καὶ νικῶντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔπαιον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου τὸν νεκρὸν ἔθαψαν τῆς σφετέρως ἐνθα δέκνυνται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τὸ μῆμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας· ἐπιθήμα δὲ τῷ μῆματι ἀνὴρ ἔστιν ὠπλισμένος. He is called *Andronicus* in Syncell. p. 181. A. Ἐφεσος ἐκτίσθη ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Ἀνδρονίκου. The worship of *Diana* at Ephesus was anciently founded by the Amazons, and adopted by the Ionian settlers: Pausan. VII. 2, 4. πολλὰ δὲ πρεσβυτέρα ἔτι ἢ κατὰ Ἰωνας τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν ἐστίν. οὐ μὴν πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπίθετο (ἡμοὶ δοκεῖν) Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνια τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο Ἰβρίσασθαι στρατευομένης ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησεία. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμόδοντος γυναικες ὄνισαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῇ, ὅτι ἐπιστάμεναι τε ἐκ παλαιῶν τὸ ἱερὸν. Steph. Byz. Ἐφεσος. πόλις Ἰωνίας ἐπιφανιστάτη καὶ λιμὴν ἐν κόλπῳ. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Αἰτίας αὐτῆς φησιν [sc. in Lydia and not in Caria: I. 142. Berkelius ad Steph. has misunderstood the meaning]. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σμύρνα ἀπὸ Σμύρης τῆς Ἀμαζόνος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Σάμορνα [conf. Hesych. Σάμορνα] καὶ Τραχεῖα [conf. Strab. XIV. p. 633] καὶ Ὀρτυγία καὶ Πτελέα—ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ μᾶς τῶν Ἀμα-

ζόνων ἦν καὶ βασίλισσαν καὶ προσπύλον Ἀρτέμιδος εἶναι φασιν· ἐσχηκέναι δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀμαζόνα, ἀφ' ἧς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 823, 828. ὁ Διονύσιος (828)—ναὺν ἐκεῖ φησὶν εἶναι, ἐν Ἀμαζόνες ἐποίησαν ἐν πρέμνῳ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν κορυφῇ πτελέας—ἔτι δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέσχον τόπους ποτὲ δηλοῦσι καὶ κρήναι· τινες Ἀμαζόνων ὁμώνυμοι, καὶ μὴν καὶ πόλεις, οἷον ἡ Ἐφεσος αὕτη, ἡ Ἀναία, ἡ Μύρινα, ἡ Αἰολικὴ Κύμη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἐλαία τόπος πρὸς τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρριανὸν ἀπὸ Ἐλαίας Ἀμαζόνος, καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει δὲ Θίβα τόπος—καὶ ἡ Σμύρνα δὲ Ἀμαζὼν οὖσα καὶ αὕτη κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἐφεσον λέγεται, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Σμύρνα τόπος Ἐφέσου. καὶ αὕτην δὲ τὴν Ἐφεσον Σμύρναν κληθῆναι ποτὲ λέγουσι. Strabo XIV. p. 633. τὸ παλαιὸν—Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλίνος ποιοῦντος ἀνέμασεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφεσίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δία λόγῳ κ. τ. λ. Σμύρνα δ' ἦν Ἀμαζὼν ἡ κατασχούσα τὴν Ἐφεσον· ἀφ' ἧς τοῦνομα—ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Σισυρβης Σισυρβίται· τινες τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐλέγοντο· καὶ τόπος δὲ τις τῆς Ἐφέσου Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δηλοῖ Ἰππῶναξ κ. τ. λ. On the Amazons see Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 405. Steph. Byz. Βενναμία mentions *Androclus* and the divisions of the Ephesian people: Βενναμία, βουλὴ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πέμπτη, ἧς οἱ βουλευταὶ Βέννιοι, ὡς Ἐφορος. ὅτι Ἀνδρόκλος ὁ κτίσας Ἐφεσον οὗτος Πριηνεῦσι βοηθήσας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ πολλοὶ Ἐφέσιοι σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ οὖν καταλειφθέντες Ἐφέσιοι ἐστασίασαν κατὰ τῶν Ἀνδρόκλου παίδων. καὶ βουλόμενοι βοηθεῖν ἔχριν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Τέω καὶ Καρίνης ἀποίκους [f. ἐποίκους] ἔλαβον, ἀφ' ὧν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δύο βουλαὶ τῶν πέντε τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Βένῃ Βέννιοι, οἱ δ' ἐν Εὐωνύμῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Εὐώνυμοι, οὗς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατέλαβον Ἐφεσίους φασί. τοὺς δ' ὕστερον ἐπήλυδας Τήϊους καὶ Καριναίους ἀποκαλοῦσι. After the death of *Androclus*, then there were five tribes, Βέννιοι, Εὐώνυμοι (a name derived from Attica), Ἐφέσιοι, Τήϊοι, Καριναῖοι. The names in Strabo l. c. Σμύρνα, Σίσυρβα, Τραχεῖα, Λέπρα, were not political divisions but quarters of the city. The ancient city stood in low grounds, and was rebuilt by *Lysimachus*: Strabo XIV. p. 640. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔκκουν μὲν Κᾶρές τε καὶ Λέλεγες· ἐκβαλὼν δ' ὁ Ἀνδρόκλος τοὺς πλείστους ἔκκισεν ἐκ τῶν συνελθόντων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ Ἀθήναιον καὶ τὴν Τπέλαιον—μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν κατὰ Κροῖσον οὕτως ἔκκευτο· ὕστερον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς παρορέου καταβάντας περὶ τὸ νῦν ἱερὸν ἔκκισαν μέχρι Ἀλεξάνδρου. Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὴν νῦν πόλιν τετήρισε, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεθισταμένων, τηρήσας καταβράκτην ὄμβρον συνήρρησε καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τοὺς ῥινοχόους ἐνέφραξεν ὥστε κατακλῦσαι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ μετέστησαν ἄσμενοι. ἐκάλεσε δὲ Ἀρσινόην ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν πόλιν· ἐπεκράτησε μέντοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα. Steph. Byz. Ἐφεσος.—ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐν κόλπῳ τόφῳ κατοικισθεῖσα χειμῶνες κατεκλύσθη, καὶ μυρίων ἀποθανόντων Λυσίμαχος τὴν πόλιν μετέθηκεν ἔνθα νῦν. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. 828. Strab. XIV. p. 634. The privilege of asylum



granted to the temple, which remained in the time of Strabo, was gradually enlarged by *Alexander*, *Mithridates*, and *Antony*, but limited again by *Augustus*: Strabo XIV. p. 641.

<sup>y</sup> *Cydrilus* occupied *Myus*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Κυδρῖλος δὲ νόθος υἱὸς Κόδρου Μυῦντα κτίζει. Pausan. VII. 2, 7. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες Μυῦντα ἐποικισάμενοι καὶ Πριήνην Κᾶρας μὲν καὶ οἷτοι τὰς πόλεις ἀφείλοντο· οἰκιστὰὶ δὲ Μυῦντος μὲν Κυάρητος ἐγένετο ὁ Κόδρου. Either ΚΥΑΡΗΤΟΣ is a corruption of ΚΥΑΡΗΑΟΣ or the contrary. But which is the genuine form may be doubted: conf. Intt. ad Hesych. v. Κυάρη. *Myus* had decayed before the time of Strabo: Strab. XIV. p. 636. Μυῦς μία τῶν Ἰάδων τῶν δώδεκα, ἣ νῦν δι' ὀλιγοκαιρίας Μιλησίου συμπεπλόισται. Pausanias VII. 2, 7. relates the cause. The accumulations at the mouth of the river *Mæander* had produced stagnant waters, and these had affected the air: ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς Μίλητον Μυῦσις τε τὰ ἄλλα ἀγώγιμα καὶ τῶν θεῶν φερόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα· καὶ ἦν κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐν Μυῦντι ὅτι μὴ Διονύσου ναὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. Vitruvius IV. 1. *Myunta quæ olim ab aqua est devorata, cujus sacra et suffragium Milesiis attribuerunt.* He seems to have placed this event too early, as he has in the same passage brought the admission of *Smyrna* too low. *Myus* was still a city in the time of *Themistocles* B. C. 465: Thucyd. I. 138. and existed in the time of *Philip* B. C. 201: Polyb. XVI. 24, 9. *Myus* was mentioned by *Apollodorus*: Steph. Byz. Μυῦς πόλις Ἰωνίας, ὡς Φίλων, καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἐν α' χρονικῶν.

<sup>x</sup> Of *Teos*, Strabo XIV. p. 633. gives the following account: Τέω δὲ Ἀθάμας μὲν πρότερον, διόπερ Ἀθαμαντίδα καλεῖ αὐτὴν Ἀνακρέων· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν Ναυκλος υἱὸς Κόδρου νόθος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀποικος καὶ Δάμασος Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Γέρης ἐκ Βοιωτῶν. Pausanias VII. 3, 3. with some variation: Τέων δὲ ἔκουν μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύαι σὺν Ἀθάμαντι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντες—ἀναμεμυγμένοι δὲ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ἐγκαταθεῖν ἤσαν οἱ Κᾶρες. ἐσθήγαγε δὲ Ἴωνας ἐς τὴν Τέων Ἀποικος ἀπόγονος Μελάνθου τέταρτος,, ὃς τοῖς Ὀρχομένοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Τηίοις νεώτερον ἐβουλεύσεν οὐδὲν. ἔτεσι δὲ αὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀφικνῶντο ἄνδρες· ἡγούντο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀττικῷ Δάμασος καὶ Νάοκλος Κόδρου παῖδες, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν Γέρης Βοιωτῆς· καὶ σφᾶς συναμφοτέρους ὅ τε Ἀποικος καὶ οἱ Τηῖοι συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο. Both agree that there were two bands of settlers, and that *Damasus* and *Geres* were in the second. But Strabo places *Nauchus* or *Naoclus* in the first settlement, and *Apæcus* in the second; Pausanias reverses this order. *Phanagorea* was said to be founded by the *Teians*: *Scymnus* fragm. 153.

—Φαναγόρειά τε

ἦν Τηῖους λέγουσιν οἰκῆσαι ποτε.

In B. C. 543 they founded *Abdera*, about 108

years after the former settlement of the *Clazomenians*: see the tables B. C. 651. 564.

<sup>a</sup> *Prienë* was planted by a son of *Neleus*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Πριήνην δ' Αἴπυτος ὁ Νηλέως, εἰθ' ὕστερον Φιλάτας ἐκ Θηβῶν λαὸν ἀγαγόν. Pausan. VII. 2, 7. Πριηνεῖς δὲ Ἴωσιν ἀναμεμυγμένοι Θηβαῖοι Φιλάταν τε τὸν ἀπόγονον Πηνέλεω καὶ Αἴπυτον [male olim Αἴγυπτον: conf. Siebel. ad locum] Νειλέως παῖδα ἔσχον οἰκιστάς. From the *Theban* settlers came the name *Cadmeans*: Hesych. Κάδμοιο, οἱ Πριηνεῖς, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος. Strabo XIV. p. 636. λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων ἡ Πριήνη Κάδμῳ, ἐπεὶ δὴ Φιλάτας ὁ ἐπικτίσας αὐτὴν Βοιάτιος ὑπῆρχεν. Eustath. ad Dionys. 823. ἡ μὲν Πριήνη καὶ Κάδμῳ ποτὶ ἐκλήθη, ἣν Αἴπυτος ὁ Νηλέως ἔκτισεν. We have already seen a war with the *Carians*, in which the *Prienians* were assisted by *Androclus* and the *Ephesians*: see note x.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Mimnermus*, *Andraemon* is the founder of *Colophon*; but in Pausanias *Andraemon* occupies *Lebedos*, and *Damasichthon* and *Promethus*, sons of *Codrus*, are the founders of *Colophon*: Strabo XIV. p. 633. Ἀνδρόπομπος δὲ Λέβεδον, καταλαβόμενος τόπον τινὰ Ἄρτιν· Κολοφῶνα δ' Ἀνδραίμῳ Πύλλος, ὃς φησι καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν Ναννοῖ. Idem p. 634. Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ φράζει μνηστῆς τῆς Σμύρνης ὅτι περιμάχχτος αἰεὶ·

ἡμεῖς δ' αἰεὶ Πύλλον Νηληΐον ἄστῳ λιπόντες

ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα.

ἐς δ' ἄρα τὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέρσπλαν ἔχοντες

ἐξοίμεθ' ἀργαλῆς ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες.

κεῖθεν δ' Ἀστυέντος ἀπορύμνοιο ποταμοῖο

θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρναν εἶδομεν Αἰολίδα.

*Mimnermus* here attests the *Pylian* original of *Colophon*, speaking in the person of the *Colophonians*, as *Tyrtæus* in the tables B. C. 683. 3. speaks in the person of the *Spartans*. For the occupation of *Smyrna* by the *Colophonians* see p. 105. w. Pausanias VII. 3, 1. 2. Κολοφῶνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιστάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν [Strabo XIV. p. 642. ἡ Κολοφῶν, καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἄλσος τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον ἦν ποτὶ παλαιόν]· ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πρώτους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κρήτας, Ῥακίου κ. τ. λ.—τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐνέμαντο ἔτι οἱ Κᾶρες.—Μόφος δὲ ὁ Ῥακίου καὶ Μαντοῦς καὶ τὸ παράπαν τοὺς Κᾶρας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Ἴωνες δὲ ὄρκους ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κολοφῶνι Ἑλληνας συνεπολιτεύοντο οὐδὲν ἔχοντες πλέον. βασιλείαν δὲ Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες Δαμασίχθων λαμβάνει καὶ Πρόμηθος Κόδρου παῖδες. Πρόμηθος δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Δαμασίχθωνα ἀποκτείνων ἐφύγεν ἐς Νάξον, καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ, τὸν νεκρὸν δὲ οἵκαδε ἀπαχθέντα κατεδέξαντο οἱ Δαμασίχθωνος παῖδες.—τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν Λέβεδον ἐνέμοντο οἱ Κᾶρες, ἐς ὃ Ἀνδραίμῳ σφᾶς ὁ Κόδρου καὶ Ἴωνες ἐλαύνουσι. τῷ δὲ Ἀνδραίμῳ ὁ τάφος ἐν Κολοφῶνι ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστέρᾳ τῆς οἰδοῦ διαβάντι τὸν Καλάοντα ποταμόν. In both accounts *Colophon* is founded by the *Ne-*







Clazomenæ<sup>d</sup> was founded by the Ionians from Colophon; Phocæa<sup>e</sup> by Phocians under Athenian leaders; Samos<sup>f</sup> by Ionians from Epidaurus. Chios<sup>g</sup> according to Ion of Chios

rived by Strabo IX. p. 404. from the Boeotian Erythræ: τῶν δ' Ἐρυθρῶν τούτων ἀποικοὶ αἱ ἐν Ἰωνίδι Ἐρυθραί. which perhaps means no more than that Erythræans from this town on the borders of Attica joined the migration led by Neleus. Erythræ is mentioned in B. C. 70 by Cicero in Verr. I. 19. and is still πόλις Ἰωνική in the time of Strabo XIV. p. 644.

<sup>d</sup> The Colophonians planted themselves first under mount Ida, then at Scuppia, and lastly at Clazomenæ: Pausan. VII. 3, 5. Κλαζομενίοις δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ἰωνας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ᾔκουοντο αἱ πόλεις. Ἰόνων δὲ ἀφικομένων μοῖρα ἐξ αὐτῶν πλανωμένη μετεπέμψατο ἡγεμόνα παρὰ Κολοφωνίων Πάρφορον [Κλαζομενῶν δὲ Πάραλος Strabo XIV. p. 633], καὶ πόλιν κτίσαντες ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ τὴν μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐπανιόντες δὲ ἐς Ἰωνίαν Σκύππιον τῆς Κολοφωνίας ἔκτισαν [Steph. Byz. Σκυψία πολίχρον Κλαζομενίων, ὡς Ἐφορος ἐν τρίτῳ] ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κολοφωνίας, οὕτω γῆν τε ἔσχον ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι καὶ κατεσκευάσαντο ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Κλαζομενῶν πόλιν ἐς δὲ τὴν νῆσον διέβησαν κατὰ τὸ Περσῶν δέος. Strabo XIV. p. 645. marks both positions: Χυτρίον ἐστὶ τόπος ἐν ᾧ πρότερον Ἰδρυοντο Κλαζομεναί· εἴθ' ἢ νῦν πόλις νησία ἔχουσα προκείμενα ὁκτὼ γεωργοῦμενα. The Clazomenians were a mixed race: Pausan. Ibid. τούτων τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὸ πολὺ οὐκ Ἰωνες Κλεωναῖοι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ Φλυοῦντος, ὅσοι Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον κατελθόντων κατέλιπον τὰς πόλεις.

<sup>e</sup> Phocæa was founded by the Phocians who accompanied Philogenes and Damon, Athenians, and was not admitted into the Ionian confederacy till it had received from Teos and Erythræ kings of the race of the Codridæ: Pausan. VII. 3, 5. οἱ δὲ Φωκαεῖς γένος μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἰσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Παρνασσῷ καλουμένης—Φωκίδος οἱ Φιλογένει καὶ Δάμῳ ὁμοῦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν [Φωκαίαν οἱ μετὰ Φιλογένους Ἀθηναῖοι Strabo XIV. p. 633]. τὴν χώραν δὲ οὐ πολὺ κατὰ δὲ ὁμολογίαν λαμβάνουσι παρὰ Κυμαίων. Ἰόνων δὲ οὐ δεχομένων σφᾶς ἐς Πανιώνιον πρὶν ἢ τοῦ γένους βασιλείας τῶν Κωδριδῶν λάβωσιν, οὕτω παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων ἐκ Τέω τε ὤτην [καὶ ἐκ Τέω Δεοίτην Porson.] καὶ Πέρικλον λαμβάνουσι καὶ Ἀβαρτον. The Phocian origin of the Phocæans was preserved in the name Ἀβαρνος. Hesych. Ἀβαρνεῖς, Φωκέων φυλή. Idem Ἀβαρνος. πόλις Φωκέων. But Abarnis is also a promontory at Lampsacus: Xenoph. Hellen. II. 1, 29. τὴν Ἀβαρινίδα τὴν Δαμψάκου ἄκραν. Schol. Apollon. I. 932. Ἀβαρινίδα: ἡ Ἀβαρινὶς πόλις τῆς Δαμψάκου. Theophrastus apud Athen. II. p. 62. b. περὶ Λάμψακον ἐν τῇ Ἀβαρινίδι [sic Schneider. ad Theophrast. tom. III. p. 39. ad Xenoph. I. c]. Steph. Byz. Ἀβαρνος.—Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ περιγῆσει Δαμψάκου ἄκραν εἶναι φησιν· Ἐφορος δ' ἐν τῇ

πέμπτῃ λέγει κληθῆναι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Φωκίδι Ἀβαρινίδος ὑπὸ Φωκέων [l. cum Berkelio Φωκαέων] τῶν Λάμψακον κτιζόντων. The interpreters of Hesychius correct Φωκαέων in both passages. But the only word which seems to require correction is Φωκέων in Stephanus. The name Ἀβαρνος was in Phocis the original country of the Phocæans; who carried that name with them to their colony of Lampsacus. For Lampsacus see the tables B. C. 651. The Phocæans founded Alalia in B. C. 564, Amisus in 563, Heraclea on the Pontus in 559, Massilia in 544. See the tables B. C. 564, 563, 559.

<sup>f</sup> Samos was occupied by Procles, who found there a Lelegian population: Pausan. VII. 4, 2. Ἀσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισιν ὡς Φοίνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίης εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεῖσιν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων κ. τ. λ.—Ἀσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεισιν ἐδήλωσεν· τότε δὲ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκῶντες ἀνάγκη πλέον ἐδέξαντο ἢ εὐνοία συναίκοις Ἰωνας. ἡγεμὼν δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἰωσι Προκλῆς ὁ Πιτυρέως αὐτῆς τε Ἐπιδαύριος καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους τὸ πολὺ ἄγων οἱ ὑπὸ Δηϊφόντων καὶ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐξεπεπτάκεσαν [see above p. 110. i.] τούτῳ τῷ Προκλεῖ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξοῦθου. Procles himself (whose father Pityreus had been thus expelled by the Dorians) probably settled at Samos before the migration of Neleus. His son Leogorus was invaded by Androchus and the Ionians of Ephesus: Pausan. Ibid. Ἀνδρόκλος καὶ Ἐφέσιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Λεωγόρον τὸν Προκλέους βασιλεύοντα μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐν Σάμῳ, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες ἐξελάνουσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου Σάμου· αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπέφερον μετὰ Καρῶν σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν Ἰωσι. Σαμίων δὲ τῶν φευγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ νῆσον ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Δαρδανίας· οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Λεωγόρῳ περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ πέραν βαλόμενοι τείχος δέκα ἔτεσιν ὑστερον διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοὺς τε Ἐφεσίους ἐκβάλλουσι καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν νῆσον. Strabo XIV. p. 633. Σάμιον δὲ Τεμβρίων, εἴθ' ὕστερον Προκλῆς. In Etymol. Ἀστυπαλαία Tembrion and Procles are associated together: Ἀστυπαλαία: μοῖρα τῆς Σάμου οὕτω καλουμένη· ὅτι Πατροκλῆς καὶ Τεμβρίων ἀποικίαν στείλαντες εἰς Σάμον πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Κᾶρας κοινῶν τῶν θέμενοι ᾤκησαν παρὰ τὸν Σχῆσιον ποταμὸν, καὶ εἰς δύο φυλάς τὴν πόλιν διένειμαν κ. τ. λ. οὕτω Θεμιστοαγόρας ἐν τῇ χρυσῇ βίβλῳ.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. VII. 4, 6. Ἰωνι—ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοιάδε εἰρημένα· Ποσειδῶνα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρῃμον οὖσαν ἀφικέσθαι κ. τ. λ.—ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ Οἰνοπίωνα ἐς τὴν Χίον κατάραι ναυσὶν ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔπεισθαι δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Τάλου καὶ Εὐδάστην καὶ Μέλανα καὶ Σάλαγον τε καὶ Ἀθάμαντα. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Κᾶρες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ



was occupied by *Ænopion* from Crete. Afterwards *Amphiclus* from Eubœa reigned; whose great grandson *Hector* added Chios to the Ionian league. Besides these establishments in the twelve Ionian states<sup>b</sup>, many islands in the Ægean sea were also occupied by the *Codridæ* or by other Athenian leaders<sup>i</sup>.

Philochorus, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, and Apollodorus, all concur in placing the Ionic migration 140 years after the Trojan war, or 60 years after the return of the *Heraclidæ*<sup>k</sup>.

τῆς Οἰωπίωνος βασιλείας καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. Οἰωπίωνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἔλαβεν ὕστερον Ἀμφικλος τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐξ Ἰστιαίας ὁ Ἀμφικλος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. Ἐκτωρ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφίκλου τετάρτῃ γενεᾷ (Βασιλείαν γὰρ ἔσχε καὶ οὗτος) ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάτων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτευνεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἡνάγκασεν ὑποσπόνδους. γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίους, ἀφικέσθαι τρικῶντα ἐς μῆνην Ἐκτορα ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἰωσι δέω συνθύειν ἐς Πανιδίον· τρίπυδα δὲ ἄθλον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φασὶ τοῦ Ἰώνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκῆτα ἐς Χίους Ἰωνα εὗρισκον· οὐ μόντοι ἐκεῖνός γε εἴρηκε, καθ' ἥρτινα αἰτίαν Χίῳ τελευτῶσιν ἐς Ἴωνα. Strabo XIV. p. 633. Χίον δὲ Ἐγέρτιος σύμμηκτον ἐπαγρόμενος πληθός. A war between Chios and Erythræ is mentioned by Herodotus I. 18. which occurred before the reign of *Alyattes*: καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι ταῖς Χίωσι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδήνεικαν. Plutarch. Mul. Virt. p. 244. E. relates the cause of this war: *Hippoclus* king of Chios was slain by his subjects. This produced the establishment of a colony at *Leuconia*, which belonged to the Erythreans: ὕστερον δὲ πολέμου πρὸς τοὺς Ἐρυθραίους αὐτοῖς γενομένου, μέγιστον Ἴώνων δυναμένους, τότε κάκεινόν ἐπὶ τὴν Λευκονίαν στρατευσάντων ἀντέχειν μὴ δυνάμενοι συνεχέρησαν ἐξελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδοι κ. τ. λ. Conf. Polyæn. VIII. 66. We have already seen p. 118. c. that in the time of *Cnopus* founder of Erythræ *Amphiclus* and *Polytecus* were tyrants of Chios.

<sup>b</sup> The twelve states are named in Ælian. V. H. VIII. 5. Suid. v. Ἰωνία, and in Herodotus I. 142. who remarks four distinctions of dialect. *Miletus*, *Myus*, and *Prienē* had the same dialect: κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι. *Ephesus*, *Colophon*, *Lebedos*, *Teos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Phocæa*, differed in dialect from the rest but agreed with each other. The third dialect was that of the *Chians* and *Erythreans*, and the fourth that of the *Samians*. *Velleius* I. 4. in his enumeration omits *Teos*. *Vitruvius* IV. 1. adds a thirteenth state, which he calls *Melite*. For *Smyrna*, a thirteenth state, added before B. C. 688, see p. 105. w.

<sup>i</sup> Herodotus VII. 95. observes of the islanders generally, who were under the Persians, ἡσιῶται, καὶ τούτο Περσασγῶν ἔθος. ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὴν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ δυνάμει πάσαι Ἴωνες αἱ ἀπ' Ἀθρήων. Of *Ceos* and *Naxos* he says VIII.

46. Κεῖοι—ἔθνος ἐν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων—Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσι Ἴωνες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγυνοῦτες. VIII. 48. Σίφριοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἔοντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. *Isocrates* and *Plutarch* have been already quoted upon this subject at p. 39. g. The occupiers of the *Cyclades* are named in *Schol. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 525. τὰς Κυκλάδας ἐπέκησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἡγήσαντο τῶν μὲν εἰς Κέων *Θερσιδάμας*, εἰς δὲ Σίφρον Ἀλκύνωρ, εἰς δὲ Ἀμοργὸν Νάξιοι, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον Κύναιθος καὶ Εὐρύλοχος, εἰς δὲ Κύθον Κέστωρ καὶ Κεφαλῆνος, εἰς δὲ Πάρον Κλύτιος καὶ Μέλας, εἰς δὲ Δῆλον Ἀντίοχος, εἰς δὲ Σέριφον Ἐτέοκλος, εἰς δὲ Νάξον Ἀρχέτιμος καὶ Τεύκλος, εἰς δὲ Ῥηναίαν Δῆλων, εἰς δὲ Σύρον Ἰππομέδων, εἰς δὲ Μύκονον Ἰππικλος. Ἰππικλος in the Scholiast is Ἰπποκλῆς son of *Neleus*, who occupied *Myconus*: *Zenob. Adag.* V. 17. already quoted. In the leaders of the other settlements there is a variation. *Neleus* himself by another account occupied *Naxos* in his passage to Asia: see above p. 114. w. We may reconcile the account of Ælian by supposing that *Archetimus* and *Teucus* were left there by *Neleus*. *Hegetor* son of *Neleus* was sent to the islands, and subdued many: see p. 115. and *Hegetor* does not appear in the Scholiast. *Velleius* I. 4. 3. speaks generally: *Iones—profecti Athenis—multas in Ægæo atque Icario occupavere insulas, Samum, Chium, Andrum, Tenum, Parum, Delum, aliasque ignobiles.*

<sup>k</sup> Eratosthenes apud *Clem.* Al. Strom. I. p. 336. B. *Apollodorus* apud *Euseb. Chron.* I. p. 139. whence we may correct the text of *Tatian* p. 108. οἱ περὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον Ὀμηρον φασὶν ἡκμακέναι μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ὅπερ γένοιτο ἂν ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν διακοσίῳ πεντήκοντα. *Eusebius Præp.* X. p. 492. B. rightly has ἔτεσι διακοσίῳ τεσσαράκοντα. That *Philochorus* and *Aristarchus* computed the same interval appears from *Tatian* p. 108. Conf. *Euseb.* p. 492. A. Ὀμηρον φασὶν ἡκμακέναι οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν, ἥ ἐστι μετὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰλιακῶν [see above p. 107. b]. *Φιλόχορος* δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν [ἀποικίαν ἔτεσι μ' *Euseb.*], ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρξίππου, τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα. *Clem.* Al. Strom. I. p. 326. D. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου γένεσιν κατὰ μὲν *Φιλόχορον* ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γίνεσθαι, ὕστερον τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχιλοχείοις ὑπομήμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν φησὶ φέρεσθαι αὐτόν, ἥ ἐγένετο μετὰ ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. *Phi-*



The term of fifty-eight years ascribed to the two Attic reigns of *Melanthus* and *Codrus* sufficiently agrees with this period of sixty years; although the chronologers are inconsistent with the historical accounts in comparing the Attic kings with the return of the *Heraclidæ* and with the Ionic migration; since they make the reign of *Melanthus* to begin before the Dorian conquest, and carry down the Ionic migration twenty-eight or thirty-three years below the death of *Codrus*<sup>1</sup>. But as *Melanthus* came to Athens in consequence of the Dorian con-

lochorus, as we learn from Eusebius (where the text of Tatian is deficient), computed 180—40=140 years from the fall of Troy to the Ionic migration. The concurrence of Philochorus in this date appears to shew that some tradition of this period of sixty years had been preserved, as of the eighty years which preceded it. All, however, did not agree in reckoning 140 years for the interval. The Parian marble allows only 132 years from the Trojan era to the migration; since the fall of Troy is placed N<sup>o</sup>. 25 in the year 945, and the migration N<sup>o</sup>. 28 in the year 813. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 305. reckons 145 years. Philostratus Heroic. p. 194. computes 127: ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν.

<sup>1</sup> The reigns of the Attic kings to *Menestheus* have been exhibited at p. 59. The following reigns are thus given: Euseb. Chron. I. p. 134. *Castoris de Athenarum regno.—Regnum delapsus est ad Melanthum Andropompi Pyliensem atque ad ejus filium Codrum, quorum amborum dominatio annos occupat LII.* That this is an error for *LVIII* appears from the detail of Castor himself, and from Euseb. p. 301. *Demophon Thesei annis 33, sub quo res Ulyxis et Orestis, itemque Æneas Anchisæ regnat Lavinii. Oxyntes Demophontis annis 12, sub quo Amazones fanum Ephesi inflammaverunt. Aphidas Oxyntæ anno 1. Thymætēs frater Aphidantis annis 8. Melanthus Andropompi Pyliensis annis 37, sub quo Heraclidæ descenderunt et Peloponnesus subacta est. Codrus Melanthi annis 21, sub quo Iones amissa Achaia Athenas confugerunt. Athenarum principes quoad viverent. Medon Codri dominatus est annis 9 (20 in marg.). Acastus Medontis annis 36, cujus ætate migratio Ionica fuit, in qua Homerum quoque fuisse traditum est.* Eusebius himself in the Canon p. 298—305. agrees in these numbers:

anno	
836	<i>Demophon</i> .....33
869	<i>Oxyntes</i> .....12
881	<i>Aphidas</i> ..... 1
882	<i>Thymætēs</i> ..... 8
890	<i>Melanthus</i> .....37
927	<i>Codrus</i> .....21
	—112
948	<i>Medon</i> .....20
968	<i>Acastus</i> .....36
980	<i>Acasti</i> 13 <sup>o</sup> <i>Ionica Migratio</i> (145).

Syncellus p. 172. D. Μενεσθεὺς ἔτη λγ'—τούτου τῷ λγ' ἔτει Ἰλιον ἦλθω. p. 173. A. Δημοφῶν ἔτη κγ'—ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Ὀρέστην. Αἰνείας τε ἐβασίλευσε Λαθινίω.—Οξύτης ἔτη ι'—Ἀφείδας ἔτος θ'. p. 178. A. Θυμοίτης ἔτη θ', Ἀφείδαντος ἀδελφός—Μελανθος Ἀνδρόπομπου Πύλιος ἔτη λζ'—Κόδρος Μελάνθου ἔτη κα'—ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος εἰς Πελοπόννησον γέγονεν.—Μέδων Κόδρου ἔτη κ'—Ἀκάστος Μέδοντος ἔτη λε'. ἐπὶ Ἀκάστου Ἰῶναν ἀποικία· καὶ Ὀμηρος ἱστορεῖται γεγονέναι παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, ὡς τινές· οἱ δὲ ἄλλῃ πρῶτον, καὶ ἄλλοι ὕστερον. According to these numbers Castor and Eusebius have 112 years for the whole period from the Trojan era to the death of *Codrus* and 58 for the two reigns. Syncellus transfers ten years from *Demopho* to *Menestheus*, and makes the whole period 101 years, but the two reigns 58. The Chronicle quoted above at p. 60. h. gives, as we have seen, 58 years to *Codrus* and *Melanthus*, but enlarges the whole period to 117 years. The first year of *Melanthus*, then, is placed by the Latin Chronicle 60 years after the fall of Troy, by Castor and Eusebius 55, and by Syncellus 44. And the epoch of the Dorian conquest, in the 80th year from the Trojan era, falls upon the 21st year of *Melanthus* by the first computation, upon his 26th year by the second, and upon his 37th and last year by the third; and accordingly Castor refers that event to the reign of *Melanthus*, and Syncellus places it in the reign of *Codrus*. For the same reason (because they had carried the reign of *Melanthus* too high) they have brought down the Ionic migration to the reign of *Acastus*. For 60 years reckoned from the 27th of *Melanthus* would be accomplished in the 8th year of *Acastus*; reckoned, with Syncellus, from the first of *Codrus*, they will terminate in the 19th of *Acastus*. Eusebius in the Armenian copy, as we have seen, makes the 13th of *Acastus* and the 145th year from the fall of Troy the epoch of the migration. In the version of Hieronymus it is placed in the eighth of *Acastus* and the 140th year. This error of the ancient chronologers in the time of *Melanthus* at Athens has been repeated by many modern writers. In Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. LI. Blair, Potter Antiq. vol. I. p. 14. Hales vol. I. p. 229. Dodwell de Cycl. p. 683—694. and in Du Fresnoy Tablettes tom. I. p. 430. he begins to reign in the fifty-sixth year after the Trojan era. Larcher



quest, it is evident that the first year of his reign was subsequent to that epoch. And if the two reigns were fifty-eight years, it is also manifest that the period of sixty years was com-

Herodot. tom. VII. p. 584. has corrected the error, and has placed the accession of *Melanthus* after the return of the *Heraclidæ*.

The Parian marble No. 24 (25), having fixed the taking of Troy to the year 945, describes the Ionic migration thus No. 27 (28): ἀφ' οὗ Νε... εἰς Φικίαν ..... αλ. ην α... σ ..... αν, Ἐφεσον, Ἐρυθράς, Κλαζομενάς, ... ην ..... εν ... Κολοφῶνα, . υἱῶτα, ... α... Σάμον, ..... τα... ἰωνί. ἐγένετο, ἐτ... .. ΔΙΙΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων Μενεσθέως τρεῖςκαίδεκάτου .τους. The lacunæ are variously supplied. In the date there is no difficulty. It is supplied by Chandler and Boeckh: ΙΗ ΗΗΗΔΙΙΙ, or 813 years; which gives 945—813=132 for the interval. In the name Μενεσθέως is an error, acknowledged by Selden and Palmerius Exercit. p. 699. *In rege error fœdisissimus nostrum marmor inquinavit, quem notavit Seldenus; and by Dodwell Diss. p. 698. and Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 315, 316. who concurs with Selden and Dodwell in substituting Μῆδοντος. The marble, then, is supposed to express 132 years from the fall of Troy to the thirteenth of Medon; but, as Eusebius gives only 125 years for the same period, Dodwell Diss. p. 697, 698. adopts five years from Excerpt. Barbar. already quoted p. 60. h. Mr. Boeckh p. 331. agrees with him: *Dodwellus vidit rem aliquatenus expediri posse, ubi numerus annorum singulis regnis tributis ex Barbaro potissimum asciretur; quocum nostro magis convenire quam cum Eusebiano canone colligas vel ex intervallis annorum Trojæ captæ et Olymp. I.* He reduces the period on the marble to 131 years (p. 332), places with Dodwell p. 698. the reign of *Melanthus* at the 61st year after the fall of Troy, and determines that the marble allowed only sixty years between that era and the Dorian conquest, because the reign of *Melanthus* followed this last event: *Melanthum consentiebant omnes esse ex Messenia ab Heraclidis pulsum et Atticæ regem creatum; et a Troja capta usque ad finem Thymætæ sunt anni 60. Patet igitur nostrum annis 60 post Ilîi excidium reditum Heraclidarum collocasse; following Dodwell p. 698. who had observed, Redierunt Heraclidæ anno a Trojæ excidio non 80, ut volebat Eratosthenes, sed 60, ut Strabo qui has rationes secutus est, si Chron. Mar. audiamus. Mr. Boeckh concludes that those who referred the Ionic migration to the time of *Acastus* referred not to its beginning but to its conclusion: *Rem qui in Acastum distulerunt non initium Ionix conditæ sed stabilitam et quodammodo perfectam novam rempublicam spectabant.* But these conclusions are not quite**

certain. In the first place the Parian marble differs both from Eusebius and from the Latin chronicle in the years of the Attic kings. The marble places the first year of *Cecrops* at the year 1318, the twenty-second of *Menestheus* at 945 (see above p. 60. h); and, if we assume with Mr. Boeckh and the other editors that the marble agreed with Eusebius in the date of *Æschylus*, of which we have no proof (see the tables B. C. 757), we shall have the twenty-first of *Æschylus* at the year 494. These positions give 374 years to the twenty-second of *Menestheus* inclusive, 944—493=451 from that year of *Menestheus* to the twenty-first inclusive of *Æschylus*, and 374+451=825 years for the whole period from the first of *Cecrops* to the twenty-first inclusive of *Æschylus*. Eusebius places the first of *Cecrops* anno 461, the twenty-second of *Menestheus* anno 834, the twenty-first of *Æschylus* anno 1259. His periods therefore are 374 years for the first interval, 425 for the second, and 799 for the whole interval. The marble agrees with Eusebius in the first period, but inserts in the second between the death of *Menestheus* and the accession of *Æschylus* twenty-six years which are not in Eusebius. But the Barbaro-Latin Chronicle also differs from the marble. This compiler reckons 384 years to the death of *Menestheus*. He allows only nineteen years to *Menestheus*. His detail of reigns gives 441 years from the accession of *Demopho* to the second of *Æschylus*; and this will make the period to the twenty-first of *Æschylus* 441+19=460 years. This chronicle therefore exceeds the marble ten years in the first period and nine years in the second. Nor will these five years assumed from the chronicle by Dodwell bring them to a coincidence; for the reigns in that chronicle from the first of *Demopho* to the thirteenth of *Medon*, both inclusive, will only give 130 years; which is two years less than the term expressed by the marble. In the second place, we cannot affirm that the interval from the siege of Troy to the Dorian conquest was reckoned by the author of the marble to be sixty years because *Melanthus* began to reign in the sixty-first; for although it was the historical truth that his reign followed this epoch, yet we have seen that the chronologers paid no attention to this. In the last place it does not seem likely that the chronologers intended to express the completion of the Ionic migration in referring it to the time of *Acastus*. It is more probable, as we have seen already, that they carried down the migration to the

pleted in the first year of *Medon* son of *Codrus*<sup>m</sup>. But, although this term of sixty years is perhaps an authentic period, marking the commencement of the Ionic migration under *Neleus*, yet the establishment of the Ionian cities was gradually accomplished, and was not the work of one year or of one expedition. Miletus and Ephesus were probably occupied early, since *Neleus* was seated at Miletus, and Ephesus preceded the Æolian settlers at Smyrna<sup>n</sup>. But Erythræ was founded after the other states<sup>o</sup>; Clazomenæ after Colophon<sup>p</sup>. Teos had two successive bands of settlers<sup>q</sup>. Priënë had also two bodies of settlers, and the first was led by a son of *Neleus*<sup>r</sup>. We may conclude, then, that these settlements, added to those in the islands, occupied a space of many years.

## VI.

### DATES OF THE TROJAN WAR.

THE Ionic migration, commencing 140 years after the fall of Troy, is the lowest date to which we can descend. In proceeding upwards our highest point is the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, about July B. C. 776, the first date in Grecian chronology which can be fixed upon authentic evidence. It has already been remarked<sup>a</sup> that the interval between these two epochs cannot be known. And yet upon the extent of that interval depends the position of the Trojan war and of all preceding epochs. If this interval cannot be ascertained, the dates of all the early events, from *Phoroneus* to the Ionian colonies, hang in uncertainty. We have observed<sup>b</sup> that the date of Eratosthenes for the fall of Troy was founded upon conjecture<sup>c</sup>, and was derived from him by later chronologers; that some of those who preceded him brought this epoch to a lower point, but that many carried it higher; and that the date at which he had arrived was a middle point between the longer and shorter computations of preceding writers<sup>d</sup>. It is now proposed to illustrate what was there advanced, by exhibiting the testimonies a little more at large.

reign of *Acastus* because they had carried down the preceding epoch to the reign of *Melanthus*. With respect to the notice in the marble N<sup>o</sup>. 28, the truth appears to be, as Palmerius has seen Exercit. p. 699, that both the numbers and the name are erroneous; and that *Μενεσθέως τρεισκαιδεκάτου έτους* in N<sup>o</sup>. 28 has been repeated by the copyist from *Μενεσθέως τρεισκαιδεκάτου έτους* in N<sup>o</sup>. 24, five lines before.

<sup>m</sup> As the space of eighty years from the Trojan era to the Dorian conquest appears to be a genuine period, it is evident that at least the same space must have elapsed between the Trojan war and the accession of *Melanthus*. But in all the accounts of the Attic reigns, as we have seen in the preceding note, the years of *Demopho*, *Oxyntes*, *Aphidas*, and *Thymætes*, are insufficient to supply the interval. If then these reigns rest on any authority, we must suppose after *Thymætes* was deposed a considerable interregnum of at least twenty years, which led to the elevation of *Melanthus*. Larcher upon his own authority adds twenty-six years to the reigns

of *Demopho* and *Oxyntes*.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 105. w. *Androclus* the founder of Ephesus was supposed by Pherecydes to lead the expedition: *ἄρχει τοῦ στόλου* p. 116. x. which marks Ephesus for an early colony.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 118. c. p. 119. d.

<sup>q</sup> p. 117. z. <sup>r</sup> p. 117. a.

<sup>a</sup> F. H. II. p. IX. <sup>b</sup> F. H. II. p. III—VIII.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Boeckh agrees in this opinion Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 328. observing very truly, *Has quidem anni definitiones non historicæ inniti fidei, sed incertis atatum et similibus computationibus repertas esse, hodie quivis concedet facile.*

<sup>d</sup> It was not intended in that passage F. H. II. p. VI. to affirm that Eratosthenes selected his date, 407 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, because it was a middle point; but that this date, which he had obtained (doubtless by computing the length of generations and of reigns), was in effect a middle point; being forty-seven and sixty-three years above some of the dates there exhibited, and eighty-seven and twenty-six years below others.



The chronology of Eratosthenes is thus delivered by Clemens <sup>c</sup>: 'Ερατοσθένης δὲ τοὺς χρόνους ὥδε ἀναγράφει· ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν κτίσιν ἔτη ἐξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Λυκούργου ἔτη ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ἑνέα· ἐπὶ δὲ προηγούμενον ἔτος τῶν πρώτων Ὀλυμπίων ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ· ἀφ' ἧς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἔτη διακόσια ἐνεήκοντα ἑπτὰ· ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἦγταν ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην ἔτη τριάκοντα τέσσαρα· μεθ' ἧν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἔτη τριάκοντα πέντε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταλλαγὴν ἔτη δώδεκα <sup>f</sup>. The four first terms in this series give 407 years from the Trojan era to the first Olympiad; and this number is verified by Censorinus <sup>g</sup>. Dodwell supposes that number to give B. C. 1184 for the Trojan era of Eratosthenes; and in this date Mr. Boeckh <sup>h</sup> concurs. Dodwell <sup>i</sup> argues that the 407 years were exclusive of the year before the first Olympiad, that this was the 408th, and the year of the first Olympiad itself the 409th; and that the Trojan era was consequently B. C. 1184 <sup>k</sup>. But the numbers are rather  $407 + 776 = 1183$ . The computation of Eratosthenes includes the last term of it, and the year before the first Olympiad is one of the 407. The first Olympiad was celebrated in the 408th, and what he intended to express by the number 407 was all the time which had elapsed before the celebration of the games. This appears in the first place from the term of 108 years preceding the first Olympiad. These 108 years were twenty-seven Olympiads, which Eratosthenes computed from *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus* <sup>l</sup>. Now as the 28th Olympiad (that is, the first registered Olympiad) was reckoned to commence in July B. C. 776, the first commenced in July B. C. 884. But if the preceding periods had been at B. C. 1184, 1104, 1044, the next would be at B. C. 885 <sup>m</sup>; and the twenty-seven Olympiads would have contained 109 years. In the next place, this appears from the following term in the series: *From Ol. 1. to the expedition of Xerxes 297 years*. The year B. C. 777 (the year before Ol. 1. 1) is not reckoned in this term of the series. If therefore it were excluded from the preceding, it would be omitted altogether. Again, it cannot be doubted that by these five periods collectively Eratosthenes intended to express all the interval from the fall of Troy to the passage of *Xerxes*. But these numbers give 704 years. And  $704 + \text{B. C. } 479 = 1183$ . For the sixth period is, *From the passage of Xerxes to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war forty-eight years*. Of these forty-eight years the first is Ol. 75. 2, since the last is Ol. 87. 1, at the close of which the war began. Hence it appears that he reckoned Ol. 75. 1, B. C. 479 (in which the expedition of *Xerxes* ended) to the preceding period. The seventh period expresses *Thence to the end of the war twenty-seven*

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 336.

<sup>f</sup> This series of numbers will give the following ten periods:

1.....	80
2.....	60
3.....	159
4.....	108 (407)
5.....	297 (704)
6.....	48
7.....	27 (779)
8.....	34
9.....	35
10.....	12
<hr/>	
	860

<sup>g</sup> Censorin. c. 21. *Eratosthenes CCCCVII*. See F. H. III. p. 490.

<sup>h</sup> Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 328. *Itaque hodie vulgo secundum Eratosthenem—Troja excidium a. Chr. 1184 tribuitur ex Petavii calculis.*

<sup>i</sup> Appar. ad Chron. Dionys. tom. IV. p. 2427. *Recensentur ad annum qui Olympia prima præcessit anni 407. Erit ergo annus ipse qui Olympia proxime præcessit a Troja 408; quo exente mox anni a Troja 409 initio prima celebrata fuerint Olympia.*

<sup>k</sup> He reckons  $408 + 776 = 1184$ .

<sup>l</sup> See F. H. II. p. 410.

<sup>m</sup> Namely  $1044 - 159 = 885$ .

years. The first year in this series is Ol. 87. 2, since the last is Ol. 93. 4; in the spring of which Olympic year the war ended. And the sum of these seven numbers  $779 + \text{B. C. } 404$  gives 1183 for the era. The eighth period has *To the battle of Leuctra thirty-four years*. These are Ol. 94. 1—102. 2 both inclusive. In all these periods the same mode of reckoning is pursued. The 279 years include the year in which the war of *Xerxes* ended: the forty-eight include the year in which the Peloponnesian war began: the twenty-seven include the year in which it terminated: the thirty-four include the year of the battle of Leuctra. Consequently the 407 years include the year which preceded the first Olympiad. The ninth period, *Hence to the death of Philip thirty-five years*, includes the year of the death of *Philip*, and expresses Ol. 102. 3—111. 1<sup>n</sup>. In the last, *Hence to the death of Alexander twelve years*, the twelve years are Ol. 111. 2—114. 1<sup>o</sup>; at the close of which *Alexander* died. And the total amount of all these numbers,  $860 + \text{B. C. } 323$ , will again give B. C. 1183 for the fall of Troy.

Apollodorus agreed with Eratosthenes. His dates are given by Eusebius from Porphyry<sup>p</sup>: *Ex Porphyrii primo philosophicæ historiæ libro. A capto Ilio usque ad Heraclidarum in Peloponnesum descensum ait Apollodorus elapsos esse annos 80; tum a descensu ad Ioniam urbibus frequentatam annos 60; exinde ad Lycurgum annos 159: summam autem temporis a capto Ilio ad Ol. 1. annorum esse 407*. Diodorus, who follows Apollodorus<sup>q</sup>, preserves the following dates. He reckons 779 years from the fall of Troy to the end of the Peloponnesian war, or to Ol. 93. 4 inclusive; and Ol. 94. 1 he accounts the 780th year<sup>r</sup>. But these are the numbers of Eratosthenes, whose seven first periods to Ol. 93. 4 inclusive give, as we have seen, precisely the same amount, 779 years. Diodorus again affirms that the year before the archon *Demogenes*, or Ol. 115. 3, was the 866th from the fall of Troy<sup>s</sup>. But this Olympic year, ending at Midsummer B. C. 317, six years after the death of *Alexander*, also corresponds with the date of Eratosthenes, and gives  $866 + 317 = \text{B. C. } 1183$  for the era. Diodorus indeed in another place<sup>t</sup> appears to add a year to the account: ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀκολουθῶνς Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τίθεμεν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ὀλυμπιάδα δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα, συλλογιζόμενοι τοὺς χρόνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλευσάντων. This account gives 408 years down to the first Olympiad, and B. C. 1184 for the era: and we have accordingly on a former occasion<sup>v</sup> ascribed these numbers to Apollodorus. But as it is evident from Porphyry and from the two dates already quoted, which entirely coincide with Eratosthenes, that Apollodorus computed only 407 years, it is probable that this account is inaccurately stated by Diodorus; and that the 328 years were inclusive of the first Olympic year; that the true interval was 327 years, and that in the

<sup>n</sup> F. H. II. B. C. 336, 2.

<sup>o</sup> F. H. II. B. C. 323, 2.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 139.

<sup>q</sup> Diod. I. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Diod. XIV. 2. ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως πράξεις ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου—διελθόντες ἔτη ἑπτακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑννέα. Ibid. 3. ἀναρχίας οὐσης Ἀθήνησι [sc. Ol. 94. 1] ἔτος μὲν ἦν ὀγδοηκοστὸν πρὸς τοῖς ἑπτακοσίοις μετὰ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν.

<sup>s</sup> Diod. XIX. 1. 2. πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [sc. Ol. 115. 3] τὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος, εἰς ἃν ἀπὸ

Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἔτη συνάγεται ἑκτακόσια ἐξήκοντα ἕξ.—ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δημογένοῦς [Ol. 115. 4] Ἀγαθοκλῆς τύραννος ἐγένετο.

<sup>t</sup> I. 5.

<sup>v</sup> F. H. II. p. III. and III. p. 105. where the last year of the *Chronica* of Apollodorus is made to commence in B. C. 145. But if the epoch of the fall of Troy was placed by Apollodorus rather in the spring of B. C. 1183, the period of 1040 years would be completed in spring B. C. 143; and the last year of this period would be Ol. 159. 1, commencing in B. C. 144.



328th the games in which *Coræbus* won were celebrated. The number 407 is expressed by Tatian, Clemens, and others <sup>w</sup>.

Dionysius, however, placed the fall of Troy one year higher and in B. C. 1184. This has been proved by Dodwell from that passage of Dionysius <sup>x</sup> in which the capture of the city is fixed to the 23rd *Thargelion*, seventeen days before the summer solstice, in an intercalary year, when the first day of the year following was carried down to the 21st day after the solstice. This, as Dodwell has shewn, has been obviously obtained by computing backwards the years of the Metonic cycle, and adapting to them the supposed date of the fall of Troy. But the year thus described could only be the eighth of a Metonic cycle <sup>y</sup>; and, as the first year of the first cycle began June 27 B. C. 432, the first of a cycle would have begun June 27 (in reality July 2) B. C. 1192 <sup>z</sup>, and the eighth would have begun June 27 (July 2) B. C. 1185; which fixes the day assigned by Dionysius to *Thargelion* or June B. C. 1184. But this date is inconsistent with the account of Dionysius himself (as Dodwell has also shewn) in other passages, where he states from Cato that the 432nd year from the fall of Troy was the era of the foundation of Rome, and that Rome was founded in Ol. 7. 1. <sup>a</sup> But if the 432nd year coincided with Ol. 7. 1, the 408th coincided with Ol. 1. 1; and 407 years only had elapsed before the first Olympic games; which agrees with Eratosthenes. The cause of this incon-

<sup>w</sup> Tatian. *Or. ad Græc.* p. 141. τὰς δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδας ἑστέρας τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσιν ἀπεδείξαμεν γεγονυίας τετρακοσίας ἑπτά. Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. p. 332. B. ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ πρώτη. ἥ καὶ ὑστέρα τῶν Ἰλιακῶν δέκνυται ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις ἑπτά. Suidas Ὀμηρος—ἐτέθη ἡ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἀλωσιν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἑστέρας υἱ. sic mss. Par. apud Kuster. Excerpta apud Scal. p. 75. Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. LXIII. *Excerptorum auctor—a Solis, id est, Ilia devastatione usque ad Ol. 1. annos 407 enumerat.*

<sup>x</sup> See F. H. II. p. 332.

<sup>y</sup> Dodwell. *ad Dionys.* tom. I. p. 158. tom. IV. p. 2417. 2426. *Cycli Metonici situm talem evicimus, qui efficiat ut annus ipse exidii Trojani idem cycli fuerit 8us &c.*

<sup>z</sup> Four cycles being seventy-six years, forty will be 760; and 432 + 760 = B. C. 1192 for the first year of a cycle.

<sup>a</sup> Dionys. *Ant.* I. p. 187. See the passage in F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Idem *Ant.* I. p. 179. ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν—κτίζουσι Ῥώμην, ἔτους ἐνεστώτος πρώτου τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος. II. p. 238. ἐτειχίσθη ἡ πόλις ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος. I. p. 192. Ῥωμύλου ἔτι πρώτῃ τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος παρὲλθόναι τὴν βασιλείαν. It will be observed that ἐνεστώτος will not here mean *proximus ei qui agitur*, but “the year which was then current;” for the time described is the tenth month of Ol. 7. 1. Mr. Boeckh *Inscr. Gr.* tom. II. p. 330. is of opinion that Dionysius by Ol. 7. 1. intends to mark the spring of Ol. 6. 4. as the era of the foundation: *Romæ conditæ annum statuit in Ol. 7. 1 incidere;*

*ipse vero quomodo Romana tempora cum Græcis comparanda sint addit se alibi docere: quo haud dubie hoc voluit significare, annum quidem illum Romanum incidere in Ol. 7. 1, sed cœpisse paulo prius.* And p. 328. *Romam conditam statuit—mense Aprili sub exitum Ol. 6. 4.* But Dodwell *ad Dionysium* tom. IV. p. 2419—2423. has successfully argued against this position of Petavius. And that Dionysius did not place the foundation there may be proved from this passage I. p. 11. πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἡδὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἔστιν εἰς ἡπάτους Κλαυδίον Νέρωνα τὸ δεύτερον ἡπατεύοντα καὶ Πύωνα Καλπούρνιον, οἱ κατὰ τὴν ρίζῃ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀπεδείχθησαν. These consuls began their consulship in the middle of Ol. 193. 1. whence it appears that he compared the Roman year with that Olympic year in which it commenced, and not with that in which it ended. When he refers to the future Olympic year, he adds the term εἰς τοῦτον VI. p. 1117. X. p. 2134. Moreover the year of these consuls is U. C. 745 in Dionysius, but 747 in the reckoning of Varro; a proof, as Dodwell rightly concludes, that the computation of Cato and Dionysius was two years below the reckoning of Varro. But the Varronian era of Rome is known to be spring B. C. 753. The Catonian, then, began in spring B. C. 751, or the close of Ol. 7. 1. We may add that the era of Varro, April B. C. 753, is not referred to Ol. 6. 4, but to Ol. 6. 3 (see F. H. III. p. XIX. t); although his epoch fell *sub exitum anni Olymp.* 6. 3. And it seems the natural process that the date which is made the measure of other dates should include those dates, and commence before them.



sistency appears to be that Dionysius when he names the 432nd year expresses the era of Eratosthenes, and that when he describes the eighth year of a Metonic cycle he delivers a date determined by himself. Dodwell has traced in Solinus<sup>b</sup> indications of the higher era, where the foundation of Rome in the seventh Olympiad is referred to the 433rd year after the fall of Troy. And the higher date is expressed by Eusebius, when he traces the time upwards from Ol. 1. to the capture of the city, and names 408 years as the computation of the Grecian chronographers<sup>c</sup>. The capture of Troy was referred by many early authorities to the spring or the beginning of summer<sup>d</sup>; and the 407 years assumed by Eratosthenes, or 408 years of

<sup>b</sup> Solinus I. 27. *Collatis nostris et Græcorum temporibus invenimus incipiente Olympiade septima Romam conditam, anno post Ilium captum quadringentesimo tricesimo tertio. Quippe certamen Olympicum—Iphitus instauravit post excidium Trojæ anno quadringentesimo octavo. Ita cum septima Olympiade cæptante Roma condita sit, inter exortum urbis et Trojam captam jure esse annos quadringentos et triginta tres constat.* Solinus has here expressed both computations, and the two accounts cannot stand together. The 408th year commencing with Ol. 1. 1 gives B. C. 1183. The 433rd year in Ol. 7. 1 ascends to the eighth year of the Metonic cycle, or June B. C. 1184.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Præp. X. p. 484. A. ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἀνιῶν χρόνους μέχρι τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως εὐρήσεις ἔτη συγκεφαλαιούμενα ἡ, ὡς αἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφαὶ περιέχουσι. The writers to whom he refers might be Dionysius or those who agreed with Dionysius. Eusebius in his own computation errs two years in defect: Chron. I. p. 298. *Ab Ilio capto ad primam Olympiadem anni sunt 405.* That these were his genuine numbers appears from his intervals: *Anno 835 Ilium captum est. Anno 1240 Olympias I.*

<sup>d</sup> The days and months to which the capture was ascribed are ably illustrated by Mr. Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 329. They are contained in the following testimonies: Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. τῇ ἐβδόμῃ φθίνοντος Θαρρηλιῶνος—περὶ ἣν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ "Ἴλιον ἀλῶναι, ὡς Ἐφορος καὶ Καλλισθένης καὶ Δαμάστριος καὶ Φύλαρχος ἱστορήκασιν. Clem. Strom. I. p. 321. D. quoted by Eusebius Præp. X. 12. p. 498. B. κατὰ τὸ ὀκτακαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος βασιλείας Ἴλιον ἔαλω, Δημοφῶντος τοῦ Θησέως βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνησι τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει, Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς δευτέρου ἐπὶ δέκα, ὡς φησι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀργεῖος. Ἀγίας δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ["Ἅγις δὲ καὶ Κέρκυλος Euseb.] ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ, μηνὸς Πανέμου ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος. Ἑλλάνικος γὰρ δωδεκάτῃ Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς (καὶ τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀττικὰ συγγραφευμένων ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος, βασιλεύοντος τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος Μενεσθέως) πληθυνούσης σελήνης. "Νιξ μὲν ἦν," φησὶν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς, "μεσάτα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε "σελάνα." ἕτεροι Σκιροφοριῶνος τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Schol.

Eur. Hec. 892. Καλλισθένης ἐν θ' τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὕτω γράφει. "Ἐάλω μὲν ἡ Τροία Θαρρηλιῶνος μηνὸς, ὡς μὲν "τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν [sic Matthiæus], ν [1. η] ἵστα- "μένου, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα, ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος. διο- "ρίζει γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν ἄλωσιν, φάσκων συμβῆναι τότε τὴν "κατάληψιν ἡνίκα Νιξ μὲν ἦν μέση λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε "σελήνη [Tzetz. ad Lyc. 344. ὡς ὁ Λέσχος φησὶν "ἡνίκα "νιξ μὲν ἦν," κ. τ. λ.]. μεσονύκτιος δὲ μόνον τῇ "ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος ἀνατελείειν."—Λυσίμαχος δὲ φησι Δη- "μοφῶντος Ἀθήνησι βασιλεύοντος ἔτους τετάρτου [forte πρώτου] Θαρρηλιῶνος ἱσταμένου δωδεκάτῃ. Mar. Par. No. 24 (25). μηνὸς Θ.....νος ἐβδόμῃ φθίνοντος. Dionysius, as we have seen, fixed it to the twenty-third of Thargelion. Lastly, we may add Tzetzes Posthom. 770—779.

δωδεκάτῃ μὲν ἦν μηνὸς Θαρρηλιῶνος—

Καλλιστῶ δ' ἱέρεια κλειναῖς ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις, οἰκτροτάτου μεγάλου λυκάβαντος κείνη ἐν ᾧρη, κείνη νυκτὶ ὁ Λέσβιος Ἑλλάνικος ἀείδει, σὺν τῇ καὶ Δούρις, Τροίην ἐλεεῖν παναχαιοῖς.

On the mistake of Callisto priestess of Athens for Callisto priestess at Argos see Dodwell de Cycl. p. 809. That Tzetzes is no authority for the quantity of the name Ἑλλάνικος appears by his neglect of quantity on other occasions, as in the following examples: Posthom. 124 Πριᾶμος. 387 Πριᾶμου. 237 Δαρδῶνοι. 252 Ἀρρᾶβων. 293 Ἀρᾶβιοι. 358, 385 Τρώϊλον. 503 Εὐριπίδου. 738 Λατῖνων. 60 ἄμειβουσιν. 381 καμπύλον. 434 φᾶλαγγηδον. 552 ὀρᾶαν. 485 δοριθηράτος. And this very name is Ἑλλᾶνικός in v. 14. No just argument, then, can be founded upon Tzetzes v. 778 for the derivation of this name from νίκη.

Among the authorities here quoted, Hellanicus and Damastes may be placed at B. C. 460, Ephorus at B. C. 360, Callisthenes B. C. 340, Duris of Samos B. C. 280, the author of the Parian Marble B. C. 264. All these preceded Eratosthenes. Phylarchus was contemporary, and may be placed with Eratosthenes himself at B. C. 230, about the forty-sixth year of Eratosthenes. It is possible that some tradition had been preserved of the season of the year in which Troy was taken, and that the attempt of the early writers to assign the month and the day was founded upon this tradition.



Dionysius, would terminate about two months before the Olympic games in which *Coræbus* won.

Many writers who preceded Eratosthenes had referred the era to a lower date. We have seen<sup>c</sup> that Isocrates, Ephorus, and Democritus, placed the war of Troy from thirty-three to sixty-three years below his date. Phanias of Eresus was fifty-five years below him<sup>i</sup>, Sosibius twelve<sup>g</sup>. Callimachus reckoned only fifty-two years between *Iphitus* and *Coræbus*, where Eratosthenes computed 108; a difference of fifty-six years: whence we may reasonably infer that Callimachus placed the Return and consequently the Trojan era fifty-six years below the epoch of Eratosthenes<sup>h</sup>. And this epoch seems to assign too large a space to the Spartan,

<sup>c</sup> F. H. II. p. V.

<sup>f</sup> Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 337. A. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόλου ἐπὶ εὐαίνετον ἀρχόντα [B.C. 334], ἐφ' οὗ φασιν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, ὥς μὲν Φανείας, ἔτη ἑπτακόσια δέκα πέντε, ὥς δὲ Ἐφωρος, ἑπτακόσια τριάκοντα τέττε, ὥς δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ Κλείταρχος, ὀκτακόσια εἰκοσι, ὥς δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἑπτακόσια ἑβδμήκοντα τέσσαρα. The date ascribed to Eratosthenes will be 774 + 335 = B. C. 1109 for the Return. But he placed that event, as we know from Clemens himself, in B. C. 1103; a difference of six years. It is therefore probable that τέσσαρα is an interpolation, and that Clemens included both extremes in the computation. The description ἐπὶ τὸν εὐαίνετον ἀρχόντα—Ἐρατοσθένης ἑπτακόσια ἑβδμήκοντα might then express in current numbers the period of Eratosthenes. The Return was in the eightieth year after the fall of Troy, commencing in the middle of B. C. 1104. The archonship of *Euænetus* Ol. 111. 2 was completed in the middle of B. C. 334. If, then, the year of the Return was B. C. 1104, the passage of *Alexander* into Asia might be said to be in the 770th year. In the date of Ephorus there is a variation of twenty years in the account of Diodorus, which has been considered in F. H. II. p. VI. The numbers of Diodorus are thus made to give B. C. 1090, and of Clemens B. C. 1070. But applying the same rule of computation as in the case of Eratosthenes, and including both extremes, we shall have B. C. 1089 in the account of Diodorus and B. C. 1069 in the account of Clemens. The term of 820 years ascribed to Timæus and Clitarchus, and terminating with Ol. 111. 2 inclusive, or the middle of B. C. 334, will place their epoch for the Return at B. C. 1154. The date of Phanias reckoned to the same point will be B. C. 1049, or fifty-five years below Eratosthenes.

<sup>g</sup> See for the epoch of Sosibius F. H. II. p. 409. III. p. 508. w.

<sup>h</sup> According to Eratosthenes the Olympiad of *Coræbus* was the twenty-eighth, but according to Callimachus only the fourteenth, from the institution by *Iphitus*. See the testimonies in F. H. II. p. 410. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 512. ob-

serves, "Perhaps this [i. e. the difference between Callimachus and Eratosthenes] "is to be explained by supposing that the Olympiad of "*Coræbus* was the first of four years, whereas "the former Olympiads had contained nine "years; in which case we have  $12 \times 9 + 4 =$  "108." This explanation is not satisfactory.

1. Eratosthenes supposed the former Olympiads to contain four years, for he reckoned twenty-seven Olympiads in 108 years, and  $27 \times 4 = 108$ . 2. Pausanias V. 7, 4. attests that the earliest traditions made the interval four years: Ἡρακλεῖ πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρῶτον καὶ Ὀλύμπια ὄνομα θέσθαι. διὰ πέμπτον οὖν ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμὸν. In Pindar Ol. III. 25—38 = 14—23 the interval is four years in the time of *Hercules*: Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας—πενταετηρῖδ' ἀμὰ θῆκε. And the alternate periods of fifty and forty-nine months appear to be of the earliest institution: Porphyrius apud Schol. Hom. Il. κ'. 252. τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐναλλὰξ ἀγομένων διὰ ἑ μῆνας καὶ μθ', οἱ ποιηταὶ πεντηκοντάμηνον φασιν τὴν πανήγυριν. Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 35. γίνεταί ὁ ἀγὼν ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα μηνῶν ποτὲ δὲ διὰ πενήκοντα ἔθεν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μηνὶ ποτὲ δὲ τῷ Παρθενίῳ, παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Μεσῶρι ἢ Θῶβι, ἐπιτελεῖται. The mention of the Egyptian months might have been added about A. D. 200, when *Thoth* had fallen back to July and *Mesori* to June. Mr. Boeckh ad Pindar. p. 138. ingeniously, perhaps truly, traces a reference to this period of fifty months in the fable of *Endymion* and his fifty daughters (apud Pausan. V. 1): *Endymioni Luna peperit quinquaginta filias, quibus significantur quinquaginta illi menses lunares*. But if the *Idæi Dactyli* were reckoned to be five because the Olympic festival recurred every fifth year (for we must thus invert the fable), and the daughters of *Endymion* were fifty because it recurred every fifty months, this period of four years for the games must have been of the highest antiquity, and coeval with the games themselves. 3. The proposition of Mr. Muller is inaccurately expressed; for if Callimachus reckoned the former Olympiads to



Messenian, and Arcadian kings. At Sparta 540 years from B. C. 1103 to B. C. 560 give thirty-six years each to the reigns of the *Agidae* and thirty-eight to the *Proclidae*<sup>i</sup>. In Messenia *Cresphontes*, who came with the Dorians in B. C. 1103, fell early. *Androcles* fell by a faction in B. C. 744. And yet in this period of 360 years are only eight generations, from *Cresphontes* to *Androcles* both inclusive, or forty-five years to each generation. *Euphaës*, the ninth from *Cresphontes*, died in B. C. 730; and the nine generations (to *Euphaës* inclusive) in 373 years will give more than forty-one years to each<sup>k</sup>. In Arcadia *Cypselus* had eight successors in the same period. *Cypselus* himself was already in the throne before the Return; but even including him in the account, we have  $40 \times 9 = 360$ , or forty years each for the nine Arcadian reigns<sup>l</sup>. In the same space of time there were ten generations among the *Heracidae* of Corinth. *Hippotes* lived at the Return B. C. 1103. *Telestes*, who was slain in B. C. 747, was the tenth (both inclusive) from *Hippotes*. Ten generations in 356 years, or  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years to each generation<sup>m</sup>: a proportion not much exceeding the usual amount. But in the line of

have contained nine years, then his thirteen Olympiads would be  $13 \times 9 = 117$  years instead of 108. But as the cycle of eight years or ninety-nine months is here intended by Mr. Muller (vol. I. p. 281), this supposed Olympiad of Callimachus would not have contained nine years, but eight: and  $13 \times 8 = 104$ , so that in neither method of computation could it have been brought to a conformity with the 108 years of Eratosthenes.

<sup>i</sup> See F. H. II. p. 206.

<sup>k</sup> See the Table at p. 100. For *Cresphontes* and his son *Æpytus* see above p. 111. k. The descendants of *Æpytus* are given by Pausanias IV. 3, 5, 6. Αἰπύτος—ἐς τοσούτου πρόβητι τιμῆς ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Αἰπυτίδας ἀντὶ Ἡρακλεϊδῶν κληθῆναι. Γλαῦκος δὲ τῷ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύσαντι μετὰ Αἰπύτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐξήρκεσε μιμήσασθαι τὸν πατέρα ἐν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἰδιώτας, εὐσεβεῖα δὲ ἐς πλεον πρόβητι κ. τ. λ. Ἰσθμῖος δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Γοργάσῳ καὶ Νικομάχῳ [sons of *Machaon*] τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς ἐποίησεν. Ἰσθμίου δὲ γίνεταί Δωτάδας, ὃς—τὸ ἐν Μοθῶνι ἐπίκειον κατεσκευάσατο. Συβότας δὲ ὁ Δωτάδας τῷ τε ποταμῷ κατεστήσατο τῷ Παμείσῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον θύειν τὸν βασιλεύοντα, καὶ Εὐρύτῳ τῷ Μελανέως ἐναγίζειν ἐν Οἰχαλίᾳ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν, ἀγομένης ἔτι ἐν Ἀνδανίᾳ. IV. 4, 1. ἐπὶ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα—ἐγένετο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους διαφορὰ πρῶτον κ. τ. λ. In his reign *Teleclus* was slain: Ibid. In the next generation the first Messenian war began: Ibid. §. 3. γενεῇ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἑτέρας Θεοτόμου—Μεσσηνίων δὲ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Φίντα [τῶν Φίντα Sylburg.]—Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἐξήρθη τὸ ἐς ἀλλήλους μῖσος κ. τ. λ. *Androcles* was slain by the party of *Antiochus*: Ibid. 5, 2. οἱ σὺν Ἀντιόχῳ τὸν τε Ἀνδροκλέα καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς λόγους μάλιστα ἀξίους ἀποκτείνουσι—μῆσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου τελευτήσας Εὐφάης ὁ Ἀντιόχου παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. On his accession the war began Ol. 9. 2. This account will place the death of *Androcles*, the eighth from

*Cresphontes*, in B. C. 744. According to the correction of Sylburgius *Antiochus* was also a son of *Phintas*, and *Euphaës*, who died in the 13th year of the war: Pausan. IV. 10, 3. and was the last of the *Æpytidae*: Pausan. IV. 10, 4. was the ninth from *Cresphontes*.

<sup>l</sup> *Æchmis*, the ninth from *Cypselus*, both inclusive, was living in B. C. 743 (see p. 92. v), 360 years after the epoch of Eratosthenes B. C. 1103.

<sup>m</sup> For the death of *Telestes* in B. C. 747, and for the six generations from *Prumnis* to *Telestes* inclusive, see the Tables B. C. 744. The dates of Diodorus there recorded will place the accession of *Prumnis* at B. C. 959. This leaves 144 years B. C. 1103—960 for the three reigns or generations of *Aletes*, *Ixion*, and *Agelas*. Pausan. II. 4, 3. Δωριεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἡγήτο δὲ Ἀλήτης Ἰππίτου τοῦ Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.—τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ Δωριέων κρατηθεὶς μάχῃ. Ἀλήτης δὲ αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι βασιλεύουσιν ἐς μὲν Βάκχῳ τὸν Προῦμῳ ἐπὶ γενεὰς πέντε. Diod. apud Syncellum p. 179. C = tom. IV. p. 14. οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐξαίρετον ποιήσαντες τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πλησιόχωρον διεπέψαντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀλήτην, παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν προειρημένην χώραν. ἐπιφανὴς δὲ ἀνὴρ γενόμενος καὶ τὴν Κόρινθον αὐξήσας ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λη'. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἀεὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων ἐβασίλευσε μεχρὶ τῆς Κυλέλου τυραννίδος, ἥτις τῆς καθόδου τῶν Ἡρακλεϊδῶν ὕστερεῖ ἔτεσι υμξ'. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰξίων ἔτη λη'. μεθ' οὗ ἤρξεν Ἀγέλας ἔτη λξ'. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Προῦμῳ κ. τ. λ. The same numbers are in the Armenian Eusebius I. p. 164, 165. Diodorus, who dated the Return B. C. 1104 and reckoned 447 years from that era to *Cypselus*, placed the reign of *Cypselus* about two years too high. See the Tables B. C. 625. The 447 years Diodorus thus distributes: 234 years to the *Bacchiadae*, 70 years to *Prumnis* and *Bacchis* (see the Tables B. C. 744); leaving 143 years for the preceding period. But his amount for the reigns



*Theras* the generations are far beyond their ordinary length. In the fourth year of the first Messenian war the Lacedæmonians are commanded by *Euryleon* the fifth descendant of *Ægeus*, who was the grandson of *Theras*. From *Theras* therefore inclusive (the uncle of

from the 1st of *Aletes* to *Cypselus* expresses only 417 years: p. 180. A.B. and for the three first reigns only 113 years, leaving a deficiency of 30. These are supplied by Didymus apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIII. 17. 'Αλήτης ἡγήσατο τῆς ἀποικίας τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν, ὅτε οἱ Ἑρακλεῖδαι κατήσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς ἓν τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν. ἦν γὰρ Ἰππότου τοῦ Φύλατος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἑρακλέους. οὗτος ἐκράτησε Κορίνθου—Δίδυμος δὲ φησι τὸν Ἀλήτην μὴ οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κορίνθου γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα ἔτει τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν τῶν Δωριέων ἀφίξιν. According to this account, combined with Diodorus, *Aletes*, who began to reign in the 30th year current, or 29 years complete, after the Return, was still living 67 years after that epoch. And this is confirmed by the narrative in Conon 26. apud Phot. Cod. 186. p. 437. that *Aletes* was born after the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, and that he conducted the expedition in which *Codrus* fell, 59 years after it: φάσμα Ἀπόλλωνος ὄνομα Κάρον· Δωριεῖσιν ἐπόμενον Ἰππότης τις τῶν ἀπὸ Ἑρακλέους ἀναίρει, ὅτε κατήσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἑρακλεῖδαι [conf. Apollod. II. 8, 3. τοῦτον βαλὼν Ἰππότης ὁ Φύλατος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἑρακλέους ἀπέκτεεν. CEnomaüs apud Euseb. Præp. V. p. 210. D. διακοντοῖσι Κάρον Ἰππότης Φύλατος τὸν Αἰτωλὸν κ. τ. λ. Pausan. III. 13, 3. τοῦτον τὸν Κάρον ἀποκτείναντος Ἰππέτου—Ἰππότης ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῇ φήρῃ. Conf. Schol. Theocrit. V. 83]. καὶ λαίμην τοῦτοις προσπεσόντος χρησμὸν λαβόντες ἤλασαν τὸν Ἰππέτην τοῦ στρατοπέδου. μάντις δ' ἦν τὸ φάσμα τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν. Ἑρακλεῖδαι μὲν κάθοδος εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐγένετο· ὁ δ' Ἰππότης ἀλόμενος τίκει παῖδα, ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος Ἀλήτην καλέσας [conf. Etym. Magn. v. Ἀλήτης Ruhn. ad Vell. I. 3, 3], ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ μοῖραν τοῦ Δωρικῷ συλλέξας, καὶ Σισυφίδα ἐκβαλὼν Κορίνθου βασιλέας ἦντας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰῶνας, ἀνοικίζει τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐπὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτε καὶ χρησμὸν λαμβάνει νικήσειν εἰ ἀπέσχωντο τοῦ βασιλείας Ἀθηναίων. καὶ τοῦ χρησμῷ γνωσθέντος Ἀθηναῖοι, πείθουσι Κόδρον ἐβδμηκοντούτῃ ὄντα ἐκόντα δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν ἐπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. According to one account *Aletes* was driven from Corinth and recovered it again: Hesych. Διὸς Κόροθος—Ἀλήτην φασὶ φεύγοντα κατελθεῖν βουλόμενον εἰς Κορίνθον, καὶ Βουκόλου τινας ἀπαντήσαντας αἰτεῖν τροφήν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν τροφήν μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν ἄρα τὰ δὲ βῶλον δοῦναι αὐτῷ, ὡς τοῦ Διὸς ὄντα· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν—“δέχεται καὶ βῶλον Ἀλήτης.” Conf. Zenob. III. 21. 22. In Schol. Pindar. Nem. VII. 155. no mention is made of the previous exile: Ἀλήτης περὶ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ βασιλείας προῆλθε τῇ μαντείῃ τῇ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, ὃ ἐστὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἔχρησεν αὐτῇ τότε κρατήσῃν ὅτε τις δὲ βῶλον γῆς ἐπιθέσθαι· δὲ ἡμέρῃ πάλαιστεφάνῃ κ. τ. λ. The war in which he acquired Corinth is touched upon by Thucydides IV. 42. ὁ Σολόγμος λόφος—ἐφ'

ὃν Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν, οὓσιν Αἰολεῦσι. The traditions, then, concerning *Aletes* are consistent with the interval recorded by Didymus of 30 current years. But it may be conjectured from Strabo quoted in the Tables B. C. 744 that some accounts made the period from the death of *Bacchis* to the death of *Telestes* 34 years less than Diodorus. The omission of these years would bring down *Prumnis* to B. C. 925 and the Return to B. C. 1067. The period for the ten generations ending with *Telestes* B. C. 747 will in this case be 320 years, or 32 years to each; and the series of reigns adapted to the true accession of *Cypselus* will give the following positions:

	y.	B. C.
Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> ... (30)	29...	1067
<i>Aletes</i> acquires Corinth .....	38...	1038
<i>Ixion</i> and <i>Agelas</i> .....	75...	1000
<i>Prumnis</i> and <i>Bacchis</i> .....	70...	925
<i>Bacchiadæ</i> .....	200...	855
<i>Cypselus</i> .....	—...	655

A reduced epoch for the Return, which will be given below, will place the Return, and consequently *Aletes*, yet nineteen years lower; leaving 164 years B. C. 1019—856 for the first five Corinthian reigns: a more probable amount than the 183 years of Diodorus.

Eusebius, placing the first of *Aletes* at the eighty-second year after the fall of Troy, thus arranges the Corinthian reigns:

Anno	
917	<i>Aletes</i> ..... 35
952	<i>Ixion</i> ..... 37
989	<i>Agelas</i> ..... 37
1026	<i>Prumnis</i> ..... 34
1060	<i>Bacchis</i> ..... (35) ..... 36
1096	<i>Agelas</i> ..... 30
1126	<i>Eudemus</i> ..... 25
1151	<i>Aristomedes</i> ..... 35
1186	<i>Agemon</i> ..... 16
1202	<i>Alexander</i> ..... 25
1227	<i>Telestes</i> ..... 12
1239	<i>Automenes</i> ..... 1
1240	<i>Principes annui.</i>
1359	<i>Cypselus.</i>

Leaving 119 years instead of ninety to the annual *prytanes*. He had neglected the twenty-nine years' interval which preceded the reign of *Aletes*, and supplied them by adding that amount to the *prytanes*; and, as *Cypselus* is placed two years too early (see the Tables B. C. 625), the effect of this double error is, that all the reigns are carried upwards thirty-one years too high.

*Eurysthenes* and *Procles*) to this period are seven generations. Seven generations in 360 years, or fifty-one years to each<sup>n</sup>. The perpetual archons at Athens may be easily adapted to the epoch of Eratosthenes. His dates will give 290 years B. C. 1043—754 for 13 reigns, little more than 22 years to each<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Pausan. IV. 7, 3. τὸ μέσον εἶχεν Εὐρυλέων, τὰ μὲν παρόντα Λακεδαιμόνιος, τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ ἀπὸ Κᾶδμου καὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν, Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος ἀπόγονος πέμπτος. *Eolycus* son of *Theras* is named by Herodotus IV. 149. ὄνομα τῇ νεηίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο—Οἰόλυκος δὲ γίνεται Αἰγέως, ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγείδαι καλεῖνται, φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. Pausan. III. 15, 6. Οἰολύκου τοῦ Θήρα, καὶ Αἰγέως τοῦ Οἰολύκου. *Theras* was the brother of *Argia* and the guardian of *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*: see above p. 86. l. When his nephews grew up, unwilling to return to a private station, he led a colony to Callistē, from him called *Thera*; from whence afterwards proceeded the more celebrated settlement of Cyrenē: Herodot. IV. 147. Θήρας—ἔστειλλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος.—αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιούμενος ἀρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνῳ ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενεάς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μερμβλιάρεω τοῦ Ποικίλειω, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κᾶδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγρόνομος—καταλείπει ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐνυτοῦ συγγενέων Μερμβλιάρων. οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ὅκτω ἀνδρῶν. Strabo VIII. p. 347. Μινυῶν τινὲς μετὰ Θήρα τοῦ Αὐτεσίωνος (ἦν δ' ὄστος τοῦ Πολυνείκου ἀπόγονος) πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν μεταξὺ Κυρηναίας καὶ τῆς Κρήτης νῆσον "Καλλίστην τὸ πάροιθε, τὸ δ' ὕστερον ὄνομα Θήρην," ὥς φησι Καλλιμάχος, ἔκτισαν τὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς Κυρήνης Θήραν. Schol. Apollon. IV. 1764. ἦν ὁ Θήρας ἀπὸ

Οἰδίποδος ἔχων τὸ γένος· Αὐτεσίωνος γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Τιταμενεοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκου τοῦ Οἰδίποδος. συνηκολούθησαν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν τῇ Θήρᾳ καὶ Λήμνιοι κ. τ. λ. See above p. 96. s. Callimach. H. Apoll. 74.

ἐκ μὲν σε Σπάρτης ἔκτον γένος Οἰδιπόδαο ἤγαγε Θηραίην ἐς ἀπόκτισιν—

The six generations are in the Scholiast ad l. but in a wrong order. This colony is also mentioned by Pausanias III. 15, 4. He places it in the generation before the Ionic migration: VII. 2, 2. γενεῇ μὲν πρότερον ἢ ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἴωνες, Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Μινυῆς τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν [Πελασγῶν with Palmerius: see above p. 96. s] ἐκ Λήμνου Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος Θηβαῖος ἤγαγεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον κ. τ. λ. We may place the colony of *Theras* about 30 years after the return of the *Heracidae*, which agrees with this date of Pausanias, about 110 years after the fall of Troy and 30 before the migration of *Neleus*. Pausanias III. 1, 7. again mentions this colony and names *Memblarius*: Μερμβλίαν ἀνδρα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου Κᾶδμος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κατέλιπεν. who is also mentioned Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 88. ἐπέμειναν ἐν Θήρᾳ μετὰ Μερμβλιάρεω τοῦ Κᾶδμου συνεξορμήσαντος Φοίνισσαι τινες γυναῖκες.

<sup>o</sup> The years of the 13 perpetual archons are given with some variations by Castor apud Euseb. p. 137. by Eusebius in his Tables p. 304—320. by Syncellus, and by the Excerpta Latino-Barbara apud Scalig. p. 76. described above at p. 60. h. The variations are these:

	Castor.	Euseb. Chron.	Syncell.	Excerpt.
		Anno		
1. Medon ..... (9) .....	20 .....	948 ... 20 ...	p. 178. D. 20 .....	20
2. Acastus .....	36 .....	968 ... 36 .....	35 .....	39
3. Archippus .....	19 .....	1004 ... 19 ...	p. 185. A. 19 .....	40
4. Thersippus .....	41 .....	1023 ... 41 .....	40 .....	23
5. Phorbas .....	30 .....	1064 ... 31 .....	30 .....	33
6. Megacles .....	30 .....	1095 ... 30 .....	28 .....	28
7. Diognetus .....	28 .....	1125 ... 28 .....	28 .....	28
8. Pherecles .....	19 .....	1153 ... 19 .....	19 .....	15
9. Aripbron .....	20 .....	1172 ... 20 .....	20 .....	30
10. Thespicius ... (7) ..	27 .....	1192 ... 27 ...	p. 195. C. 27 .....	40
11. Agamestor .....	17 .....	1219 ... 20 .....	17 .....	26
12. Æschylus .....	23 .....	1239 ... 23 ...	p. 195. C. 14 .....	(14)
13. Alcmaeon .....	2 .....	1262 ... 2 ...	p. 211. C. 2 .....	10
	312	316	299	346
To the 1st of Æschylus 287 .....		291 .....	283 .....	322



The epoch, however, of Eratosthenes for the Trojan war was at a lower point than the dates of many other writers. The Parian Marble placed that event 26 years, Herodotus about 80 years, Duris 150, above the date of Eratosthenes P. In the Life of Homer ascribed

*Archippus* is placed by Philochorus 180 years after Troy: see above p. 120. k. and reigned 35 years according to Tzetzes ad Hesiod. p. 14. Gaisf. δ' ὁ Ἀρχίππος εὐτος υἱὸς ἦν Ἀκάστῳ, ἄρξας Ἀθηναίων ἐτη λδ'. *Acastus*, however, is placed by Euthymenes apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. A. 200 years after the Trojan era. *Phorbas* is mentioned by Pausanias VI. 19, 9. who records a war between Megara and Corinth in his time: ταύτην Μεγαρεῦσιν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν νίκην Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος γενέσθαι Φόρβαντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου παντός· ἐνιαυσίαι γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν πω τότε Ἀθηναίους αἱ ἀρχαί, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ Ἥλείῳ ἀνεγράφοντο πω τηρικαῦτα αἱ ὀλυμπιάδες. λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μετασχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἔργου. *Ariphron* had 31 years in Africanus: Syncell. l. c. ἐτη κ'. κατὰ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸν ἐτη λδ'. *Thespis* in some authors had 40 years: Syncell. l. c. ἐτη κζ'. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἐτη μ'. which is the number assigned in Excerpt. Barbar. *Agamestor* had 27: Syncell. l. c. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους ἐτη κζ'. which again nearly agrees with the 26 years in Excerpt. Barbar. In the Excerpta Barbar. the years of *Æschylus* are obliterated: *Thersippus* ann. XXIII. *Æschylus* an..... *Æschylus* anno secundo prima Olympiada adducta est a Græcis. He then numbers *Alcmaeon* 10, the decennial archons 70 years, and concludes, cessavit regnum Athineorum in Olympiada vicesima quarta. This account leaves 93 years (Ol. 1.1—24.1 inclusive) from the 2nd of *Æschylus* inclusive to the end of the decennial archons: of which period 80 years are occupied by *Alcmaeon* and his successors. 13 years therefore remain for *Æschylus*, from his 2nd year inclusive. Hence we obtain 14 years for the reign of *Æschylus* according to this author, agreeing with the number in Syncellus. Corsini tom. III. p. LXII., exhibiting the chronology of this author, very inaccurately omits *Thersippus* (who had been transposed), and gives *Æschylus* 27 years: "facile 27." There were three modes of arranging the reigns of *Æschylus* and *Alcmaeon*. First, *Æschylus* had 14 + *Alcmaeon* 10 = 24 years, and the 23 years from Ol. 1.1 to the first decennial archon were reckoned *Æschylus* last 13 + *Alcmaeon* 10. This was the reckoning of the Excerpta Barbaro-Latina. Secondly, *Æschylus* 23 + *Alcmaeon* 2 = 25; and the 23 years were *Æschylus* last 21 + *Alcmaeon* 2. This was the computation of Castor and Eusebius. The third method, as will be seen in the Tables B. C. 776, gives to *Æschylus* 23 + *Alcmaeon* 12 = 35; adding 10 years to the preceding period, and expressing

the 23 years by *Æschylus* last 11 + *Alcmaeon* 12. Syncellus has confounded all the three methods of reckoning. He gives 14 years to *Æschylus* with the first, two years to *Alcmaeon* with the second, and places the first Olympiad in the 13th of *Æschylus* with the third.

The first year of *Æschylus*, as will be seen in the Tables B. C. 776, was still current in July B. C. 777. The death of *Codrus* was 59 years after the return of the *Heraclidae*: see above p. 121. and this date, computed by the epoch of Eratosthenes, will place the death of *Codrus*, and consequently the accession of *Medon*, at B. C. 1044; which leaves an interval of only 267 years for the eleven Attic archons. The numbers, then, in the preceding lists exceed the truth (according to the received Trojan era) 16, 20, 24, and 55 years respectively; carrying back, as we have seen p. 121. l. the time of *Codrus* above its true position. These years for the Attic archons were probably fixed by those who assigned the Trojan era to a higher date than that of Eratosthenes. The Parian Marble places the Ionic migration, as we have seen p. 122. l. at B. C. 1077, and the 1st of *Æschylus* at B. C. 777 or 787: see the Tables B. C. 757. leaving 290 or 300 years between the death of *Codrus* and the 1st of *Æschylus*. The author therefore adopted in some reigns the longer computations, which are exhibited in Excerpt. Barbar., as Mr. Boeckh has argued Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 333. But we have no evidence that he placed B. C. 1077 at the 13th of *Medon*, and no authority for pronouncing how he arranged the detail of these reigns.

The period of 267 years distributed among the eleven reigns will give 24 years to each. If we reduce the period by deducting with Callimachus and Phanias 56 years, we have 211 for the interval, and an average for each reign of 19 years.

P See F. H. II. p. VI. for the date of Duris. The Parian Marble placed the fall of Troy 945 years before the summer solstice of B. C. 264: see p. 60. h. and F. H. III. p. 9. 11. which gives *Thargelion* of B. C. 1209 for the capture. The date of Herodotus cannot be determined to a single year, since it is obtained by computing periods in round numbers upwards from his own time; and, when neither the point from which we proceed nor the point to which we reckon can be precisely fixed, exactness is not to be expected. His date is made B. C. 1282 by Fréret,



to Herodotus the date assigned is B. C. 1270<sup>q</sup>, 87 years above the epoch of Eratosthenes. The period ascribed by Thucydides to the Melians carries upward the capture of Troy beyond the received epoch. Thucydides<sup>r</sup> records that Melos had been planted by the Lacedæmonians 700 years before B. C. 416, consequently in B. C. 1116. But this island was occupied in the third generation after the return of the *Heracliadæ*, in the reign of *Agis* son of

1270 by Reizius and Larcher, 1252 by Bouhier, all founding their calculations on the same passage: Herodot. II. 145. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ (ἐξήκοντα) ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἔστι ἐς ἐμὲ Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόςια ἔτεα. Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῆος λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεά ἐστι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, κατὰ τὰ ἐκτακόςια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμὲ. Pan is the son of Penelope and Hermes in Lucian. D. D. tom. II. p. 77. Hygin. Fab. 224. p. 345. Plutarch. Def. Or. p. 419. E. Schol. Theocr. I. 123. οἱ μὲν Πηνελόπης καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς, ἢ Ἑρμοῦ. or Penelope and Apollo: Schol. Eur. Rhes. 36. ex Cod. Vat. ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Πηνελόπης (τὸν Πᾶνα), ὡς καὶ Εὐφορίων. or Penelope and the suitors: Serv. ad Æn. II. 44. Ex Penelope et procis omnibus natus,—*quantquam alii hunc de Mercurio natum ferunt*. Schol. Theocr. VII. 109. ἐκ τῆς Πηνελόπης συλλαβούσης ἐκ τῶν μνηστήρων—ἑτεροὶ δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Ἑρμῆν εἰς τράγον μεταβληθέντα κ. τ. λ. Born according to Lucian before the marriage of *Ulysses*; but Herodotus supposes the birth of Pan during the absence of *Ulysses*, as Hemst. ad Lucian. l. c. explains. Consequently within 10 years of the fall of Troy; and the capture may be placed about 809 years before the time of Herodotus. But if we reckon this period from his 30th year B. C. 454, we obtain 809 + 454 = B. C. 1263 for the Trojan era of Herodotus. If the number ἐξήκοντα is rightly substituted in Herodot. l. c. (conf. Wess. ad loc.), we shall have the following periods:

	B. C.
Bacchus .....	130 ..... 1060 ..... 1514
Hercules .....	91 ..... 900 ..... 1354
Fall of Troy 9 .....	809 ..... 1263
Pan .....	— ..... 800 ..... 1254

Two other passages in Herodotus confirm these dates: I. 7. Κανδαυλῆς—ἀπόγονος Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος—Ἀγρον γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίαν, Κανδαυλῆς δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστάτος.—ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόςια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι Κανδαυλεω τοῦ Μύρσου. The kingdom of Candaules ended B. C. 716: see the Tables. The four generations from Hercules to Ninus inclusive will make 133 years. But 133 + 505 + 716 = B. C. 1354 for the time of Hercules. Idem II. 13. Μαίρι οὕκω ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόςια τετελευτηκίς ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. If we

assign with Larcher the visit of Herodotus to Egypt to B. C. 460, his 24th year (before his journey into Greece in B. C. 456), we have less than B. C. 1360, or about B. C. 1355, for the death of *Mæris*. After *Mæris*, reigned *Sesostris*, *Pheron*, *Proteus*: Herodot. II. 102—111. 112. and *Proteus* was contemporary with the Trojan war: 112—120. But the Trojan era of Herodotus being B. C. 1263 will leave about 92 years for these three reigns. Reizius in Præfat. p. XXVI. without reason suspects error in this account of the time of *Mæris*; which is entirely consistent with the dates of Herodotus already examined. But we may wonder at the inconsistency of Herodotus with himself in placing *Hercules* at B. C. 1354; for he reckons three generations to a century: II. 142. γενεαὶ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτεά ἐστι. And enumerates 20 generations from *Hercules* to *Leonidas*: VII. 204. and 21 from *Hercules* to *Leotychides*: VIII. 131. if we retain *Eunomus* and insert *Soüs*, omitted in the present copies. But these 21 generations, according to his own rule of computation, will give 693 + 480 = B. C. 1173 for the ἀκμὴ of *Hercules*, or 181 years below the date assigned.

<sup>q</sup> Auctor Vitæ Homeri c. 38. The author, having fixed the foundation of Smyrna at 168 years from the fall of Troy (see p. 105. t), thus proceeds: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γίνεται Ὀμηρος. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Ὀμηρος ἐγένετο ἔτεά ἐστὶν ἑξακόςια εἴκοσι δύο μέχρι τῆς Ἡέρξεω διαβάσεως.—τῶν δὲ Τρωϊκῶν ὑστερον γέγονεν Ὀμηρος ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα ὀκτώ.

The dates obtained are these:

	y.	B. C.
Troy taken .....	130	168 { 1270 1140 1120 1102
Lesbos occupied .....	20	
Cymë founded .....	18	
Smyrna .....	622	
Expedition of Xerxes .....	480	

This author agrees with Herodotus in the era of the Trojan war, but differs from him in the time of *Homer*, whom Herodotus in his genuine work places more than 400 years below the Trojan war. Compare Herodot. II. 53. II. 145.

<sup>r</sup> Thucyd. V. 84. οἱ δὲ Μήλιοι Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσὶν ἄποικοι. Herodot. VIII. 48. Μήλιοι γένος ὄντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος. Thucyd. V. 112. πόλεως ἐπτακόςια ἔτη ἤδη οἰκουμένης. referring to B. C. 416. See F. H. II. p. 74.



*Eurysthenes*<sup>s</sup>; which will place the colony about 70 years after the Return, or 150 years after the fall of Troy. And  $150 + 1116 = \text{B.C. } 1266$  for the Trojan era, which agrees with the date of Herodotus<sup>t</sup>. A period of 1000 years from the capture of Troy was supposed by the Locrians of Opus to have terminated after the Phocian war, according to the account of Timæus, giving, as already observed, B.C. 1346, nearly coinciding with the date of Duris<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Conon Narr. 36. Φιλόνομος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης προδούς Λακεδαιμόνα Δωριεῦσι δῶρον ἔχει Ἀμύκλας, καὶ συν-οικίζει ταύτην ἐξ Ἴμβρον καὶ Λήμνου. τρίτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ στασιάζαντες πρὸς Δωριέας μετανίστανται Ἀμυκλῶν, συμπαραλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τινὰς Σπαρτιατῶν, ἡγουμένων αὐτοῖς Πύλλος καὶ Δελφῶ, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Κρήτης. ἐν τῇ παράτῃ δὲ τοῦδε τῷ στόλῳ Μῆλον Ἀπόδασμος [conf. Wyttēnb. ad Plutarchum p. 247. D. post Larcherum] οἰκίζει. The fugitives from Lemnos who accompanied Pollis were the *Minyæ*, who had been driven thence by the *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* about 100 years after the fall of Troy: see p. 96. s. Plutarch Mor. p. 247. A. B., who confounds the *Tyrrheno-Pelasgi* with the *Minyæ*, nevertheless in other particulars agrees with the narrative and the date of Conon: εἰς Ταῖναρον κατάραντες ἐγένοντο χρήσιμοι Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τὸν Εἰλωτικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολεμίας καὶ γάμων τυχόντες, οὐκ ἀξιούμενοι δὲ ἀρχαίων καὶ βουλῆς, ὑπόνοιαν ἔσχον ὡς ἐπὶ νωτερισμῷ συνερχόμενοι κ. τ. λ. — ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταλαβόμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ Ταῦγχα καὶ τὸ Εἰλωτικὸν ἀφιστάτων καὶ προσδεχομένων, οἱ Σπαρτιάταις εἰς πολλὴν φόβον καταστάτες ἐπεκηρυκίσαντο, καὶ διηλλέγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ κομίσασθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς γυναῖκας χρήματα δὲ καὶ ναῦς λαβόντας ἐκπεῦσαι, καὶ γῆς τυχόντας ἀλλαχόσε καὶ πόλεως ἀποίκους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ συγγενεῖς νομίζεσθαι. ταῦτα ἔπραττον οἱ Πελασγοὶ [in reality the *Minyæ*], Πέλλιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἀδελφὸν καὶ Κραταῖδα Λακεδαιμονίους λαβόντες· καὶ μέρος μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν Μήλῳ κατέφησαν, τοὺς δὲ πλείους οἱ περὶ Πέλλιν ἔχοντες εἰς Κρήτην ἔπλευσαν. Polyænus VII. 49. copies the narrative and retains the mistake of Plutarch: Τυρρηνῶν οἱ Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον κατασχόντες—εἰς Ταῖναρον κατασχόντες Σπαρτιάταις περὶ τὸν Εἰλωτικὸν πόλεμον συνεμάχοντο κ. τ. λ.—δείσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπεκηρυκίσαντο—ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς, καὶ ὡς ἀποίκους Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν. On Πέλλιν καὶ Δελφῶν in Conon and Πέλλιν καὶ ἀδελφὸν in Plutarch, see Wyttēnb. ad Plutarch. p. 247. C. The war with the Helots was carried on in the reign of Agis: see F. H. II. p. 405. z. The *Minyæ*, then, might accompany Pollis about 70 years after the Return and about 50 after their expulsion from Lemnos, coinciding with the description τρίτῃ γενεᾷ, in the time of the grandson of Aristodemus. According to Herodotus, however, IV. 145—148 (who is followed by Pausanias VII. 2), the fugitive *Minyæ* who had occupied Taygetus accompanied *Theras* in his earlier migration to Callistē, 40 years before the date assigned to Pollis. We may recon-

cile the two accounts by supposing that a part of the *Minyæ* followed *Theras* and a part remained behind till the time of the second migration, to Melos.

<sup>t</sup> The opinion of Thucydides himself cannot be distinctly ascertained. In V. 112. he speaks in the person of the Melians. In VI. 2. he observes that, after the Trojan war, Σικελὸι ἐξ Ἰταλίας διέβησαν εἰς Σικελίαν—ἔτη ἑγγὺς τριακόσια πρὶν Ἑλληνας εἰς Σικελίαν ἔλθειν. That is, 300 years before B.C. 735 = B.C. 1035. But he does not mark how long an interval from the fall of Troy had passed before their arrival.

<sup>v</sup> See F. H. III. p. 490. x. The practice of sending two Locrian maidens annually to minister in the temple of *Minerva* at Ilium is noticed by Ælian apud Suid. v. ποινή. Αἰλιανός· “ὁ Ἀ—“ πολλὰν φησὶ πρὸς Λοκροῦς, μὴ ἂν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεινὸν λω—“ φήσιν εἰ μὴ πέμπουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος δύο παρθένας εἰς “ τὴν Ἴλιον τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, Κασάνδρας ποινὴν, ἕως ἂν ἰλεώσῃ—“ τε τὴν θεόν.” Plutarch. S. N. V. 557. D. οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἀφ’ οὗ Λοκροὶ πέμπουσιν εἰς Τροίαν πέπαιοντα τὰς παρθένας,

αἱ καὶ ἀναμπεχνοῖσι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν, ἥτε δούλαι,

ἥοιαι σαῖρεσκον Ἀθηναῖς περὶ βωμῶν

νόσφι κρηδόμενοι, καὶ εἰ βαρὺ γῆρας ἰκάνοι.

Polyb. XII. 5. τὰς ἑκατὸν οἰκίας—ἐξ ὧν ἐμελλαν οἱ Λοκροὶ κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν κληροῦν τὰς ἀποσταλῆσομένας παρθένας εἰς Ἴλιον. Æneas Tact. c. 31. p. 99. οἱ γοῦν περὶ Ἴλιον ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ οὕτω διατεταγμένοι οὕτω δύνανται φυλάξαι μὴ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς Λοκρίδας, καίτοι τοσούτον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ. Strabo XIII. p. 600. affirms that this annual practice began after the time of *Cyrus* B.C. 559: λέγουσι δ’ οἱ νῦν Ἰλίοις καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδὲ τελὲς συνέβαιεν ἠφανίσθαι τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, οὐδ’ ἐξηλείφθη οὐδέποτε. αἱ γοῦν Λοκρίδες πάρθενοι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀρξάμεναι ἐπέμποντο κατ’ ἔτος. καὶ ταῦτα δ’ οὐχ Ὀμηρικὰ κ. τ. λ.—τὰς δὲ Λοκρίδας πεμφθῆναι Περσῶν ἤδη κρατοῦντων συνέβη. The period of 1000 years is mentioned by Iamblichus Vit. Pythag. c. 8. p. 88. τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀντιταξαμένων, ἑκατέρους δι’ ἐνὸς ἀκρασίαν ταῖς δεινότηταις περιπεσεῖν συμφοραῖς, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀνάπλουν. καὶ μόνης τῆς ἀδικίας τὸν θεὸν δεκετῇ καὶ χιλιετῇ τάξαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, χρησμοδῆσαντα τὴν τε τῆς Τροίας ἄλωσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν παρθένων ἀποστολὴν παρὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἱερὸν. Schol. Hom. Il. v. 66. Ἀθηνᾶ—τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἠνάγκα-σεν ἐπὶ χίλια ἔτη εἰς Ἴλιον ἐκ κλήρου παρθένας πέμπειν.



Timæus himself computed the time more largely than Eratosthenes, although his precise date for the Trojan war cannot be now ascertained <sup>w</sup>.

Larcher <sup>x</sup> has adopted as the basis of his chronology the higher date for the war of Troy, which he obtained from Herodotus. His volume on the chronology is perspicuously arranged and written, and contains many learned and ingenious observations. But he is too much prejudiced in favour of his own theories. His object is to justify the chronology of his author; and, in doing this, he appears to distinguish but little between a conjectural and an authenticated date. He treats them as equivalent, and having established an hypothesis, he insensibly forgets that it is an hypothesis, and draws conclusions from it as if it were a fact of acknowledged authority. The fall of Troy he fixes with Fréret at B. C. 1270, and the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus at B. C. 1190. He pronounces Eratosthenes to be mistaken, and asserts that the date B. C. 1190 for the Return is the only true and authentic epoch. Raoul-Rochette in his history of the Grecian colonies adopts the chronology of Larcher. This cardinal date B. C. 1270 for the fall of Troy Larcher founds upon four arguments; the epoch of Herodotus, the epoch of Thucydides, the epoch of the author of the Life of Homer, and the succession of the kings of Alba <sup>y</sup>.

ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Καλλιμάχου ἐν α' αἰτίων καὶ παρὰ τῇ ποιητῇ ἐν τῇ δ' τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς παχυμερῶς (In Odys. δ'. 499—511. the shipwreck of *Ajax Locrus* is related, but no mention of *Cassandra*, as Strabo XIII. p. 600. has accurately remarked). Hieronymus apud Casaubon. ad Æn. Tact. p. 244. mentions the 1000 years, and supposes, like the Scholiast, that the maidens were sent during the whole period: *Scribit Hieronymus I. adversus Jovian. Locrides virgines Ilium ex more fuisse missas per annos circiter mille*. The termination of the 1000 years is fixed by Timæus: Tzet. ad Lycophr. 1141. φθορὰ καὶ λυμὸς μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος ἔσχε τὴν Λοκρίδα διὰ τὴν εἰς Κασσάνδραν ἀθεμιτομηξίαν τοῦ Αἴαντος. ἔχρησε δ' ὁ θεὸς ἰλάσκεσθαι Ἀθηναίαν τὴν ἐν Ἰλίου ἐπ' ἑτὴ χίλια, δύο παρθένους πέμποντας ἐπὶ κλήρῳ καὶ λαχῆσει. πεμπομένης δ' αὐτὰς προὔπαντῶντες οἱ Τρῶες, εἰ κατέσχον, ἀνῆρουν.—πρῶται δὲ τῶν Λοκρίδων παρθένων Περίβοια καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀφίκοντο.—χιλίων δ' ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον, ἐπαύσαντο τῆς τοιαύτης θυσίας, ὡς φησι Τίμαιος ὁ Σικελός. μένηται δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλίμαχος. The annual offering, then, ceased at B. C. 346, or soon after. We know from Strabo that it commenced after B. C. 559. It lasted therefore not more than two centuries; and we may collect that the Locrians after the time of *Cyrus* were directed by an oracle to complete the term of 1000 years, computed from the capture of Troy, and that they believed this term to be accomplished in B. C. 346. Kuster ad Suid. v. ποιή, who observes, *Plutarchus auctor est morem paulo ante ætatem suam desiisse*, interprets Plutarch too rigidly. Timæus himself, who recorded its cessation, was 340 years earlier than Plutarch; and the actual date, B. C. 346, was at the least 420

years before the ἀκμὴ of Plutarch.

<sup>w</sup> See the testimonies in F. H. III. p. 490. x. On the first of those testimonies we may add, that the numbers of Censorinus are evidently corrupt, and that they err in defect. On the second it may be remarked, that 46 years are the difference as the numbers now stand in Clemens. But it has been shewn p. 128. f. that the number ascribed to Eratosthenes should be probably corrected to 770; which leaves a difference of 50 years between Eratosthenes and Timæus. For the observations on the third testimony, "Corecyra was founded," &c. the reader will substitute the following passage: "Corecyra was founded, according to one account, at the same time as Syracuse B. C. 734; according to another, in B. C. 708. These numbers, 708+600 or 734+600, give B. C. 1308 or 1334 for the Trojan era of Timæus, about 125 or 151 years above the date of Eratosthenes." We are not informed what interval Timæus allowed between the Trojan war and the epoch of the Return; but if he was one of those of whom Clemens, quoted p. 107. b, speaks, who reckoned that interval 180 years, the seeming difference between the second and the third testimonies may be reconciled. For Timæus in that case would reckon 100 years more than Eratosthenes between the fall of Troy and the Return, and 50 years more between the Return and the Olympiad of *Coræbus*; a total excess of 150 years. And 150+1183=1333, or 599 years above the epoch of Corecyra in B. C. 734.

<sup>x</sup> Hérodote tom. VII. p. 352—404.

<sup>y</sup> He examines Herodotus p. 358. the author of the Life p. 361. Thucydides p. 362. the kings



His argument from the kings of Alba is stated in this manner. In the line of Alban kings are 15 generations and a half, *Æneas* and *Rhea Sylvia* being included. But  $15\frac{1}{2}$  generations give 516 years. Rome was founded B. C. 754. Add 516, and you have B. C. 1270 for the era of Troy<sup>2</sup>. This argument is nothing. For in the line of the kings of Alba there are only 14 generations, even including *Æneas* himself. But *Æneas* must be omitted, because he belonged to the preceding period. From the accession, then, of *Ascanius* in the 7th year after the capture to the death of *Amulius* in B. C. 755 are only 13 generations in Livy, Dionysius, and Eusebius. For *Ascanius* was succeeded by his brother. These 13 generations will give  $33 \times 13 = 429$  years to the death of *Amulius* B. C. 755. Add the 7 years preceding, and we have  $436 + 755 =$  B. C. 1191 for the epoch. Victor, however, if his text is entire, reckons only 7 generations in the same time; and  $33 \times 7 = 231$  years. Add the 7 years, and  $755 + 7 + 231 =$  B. C. 993 for the epoch. Ovid has 11 generations; and 11 generations will give 363 years. But  $363 + 7 + 755 =$  B. C. 1125 for the fall of Troy<sup>a</sup>. The largest computation, then, of these reigns would only carry the date 8 years higher than the epoch of Eratosthenes, and a more probable amount of the generations will place it 58 years lower.

The date B. C. 1270 is without sufficient reason assumed to be the date of Thucydides, because (as we have seen) he does not deliver the period of 700 years as his own opinion, but speaks in the person of the Melians, and records their tradition; and because we have no information what space Thucydides believed to have passed between the return of the *Heraclidæ* and the occupation of Melos. The mode in which Herodotus has expressed the date is a proof that he had no clear information upon it. When he has the means of knowing, he

of Alba p. 364. He observes p. 377. *L'époque d'Hérodote a été adoptée par Thucydides et par l'auteur de la vie d'Homère; d'ailleurs elle est confirmée par la suite des rois d'Albe.* P. 403. *L'époque donnée par Hérodote, Thucydides, l'auteur de la vie d'Homère, et la suite des rois d'Albe.* Again p. 472. *J'ai prouvé que Troie avoit été détruite A. C. 1270, par les témoignages d'Hérodote, de Thucydides, de l'auteur de l'ancienne vie d'Homère, et par la suite des rois d'Albe.* *J'ai fait voir la manière vicieuse dont s'y étoient pris, pour fixer cette époque, l'auteur de la chronique de Paros, Apollodore et Eratosthènes, et par conséquent le peu de confiance que doivent inspirer ces écrivains.* Il s'ensuit que les *Héraclides* sont rentrés dans le Péloponnèse, selon Hérodote, Thucydides, et l'auteur de la vie d'Homère, A. C. 1190, et que cette époque est la seule vraie, la seule authentique.

<sup>2</sup> Tom. VII. p. 364. Les listes de Tite Live, Denys d'Halicarnasse, et Eusèbe, offrent quinze princes qui se sont succédés de père en fils, en y comprenant *Enée*.—Si vous ajoutez *Rhea*—mère de *Romulus*, on aura quinze générations et demie, parce que les générations pour les femmes n'équivalent qu'à des demi-générations. Ces  $15\frac{1}{2}$  donnent 516 ans. Rome a été fondée Ol. 6. 3. A. C. 754. Si l'on ajoute 516 à 754, on aura 1270 ans avant notre ère pour le tems où *Enée* s'em-

barqua après le sac de Troie.

<sup>a</sup> Dionysius Ant. I. p. 162—175—179. gives 14 reigns and 13 generations from *Ascanius* to *Amulius* inclusive. The 14 reigns have 424 years, or  $30\frac{1}{4}$  each, a sufficiently large allowance. Eusebius gives also Chron. II. p. 299—320. 13 generations and 14 reigns; and these 14 reigns have 423 years, being contained in the Eusebian years 842—1264. Livy I. 3. gives no years. Victor de Orig. Gentis Romanæ p. 255., after describing *Ascanius* and his brother *Silvius Postumus*, thus proceeds: *Igitur regnante Latino Silvio coloniæ deductæ sunt Præneste, Tibur, &c. cæteraque oppida circumquaque. Post eum regnavit Tiberius Silvii filius: qui—depulsus in Albulam flumen deperiit, mutandique nominis extitit causa, ut scribunt L. Cincius lib. I. Lutatius lib. III. Post eum regnavit Aremlus Silvius, qui—fulmine ictus in Albanum lacum præcipitatus est, ut scriptum est Annal. lib. VI. et Epitomarum Pisonis II. Aufidius sane in epitomis et Domitius lib. I. non fulmine ictum sed terræ motu prolapsus—tradunt. Post illum regnavit Aventinus Silvius.—Post eum Silvius Procas, rex Albanorum, duos filios Numitorem et Amulium æquis partibus hæredes instituit. Ovid Met. XIV. 609—623. reckons 13 reigns, but only 11 generations. These five accounts present the following variations:*

assigns the years with exactness; as in the Median and Lydian and Persian reigns: but when he refers to the time of *Hercules*, or the epoch of Troy, or the age of *Homer*, he states the interval in round numbers from thence to his own time; which will not fix the date within 20 or 30 years. Upon these occasions, then, he speaks from no evidence, but delivers the popular opinion, which is no competent authority. Thus the Locrians believed that a thousand years had elapsed from the Trojan to the Phocian war; but this Locrian tradition is no sufficient evidence of the truth of that period. Plutarch records that the Pythian oracle was supposed to have subsisted 3000 years<sup>b</sup>; but this again was a vague and fabulous period, existing only in the popular report, and resting on no certain computation. The date of Herodotus, then, so delivered, is open to inquiry, whether it is consistent with known facts of history recorded by himself or others.

We have seen already that the date of Herodotus is refuted by his own account of the Spartan kings<sup>c</sup>. We have also seen that the date of Eratosthenes is not quite consistent with the probable duration of reigns<sup>d</sup>. But if Eratosthenes makes the interval too long, how much more improbable is that chronology which enlarges a space already too great by the addition of 87 years! This addition gives to the period between the Return and the first Messenian war (B. C. 1190—743) 447 years; by which the Spartan reigns are extended to a length altogether without example<sup>e</sup>. Larcher palliates this difficulty by supposing that the average length of generations at Sparta was 37 years instead of 33<sup>f</sup>. This he infers from a passage

LIVIOUS.	DIONYSIUS.	EUSEBIUS.	VICTOR.	OVIDIUS.
1. <i>Ascanius</i>	1. <i>Ascanius</i> . . 37 (38)	1. <i>Ascanius</i> . . . . . 38	1. <i>Ascanius</i>	1. <i>Ascanius</i> } bro-
2. <i>Silvius</i>	2. <i>Silvius</i> . . . 29	2. <i>Silvius</i> . . . . . 29	2. <i>Silvius</i>	2. <i>Silvius</i> } thers
3. <i>Æneas</i>	3. <i>Æneas</i> . . . 31	3. <i>Latinus</i> . . . . . 31		
4. <i>Latinus</i>	4. <i>Latinus</i> . . 51	4. <i>Æneas Silvius</i> . . . 50	3. <i>Latinus Silvius</i>	3. <i>Latinus</i>
5. <i>Alba</i>	5. <i>Albas</i> . . . 39	5. <i>Alba</i> . . . . . 39		4. <i>Alba</i>
6. <i>Atys</i>	6. <i>Capetus</i> . . 26	6. <i>Epistius Silvius</i> (23) 26		5. <i>Epitos</i>
7. <i>Capys</i>	7. <i>Capys</i> . . . 28	7. <i>Capys</i> . . . . . 28		6. <i>Capys</i>
8. <i>Capetus</i>	8. <i>Calpetus</i> . . 13	8. <i>Carpentus</i> . . . . . 13		7. <i>Capetus</i>
9. <i>Tiberinus</i>	9. <i>Tiberinus</i> . 8	9. <i>Tiberinus</i> . . . . . 8	4. <i>Tiberius</i>	8. <i>Tiberinus</i>
10. <i>Agrippa</i>	10. <i>Agrippa</i> . . 41	10. <i>Agrippa</i> . . . . . 41		9. <i>Remulus</i> } bro-
11. <i>Romulus Silvius</i>	11. <i>Allades</i> . . 19	11. <i>Aremulus</i> . . . . . 19	5. <i>Aremulus Silvius</i>	10. <i>Acrola</i> } thers
12. <i>Aventinus</i>	12. <i>Aventinus</i> . 37	12. <i>Aventinus</i> . . . . . 37	6. <i>Aventinus Silvius</i>	11. <i>Aventinus</i>
13. <i>Procas</i>	13. <i>Procas</i> . . 23	13. <i>Procas</i> . . . . . 21	7. <i>Silvius Procas</i>	12. <i>Procas</i>
14. <i>Amulius</i>	14. <i>Amulius</i> . . 42	14. <i>Amulius</i> . . . . . 43	8. <i>Amulius</i>	13. <i>Amulius</i> .
	424	423		

Although we were to admit a *lacuna* in the text of Victor between *Latinus* and *Tiberinus*, yet on the joint authority of this writer and of Ovid we may strike out the third king, *Æneas*, and the ninth generation, *Agrippa*; who, if he reigned at all, was the brother and not the father of *Aremulus*.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarch. Pyth. Or. p. 408. D. δεδιότες μὴ τρισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀποβάλλῃ δέξαν ὁ τόπος.

<sup>c</sup> See above p. 132. p. Larcher himself tom. VII. p. 353. acknowledges the principle of Herodotus: *Il emploie presque toujours les générations comme une mesure de temps, et il nous avertit que trois générations font 100 ans. Quelquefois il accompagne ces générations de leur évaluation, qui est toujours exacte, suivant sa méthode et celle des anciens, d'en compter trois par siècle.* And yet the date assigned by Herodotus and adopted by

Larcher p. 575, B. C. 1384 for the birth of *Hercules*, gives 904 years for the 21 generations from *Hercules* to *Leonidas* both inclusive, or 43 years to each generation.

<sup>d</sup> See above p. 129.

<sup>e</sup> See F. H. II. p. 206. - Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 176. remarks, *D'après M. Larcher, sur les quinze premiers rois de chaque branche, qui se sont presque tous succédés de père en fils, quatre auroient régné de 60 à 70 ans, sept de 50 à 60 ans; dix de 40 à 50 ans; quatre de 30 à 40 ans; and truly observes, Le système qu'il a adopté l'a forcé à allonger les règnes des rois de Lacédémone d'une manière vraiment incroyable.*

<sup>f</sup> Hérod. tom. VII. p. 398. *Les générations étoient évaluées à 33 ans et quelque chose, et dans la suite à 30 ans. Mais les Lacédémoniens fai-*



of Aristotle; a supposition justly rejected by Mr. Muller<sup>g</sup> and by Clavier<sup>h</sup>, and refuted by some facts in Spartan history<sup>i</sup>. His own computation, however, will fail him. He places the birth of *Eurysthenes* at B. C. 1178. But from the birth of *Eurysthenes* to the death of *Cleomenes III.* in B. C. 220 are 24 generations both inclusive<sup>k</sup>. Now  $37 \times 24 = 888$ ; and  $888 + 220 = 1108$ , only five years higher than the epoch of Eratosthenes for the Return, and 70 years below the date of Larcher. But this difficulty arising out of the Lacedæmonian reigns is not the whole difficulty. The improbability of Larcher's chronology is much increased, when his dates are compared with the Arcadian and Messenian kings. His addition of 87 years to the period between the Return and the first Messenian war, making the interval 447 years to B. C. 743, and 460 to the death of *Euphaës* in B. C. 730, will give in these two contemporary dynasties about 50 years to every reign<sup>l</sup>.

The chronology of Eratosthenes, founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open, is entitled to our respect. But we must remember that a conjectural date can never rise to the authority of evidence; that what is accepted as a substitute for testimony is not an equivalent: witnesses only can prove a date; and in the want of these the knowledge of it is plainly beyond our reach. If in the absence of a better light we seek for what is probable, we are not to forget the distinction between conjecture and proof; between what is probable and what is certain. The computation, then, of Eratosthenes for the war of Troy is open to inquiry, and if we find it adverse to the opinions of many preceding writers, who fixed a lower date, and adverse to the acknowledged length of generations in the most authentic dynasties, we are allowed to follow

*soient une exception à la règle générale &c. Les générations étoient à Lacédémone de 37 ans, tandis qu'elles n'étoient anciennement que de 33 ans, et dans la suite de 30 ans, dans le reste de la Grèce.*

<sup>g</sup> Dorians vol. II. p. 300. y.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. I. p. 325. from whom it appears that this was borrowed by Larcher from Fréret, who had adopted the same expedient.

<sup>i</sup> Clavier tom. I. p. 326. supplies one from the 16 generations ending with *Cleomenes III.* which may be more exactly computed thus: *Cleomenes III.*, who died B. C. 220, was the 16th from *Alcamenes*, both inclusive, who reigned in B. C. 743. The interval is 523 years, which is less than 35 years to a generation; for  $35 \times 15 = 525$ . And another from the 15 which ended with *Agis IV.* which may also be more correctly stated thus: *Agis IV.* died about B. C. 240: see F. H. II. p. 216. He was not the 15th as Clavier supposes, but the 17th, both inclusive, from *Theopompus* (see F. H. II. p. 204), who reigned at B. C. 743. The interval here is 503 years; which is about  $31\frac{1}{4}$  years to each generation; for  $31 \times 16 = 496$ . We may take another example. *Cleomenes III.* was the ninth (both inclusive) from *Cleombrotus* the younger brother of *Leonidas*. But from B. C. 480, when *Cleombrotus* flourished, to B. C. 220 are 260 years, giving

$32\frac{1}{2}$  to each generation: for  $32 \times 8 = 256$ . Again, *Agis IV.* was the ninth (both inclusive) from *Leotychides*, who reigned in B. C. 491. The interval, 251 years, gives  $31\frac{1}{3}$  to each generation.

<sup>k</sup> See F. H. II. p. 204.

<sup>l</sup> See above p. 129. There are 9 Arcadian reigns in 447 years, or  $49\frac{1}{2}$  to each; and 9 Messenian in 460, or 51 years to each. Larcher omits to notice these Arcadian and Messenian reigns. The kings and *prytanes* of Corinth and the perpetual archons of Athens were more easily managed, and these are examined in separate chapters. His method of adjusting the Corinthian reigns to his extended period is this. The seven generations are enlarged to ten (p. 522), and the 200 years of Strabo are assigned to the annual *prytanes* instead of the 90 years of Diodorus. See the Tables B. C. 744. He suppresses what was adverse to his theory on another occasion; affirming p. 379. that all the early writers followed the opinion of Herodotus: *On ignore, et l'on ignorera probablement toujours, en quel temps on commença à s'écarter de l'opinion d'Hérodote et de Thucydides. Le premier qui l'ait fait, du moins parmi ceux qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, est l'auteur de la Chronique de Paros.* He neglects Democritus, Isocrates, and Ephorus, who all preceded the Parian Chronicle.

other guides, who give us a lower epoch. The following Table offers a summary view of the leading periods from *Phoroneus* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, and exhibits a double series of dates; the one proceeding from the date of Eratosthenes, the other from a date founded on the reduced calculations of Phantias and Callimachus, which strike out 56 years from the amount of Eratosthenes. Phantias, as we have seen <sup>m</sup>, omitted 55 years between the Return and the registered Olympiads; for so we may understand the account: Callimachus, 56 years between the Olympiad of *Iphitus* and the Olympiad in which *Coræbus* won <sup>n</sup>. The first column of this Table exhibits the *current* years before and after the fall of Troy: in the second column of dates the *complete* intervals are expressed. But as the years of the era commence in *Thargelion*, or late in the spring, they are not conumerary with the Julian years. Thus, according to Eratosthenes, the tenth year before the era commenced in *Thargelion* B. C. 1192, and in proceeding upwards we find it completed in *Thargelion* B. C. 1193; and the Trojan war might begin (in the tenth year current) early in spring of B. C. 1192. Again, the 17th year before the era being completed in *Thargelion* B. C. 1200, the accession of *Agamemnon* in the 18th year current might occur early in spring of B. C. 1200; but if the death of *Hyllus* is placed almost 20 years before the era, it is to be referred to the middle of B. C. 1203, since, in ascending upwards, the 20th year is completed in *Thargelion* of that year. On the dates after the fall of Troy we may remark, that if the first year from the era was completed in *Thargelion* B. C. 1182, the 299th was completed in *Thargelion* B. C. 884, and the Olympiad of *Iphitus*, about July following, was in the 300th year; the 407th year ended in *Thargelion* B. C. 776, and the games of *Coræbus*, in July following, were in the 408th. From the fall of Troy to the return of the *Heraclidæ* Eratosthenes reckoned the full term of 80 years; which terminate at *Thargelion* B. C. 1103. This interval, however, is here computed after Thucydides to be the 80th year current, or 79 years complete, and the Return is accordingly placed at B. C. 1104. This difference of a year affects the following epochs; for if the year of the Return is placed at *Thargelion* B. C. 1104, the year of the Ionic migration commences at *Thargelion* B. C. 1044; and the death of *Codrus*, 59 years after the Return, falls upon B. C. 1045. The 80 years complete of Eratosthenes will bring each of these epochs one year lower; the complete period to the Ionian colonies being  $79 + 60 = 139$  in this Table, but  $80 + 60 = 140$  in Eratosthenes.

		y.	B. C. Erat.	B. C. Callim.
(570) <sup>o</sup>	<i>Phoroneus</i> p. 19. ....	287	(1753)	(1697)
(283)	{ <i>Danaüs</i> p. 73. .... }	33	(1466)	(1410)
	{ <i>Pelagus V.</i> p. 13. 88. .... }			
(250)	<i>Deucalion</i> p. 42. ....	50	(1433)	(1377)
(200)	{ <i>Erechtheus</i> .... }	50	(1383)	(1327)
	{ <i>Dardanus</i> p. 88. .... }			
(150)	<i>Azan, Aphidas, Elatus</i> ....	20	(1333)	(1277)
130	<i>Cadmus</i> p. 85. ....	30	1313	1257
(100)	<i>Pelops</i> ....	22	(1283)	(1227)
78	Birth of <i>Hercules</i> ....	36	1261	1205
(42)	<i>Argonauts</i> ....	12	(1225)	(1169)

<sup>m</sup> See p. 128.

<sup>n</sup> The date of Callimachus for *Iphitus* is approved by Clavier Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 203. who considers it as not far from the truth.

<sup>o</sup> These dates, distinguished from the rest by brackets, are proposed as mere conjectures, founded upon the probable length of generations.



		y.	B. C. Erat.	B. C. Callim.
30	First Theban war p. 51. h. ....	4	1213	1157
26	Death of <i>Hercules</i> .....	2	1209	1153
24	Death of <i>Eurystheus</i> p. 106. x. ....	4	1207	1151
20	Death of <i>Hyllus</i> .....	2 <sup>y</sup> . 9 <sup>m</sup> .	1203	1147
18	Accession of <i>Agamemnon</i> .....	2	1200	1144
16	Second Theban war p. 87. l. ....	6	1198	1142
10	Trojan expedition (9 <sup>y</sup> . 1 <sup>m</sup> .) .....	9	1192	1136
~	~	~		
	Troy taken .....	7	1183	1127
8	<i>Orestes</i> reigns at Argos in the 8th year ....	52	1176	1120
60	{ The <i>Thessali</i> occupy Thessaly .....			
	{ The <i>Bæoti</i> return to Bæotia in the 60th year .....	20	1124	1068
	{ Æolic migration under <i>Penthius</i> .....			
80	Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> in the 80th year ...	29	1104	1048
109	<i>Aletes</i> reigns at Corinth p. 130. m. ....	1	1075	1019
110	Migration of <i>Theras</i> .....	21	1074	1018
131	Lesbos occupied 130 years after the era ....	8	1053	997
139	Death of <i>Codrus</i> .....	1	1045	989
140	Ionic migration 60 years after the Return ...	11	1044	988
151	Cymæ founded 150 years after the era .....	18	1033	977
169	Smyrna, 168 years after the era p. 105. t. ...	131	1015	959
		299		
300	Olympiad of <i>Iphitus</i> .....	{ 108	{ 884	828
408		52		
352	{ Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> .....	—	776	776

## VII.

## IPHITUS—LYCURGUS.

THE time of *Iphitus* is connected with the time of *Lycurgus*. They are placed together by general consent<sup>a</sup>. Eratosthenes places *Iphitus* at the regency of *Lycurgus*<sup>b</sup>; that is, at the birth of *Charilaüs*; and the date he assigns is 108 years before the Olympiad in which *Coræbus* was victor<sup>c</sup>. Callimachus places *Iphitus* 56 years below the date of Eratosthenes.

<sup>a</sup> See F. H. II. p. 409. Add Athenæus XIV. p. 635. f. κατὰ Λυκούργον τὸν νομοθέτην—ὃς ἐπὶ πάντων συμφέροντος ἱστορεῖται μετὰ τοῦ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι. And Hermippus apud Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 23. who describes the cooperation of *Lycurgus* and *Iphitus* in the Olympic festival.

<sup>b</sup> F. H. II. p. 409.

<sup>c</sup> Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 309. B. records a higher date: Λυκούργος μετὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως γεγονὼς ἐτη πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἔτισιν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα νομοθετῇ Λακεδαιμονίαις. His regency was said

to be 18 years: Schol. Platon. Rep. X. p. 419. Bekk. τῆς Σπάρτης ἤρξε καὶ Λυκούργος αὐτὸς ἔτη ιη', ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδόυν. These 18 years are also named by Suidas v. Λυκούργος tom. II. p. 472. Kust. who also preserves another period of 42 years, by which some author had expressed the whole of his public life: ἐκράτησε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἔτη μβ', ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδόυν. καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιη'. This period of 42 years might extend from the birth of *Charilaüs* to the death of *Lycurgus*.

How he adjusted the preceding period we are not informed; but it does not follow that, because *Iphitus* was brought down to B.C. 828, the regency of *Lycurgus* must also be brought down to the same epoch. The public life of *Lycurgus* might occupy at least 30 years<sup>d</sup>. It is made 42 years by the authorities in Suidas<sup>e</sup>. We may assume 35 years as a probable amount. But it is not determined by any testimonies at what point of this period he concurred with *Iphitus* in founding or restoring the Olympic games. If, then, we fix the legislation of *Lycurgus*, in conformity with Thucydides<sup>f</sup>, at about B. C. 817 g, and the regency about 35 years before at B. C. 852, we shall obtain the following periods:

	y	B. C.
80 Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> .....	60	1048
140 Ionic migration .....	136	988
276 Regency of <i>Lycurgus</i> .....	24	852
300 Olympiad of <i>Iphitus</i> .....	11	828
311 Legislation of <i>Lycurgus</i> .....	41	817
352 Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> .....	—	776

This arrangement will suppose *Lycurgus* to have concurred in the Olympic festival about the 24th year of *Charilaüs*, after his return to Sparta; and will leave 196 years for the Spartan reigns between the return of the *Heraclidæ* and the birth of *Charilaüs*.

Two errors had much perplexed the chronology of *Lycurgus*. The Olympiad of *Iphitus* was sometimes confounded with the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, and *Lycurgus* was referred to a single point of time; his regency and legislation being supposed coincident. An instance of the first error occurs in Plutarch<sup>h</sup> and in Phlegon<sup>i</sup>, who has the following account: ἐστέφετο μὲν οὐδείς ἐπὶ πέντε ὀλυμπιάδας. τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μαντεύσασθαι εἰ στέμματα περιθῶσι τοῖς νικῶσι· καὶ πέμπουσι τὸν βασιλέα Ἴφιτον εἰς θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔφη τάδε·

Ἴφιτε μήλειον καρπὸν μὴ θῆς ἐπὶ νίκη,  
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄγριον ἀμφιτίθει καρπῶδῃ ἑλαιὸν  
ὃς νῦν ἀμφέχεται λεπτοῖσιν ὑφάσματος ἀράχνης.

παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν—εὐρών ἐνὰ περιεχόμενον ἀραχνίους περιωκοδόμησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐκ τούτου ἔδόθη ὁ στέφανος. πρῶτος δ' ἐστεφανώθη Δαϊκλῆς Μεσσηνίος, ὃς τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ὀλυμπιάδι στάδιον ἐνίκα. This was the 7th registered Olympiad<sup>k</sup>; and the 6th Olympiad in which *Iphitus*

<sup>d</sup> F. H. II. p. 409.

<sup>e</sup> See note c.

<sup>f</sup> F. H. II. p. 408.

<sup>g</sup> Eusebius Chron. II. p. 315. according to Hieronymus offers the following dates, where the Armenian copy is wanting: Anno 1195 *Telecli* 32<sup>o</sup> ed. Scalig.=B. C. 821. anno 1197 ed. Mai. *Telecli* 34<sup>o</sup> *Lycurgus leges—componit*. The year 1197 commenced in autumn B. C. 820, which will give B. C. 819 for this epoch. Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. A. has the same date in view: τριακοσιεὶς ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ πέμπτῃ ἔτει τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως Λυκούργος Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνομοθέτει, βασιλεύοντος Κορινθίων μὲν Ἀγρίμονος Λατίνων δὲ Πρόκα Σιλουίου. This date compared with the epoch of *Eratosthenes* will give 1183—364=B. C. 819; but compared

with the dates of Eusebius, it falls two years lower; for the epoch of Eusebius for the fall of Troy 835+364=1199=B. C. 817. Whence we may conclude that Cyril found this notice at the year 1199 in his copy of Eusebius: and B. C. 817 for this epoch, in the 413th year before Ol. 93. 4. the end of the Peloponnesian war, will concur with the date of Thucydides, ἔτη μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγη πλείω. We may remark that Cyril in this passage agrees better with Hieronymus than with the Armenian copy; for the year 1199 is the 2nd of *Procas* in Hieronymus, but the 36th of *Aventinus* according to the Armenian.

<sup>h</sup> F. H. II. p. 409.

<sup>i</sup> De Olympiis p. 148.

<sup>k</sup> See the Tables B. C. 752.



was king was in B. C. 756, twenty years after *Coræbus* won; although Phlegon<sup>1</sup> had himself placed *Iphitus* 108 years before *Coræbus*. Velleius<sup>m</sup> and Solinus<sup>n</sup> refer *Iphitus* to the time at which *Coræbus* won. Cicero<sup>o</sup> observes, *Nam centum et octo annis postquam Lycurgus leges scribere instituit prima posita est Olympias: quam quidam nominis errore ab eodem Lycurgo constitutam putant*. This passage is an example of both the errors. He gives the date of Eratosthenes, but he has neglected to distinguish the regency from the legislation, and the Olympiad of *Iphitus* from the Olympiad of *Coræbus*. Hence he admits two *Lycurgi*, the legislator, whom he calls *superiorem Lycurgum*<sup>p</sup>, and a second, who instituted the Olympic games. Pausanias and Strabo leave the interval undefined between *Iphitus* and *Coræbus*<sup>q</sup>. Many of the difficulties in these passages will be removed by the very probable opinion of Clavier<sup>r</sup>, that there were more than one of the name of *Iphitus*. Clavier supposes three of the name. I should rather conclude that there were only two; *Iphitus* son of *Hæmon* or of

<sup>1</sup> De Olympiis p. 140.

<sup>m</sup> Velleius I. 8. after mentioning *Hesiod* and the foundation of Capua, *ante annos fere DCCCXXX* [B. C. 793], proceeds: *Clarissimum deinde omnium ludicrum certamen—Olympiorum initium habuit, auctorem Iphitum Eleum. Is eos ludos mercatumque instituit ante annos quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires* [A. D. 37] *DCCCXXXIII. Hoc sacrum eodem loco instituisse fertur abhinc annos ferme MCCL Atreus, cum Pelopi patri funebres ludos faceret*. He then places the foundation of Rome in the 23rd Olympic year [B. C. 753]—*post Trojam captam annis CCCCXXXVII*. These dates will give 1250—36=B. C. 1214 for the games of *Atreus*, 437+753=1190 for the Trojan era, and 823—36=B. C. 787 for the games of *Iphitus*, 403 years after the fall of Troy.

<sup>n</sup> Solin. I. 28. *Certamen Olympicum—Iphitus Eleus instauravit post excidium Troje anno quadringentesimo octavo. Ergo ab Iphito numeratur Olympias prima*.

<sup>o</sup> De Rep. II. 10. p. 145.

<sup>p</sup> Brut. c. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Pausan. V. 4, 4. "Ιφίτος, γένος μὲν ὦν ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκεῦργον τὸν γράψαντα Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς νόμους, τὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανήγυρβιν τε Ὀλυμπιακὴν αἰθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκχευρίαν κατεστήσατο, ἐκλείπντα ἐπὶ χρόνῳ ὅπως δὴ οὗτος ἦν.—τῷ δὲ Ἰφίτῳ, φθειρομένης τότε δὴ μάλιστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ ἐμφυλίου στάσεως καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους, ἐπῆλθεν αἰτῆσαι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν λῦσιν τῶν κακῶν καὶ οἱ προσταχθεῖναι φασὶν ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς αὐτὸν τε Ἰφίτον δεῖν καὶ Ἡλείους τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα ἀνασῶσθαι. ἔπεισε δὲ Ἡλείους Ἰφίτος καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ θείν.—τὸν δὲ Ἰφίτον τὸ ἐπιγράμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν Αἴμωνος παῖδα εἶναι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ Πραξενίδου καὶ οὐχ Αἴμωνος εἶναι φασί· τὰ δὲ Ἡλείων γράμματα ἀρχαῖα ἐς πατέρα δμῶνυον ἀνήγει τὸν Ἰφίτον. Idem VIII. 26, 4. ἡνίκα τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἐκλείπντα ἐπὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἀνέσῳσати Ἰφίτος καὶ αἰθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ὀλύμπια ἤγαγον, τότε

δρόμου σφίσιν ἄθλα ἐτέθη μόνον, καὶ ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησε· καὶ ἔστιν ἐπιγράμμα ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ὡς Ὀλυμπίασιν ὁ Κόροιβος ἐνίκησεν ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος. Strabo VIII. p. 354. Αἰτωλοὶ συγκατελθόντες τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις μετὰ Ὀξύλου, καὶ συνοικήσαντες Ἐπειοῖς—ἠῤῥῆσαν τὴν κοίλην Ἥλιν.—Ὀλύμπια ἔπ' ἐκείνοις ἐγένετο· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν εὐρημά ἐστιν ἐκείνων ὁ Ὀλυμπιακός, καὶ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας τὰς πρῶτας ἐκείνοι συνετέλουν. ἔασαι γὰρ δεῖ τὰ παλαιά.—ἐγγυτέρω δὲ τῆς πίστεως ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ εἰκοτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν ᾗ Κόροιβος ἐνίκη στάδιον Ἡλείος τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον Ἡλείοι. p. 357. Ὀξύλον κατελθεῖν ἀθροίσαντα στρατιὰν ἐξ Αἰτωλίας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας Ἐπειοὺς τὴν Ἥλιν—καὶ κατασχεῖν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς· παραλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἣν εἶχον οἱ Ἀχαιοί, διὰ τε τὴν Ὀξύλου φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας συνομολογηθῆναι ῥαδίως ἐκ πάντων μεθ' ὅρκου τὴν Ἡλείαν ἱερὰν εἶναι τοῦ Διὸς—Ἰφίτον τε θείναι τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν ἀγῶνα, ἱερῶν ὄντων τῶν Ἡλείων. Mitford vol. I. p. 239. collects from these passages that "Pausanias" evidently had no idea of an interval between "*Iphitus* and *Coræbus*;" and that "Strabo contradicts the supposition, and does not give the least countenance to the supposition that two "or three centuries intervened between the re—"turn of the *Heraclidæ* and the victory of *Coræbus*." There is no reason for this opinion; for Pausanias makes *Iphitus* contemporary with *Lycurgus*, and Strabo is reciting the account of Ephorus, who (as we know from other evidence) placed either 293 or 313 years between the Return and the victory of *Coræbus*. And we know from Strab. V. p. 229. that Strabo allowed 400 years between the foundation of Alba and of Rome: φασὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀσκάνιον Ἀλβαν κτίσαι ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὕρει—ἔσπερον δὲ τετρακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἱστορεῖται τὰ περὶ Ἀμώλιον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Νουμήτορα, which is precisely the date of Dionysius, and places the war of Troy at the date of Eratosthenes.

<sup>r</sup> Des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 200.

*Praxonides*, contemporary with *Lycurgus*, who founded the festival in B.C. 828, and *Iphitus*, called son of *Iphitus* in the ancient Elean inscriptions, who was king in B.C. 756, and whom *Phlegon* does not distinguish from the former. In this case, the two *Iphiti*, the father and son, might occupy together about 76 years: the elder *Iphitus* was king in B.C. 828, the younger *Iphitus* in the time of *Coræbus* and of *Daicles* B.C. 776—752.

The second error we have observed in *Cicero*. *Justin*<sup>s</sup> also places the legislation in the time of the regency, and we may suspect that the account of *Pausanias*<sup>t</sup>, who places the legislation in the reign of *Agesilaüs*, is founded on a similar supposition. For *Charilaüs* reigned with *Archelaüs* son of *Agesilaüs*<sup>v</sup>. The regency, then, rather than the legislation, might fall within the reign of *Agesilaüs*, in whose time *Charilaüs* was born.

*Lycurgus* is the uncle of *Charilaüs* in *Aristotle*<sup>w</sup>, and in *Ephorus*<sup>x</sup>, *Dieuchidas*, and most other writers<sup>y</sup>. *Simonides*, though differing in the order of the kings, yet also made him the uncle of *Charilaüs*<sup>z</sup>. The variation in *Dionysius*<sup>a</sup> may be ascribed to error; that in *Herodotus*<sup>b</sup> to corruption in the text.

<sup>s</sup> *Justin*. III. 2. *Lycurgus cum fratri suo Polydectæ Spartanorum regi successisset, Charilao filio ejus regnum summa fide restituit.—Medio igitur tempore dum infans convalescit, tutelamque ejus administrat, non habentibus Spartanis leges instituit.* *Herodotus* indeed also implies I. 65. that the legislation occurred within the regency: ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα. But even the authority of *Herodotus* is outweighed by that of *Aristotle* *Rep.* II. 7, 1.

<sup>t</sup> *Pausan.* III. 2, 4. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ Λυκούργος Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγηςιλάου βασιλείας.

<sup>v</sup> *Idem* *Ibid.* Ἀγηςιλάου δὲ παῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι—ἡνδραποδίσαντο Αἴγυν—Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεζῆλε καὶ Ἀρχελάφην τὴν Αἴγυν. *Plutarch.* *Lycurg.* c. 5. συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον κ. τ. λ.

<sup>w</sup> *Aristot.* *Rep.* II. 7, 1=II. 10. φασὶ τὸν Λυκούργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησε, τότε τὸν πλείστον διατρίψαι χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην. He alludes V. 10, 3=V. 12. to the change effected by the legislation of *Lycurgus* in the reign of *Charilaüs*: μεταβάλλει τυραννίς εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, ὥσπερ ἡ Χαρίλαου ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. *Aristotle* in another place II. 6, 8. mentions two wars, an Argive and an Arcadian, which preceded the time of *Lycurgus*: ἀπεξενεόντο πολλὸν χρόνον πολεμοῦντες τὸν τε πρὸς Ἀργεῖους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας [καὶ Μεσσηνίους]. The Argive and Arcadian wars may be traced in *Pausanias*. But as the Messenian war was in the time of the grandson of *Charilaüs*, whom *Aristotle* himself mentions, the words καὶ Μεσσηνίους seem to be an interpolation. *Schneider* ad II. 6, 8. observes, *Opinionem Aristotelis de tempore Lycurgeæ legislationis clarissime hic locus declarat, quam Plutarchus* *Lyc.* c. 1. *ex alio ejusdem libro collegit, ubi Iphiti tempore vixisse dixerat.—Cum Aristotele sentit Pausanias* V. 4, 4. *Contra Apollodorus*

*et Eratosthenes multo antiquiorem Lycurgum fecerunt, ut ibidem tradit Plutarchus.* Nothing in this passage of *Aristotle* clearly indicates the time of *Lycurgus*. *Schneider* properly adds, referring to *Plutarch*, that *Pausanias* and *Aristotle* agree. But he should not have said (adopting the error of *Plutarch*) that *Eratosthenes* differed. *Pausanias* and *Aristotle* suppose *Iphitus* and the legislator contemporary. *Eratosthenes* thought the same, and fixed the date of both.

<sup>x</sup> See F. H. II. p. 409.

<sup>y</sup> *Plutarch.* *Lycurg.* c. 2. οἱ πλείστοι γενεαλογοῦσι—Πατρικλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου γενέσθαι Σόν· Σόνου δὲ Εὐρυτίαν· ταύτου δὲ Πρύτανιν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ Εὐνόμου· Εὐνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκτην ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς, Λυκούργον δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ Διανάσσης, ὡς Διευτυχίδας ἰστόρηκεν, ἔκτον μὲν ἀπὸ Πατρικλέους ἐνδέκατον δὲ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους. The same genealogy is given in *Schol. Platon. Rep.* X. p. 419. *Bekk.*

<sup>z</sup> *Plutarch.* *Lycurg.* c. 2. Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς οὐκ Εὐνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκούργον πατὴρ ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος. *Schol. Platon.* p. 419. ἦν δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην Πρυτάνιδος μὲν υἱὸς Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός, καὶ θεῖος τοῦ Εὐνόμου υἱοῦ Χαρίλαου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Σπάρτης. *Suidas* *Λυκούργος* tom. II. p. 472. ἦν θεῖος πρὸς πατὴρ Χαρίλαου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σπάρτης, Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός. From these accounts it appears that the line of Spartan kings was stated with some variations, which are exhibited in the following parallel lists. The first represents the order of *Simonides*; the second, that of *Herodotus* VIII. 131.; the third, that of *Eusebius*, who gives a mutilated list *Chron.* I. p. 167.; and the fourth, that of *Dieuchidas* and οἱ πλείστοι apud *Plutarch.* *Lyc.* c. 2. of *Pausanias* III. 2, 3. 7, 2—5. IV. 4, 3. of *Ephorus* apud *Strabon.* X. p. 481. and *Sosibius* apud *Clem. Al. Strom.* I. p. 327., who all make *Charilaüs* the son of *Polydectes*.

1. SIMONID.



Apollodorus, according to Eusebius quoted on a former occasion<sup>c</sup>, placed the legislation of *Lycurgus* within the reign of *Alcarnenes*. But it now appears from a passage of Porphyry preserved in the Armenian Eusebius<sup>d</sup> that he concurred with Eratosthenes in referring *Lycurgus* to B. C. 884, 108 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*. Mr. Muller<sup>e</sup>, then, with reason suspects that Eusebius has committed an error. The notice in Eusebius, which refers

1. SIMONID.	2. HERODOT.	3. EUSEB.	4. PAUSAN. &C.
Procles	Procles	Procles	Procles
Soüs	(Soüs)	*	Soüs
Eurypon	Eurypon	*	Eurypon
Prytanis	Prytanis	Prytanis	Prytanis
<i>Eunomus</i>	<i>Polydectes</i>	<i>Eunomus</i>	<i>Eunomus</i>
Charilaüs	<i>Eunomus</i>	<i>Eunomus</i>	<i>Polydectes</i>
Nicander	Charilaüs	Charilaüs	Charilaüs
Theopompus	Nicander	Nicander	Nicander
	Theopompus	Theopompus	Theopompus.

The list of Eusebius, as far as it is complete, agrees with the list of Simonides. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 151. observes, that "the name of *Lycurgus* was not preserved in any register of "the kings," on account of the variations in his genealogy; and that "hence we must infer that "these catalogues only contained the names of "the kings." But the variations in the genealogy of *Lycurgus* are produced by the variations in the genealogy of the kings. *Lycurgus* in all these writers is the uncle of *Charilaüs*; but *Charilaüs* is the son of *Eunomus* by one account, and the son of *Polydectes* by another. The authorities for *Lycurgus* are at least equal to the authorities for the kings here exhibited.

*Eunomus* appears to be a fictitious name, and may be suspected, as the name *Philonomus* is suspicious to Mr. Lewis Phil. Mus. vol. II. p. 41. after Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 105. This name *Eunomus* was probably fabricated by the poets with reference to the legislation. The Lycurgean constitution was called *Εὐνομία*: Diod. Vatican. p. 1. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 5. The poem of *Tyrtæus* which described it was called *Εὐνομία*: Aristot. Rep. V. 6, 2. By a similar mode of speaking, *Charilaüs* was the son of *Εὐνομος*, and *Lycurgus* the brother of *Εὐνομος*. *Prytanis* was the grandfather of *Charilaüs*, as we know from Simonides. It is probable that *Polydectes* was his father, and that *Eunomus* was another name, or a poetical description, of *Polydectes*. But when *Polydectes* the real father of *Charilaüs* came to be inserted in the list in addition to *Eunomus*, this *Eunomus* became the grandfather of *Charilaüs*; and this interpolated generation threw back *Prytanis*, the real grandfather, one generation higher. This insertion of *Polydectes* under his real name was made after the time of Simonides, perhaps in the time of Ephorus. Hence

in Herodotus we may suspect that *Πολυδέκτης* is interpolated, as *Σέου* is omitted, by the transcriber; and that the genealogy stood in Herodotus as in Simonides, τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πρυτάνους.

<sup>a</sup> Dionys. Ant. II. p. 339. ἔστι τις καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαβίνων ἐν ἱστορίαις ἐπιχωρίοις λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐποικησάντων αὐτοῖς καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐπιτροπεύων Εὐνομον τὸν ἀδελφιδεὺν Λυκούργος ἔθετο τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοὺς νόμους. The cause of the error seems to have been this. He found *Prytanis* the father of *Lycurgus* in some accounts, as in Simonides. He found *Eunomus* the grandson of *Prytanis* in others, as in the present text of Herodotus. Hence he called *Eunomus* the nephew of *Lycurgus*. Or possibly *Eunomus*, as a poetical name, was applied by some to *Charilaüs* himself, as it had been applied by others to his father *Polydectes*.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. I. 65. ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβότῳ, ἀδελφιδεὺν μὲν ἐαυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. Although the text stood thus in the time of Pausanias III. 2, 3., yet, from the notoriety of the fact that *Lycurgus* was ascribed to the other house, it is manifest that the passage is corrupted. The correction of Marsham, adopted by Wesseling, is the most easy and probable: ἐπιτροπεύοντα ἀδελφιδεὺν μὲν ἐαυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων Λεωβότῳ. And yet, if Herodotus placed the regency, and consequently the birth of *Charilaüs*, within the reign of *Labotas*, he must have differed from those who made *Charilaüs* νεανίσκος—still a youth (Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 5)—in the time of *Archelaüs*.

<sup>c</sup> F. H. II. p. 409.

<sup>d</sup> Quoted above p. 125.

<sup>e</sup> Dor. vol. I. p. 151.

the legislation to the 8th or the 15th or the 18th year of *Alcamenēs*<sup>f</sup>, is probably derived from some other chronologer, and not from Apollodorus.

*Homer* is recorded by Ephorus, Apollodorus, and many writers, to have reached the time of *Lycurgus*: but he will not contribute to ascertain the time of *Lycurgus*, because the time of *Homer* himself is uncertain. If, however, the tradition that they were contemporary is true, the earliest account of the age of *Homer*, that of Herodotus, who places him 400 years before his own time, agrees precisely with the dates here assigned to *Lycurgus*. For 400 years before the ἀκμὴ of Herodotus will place the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* at B. C. 850 or 854. Apollodorus placed *Homer* 100 years after the Ionic migration. This date, which we may understand of the birth of *Homer*, Apollodorus naturally adapted to his own epochs, B. C. 1183 for the fall of Troy, and B. C. 1043 for the migration; which would place the birth of *Homer* by this reckoning at B. C. 943. But when the date of the Ionic migration is brought down to its more probable period B. C. 988, and adapted to that reduced epoch which we have obtained from Callimachus, this date of Apollodorus for the birth of *Homer* will also precisely agree with the time of *Homer* as fixed by Herodotus. For 988—100=B. C. 888 for the birth of *Homer*, just 404 years before the birth of Herodotus; and his ἀκμὴ, taken at 34 years of age, would coincide in this case also with the ἀκμὴ of *Lycurgus* at B. C. 854. If the dates of Eratosthenes or of Aristotle for *Homer* shall be preferred, who carry the poet upwards nearer to the Trojan times, *Homer* will be placed by these computations beyond the reach of the earliest date to which *Lycurgus* is assigned ε.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. Chron. II. apud Syncellum p. 185. C. ἐν τῷ ἡ' Ἀλκαμένους [sc. anno 1211 B. C. 805], apud Hieronymum anno 1218 [B. C. 798] *Alcamenis* 150, apud Armen. anno 1221 [B. C. 795] *Lycurgi leges Lacedæmone teste Apollodoro* 180 *Alcamenis* anno. It is to be observed that these are the dates for the reign of *Alcamenēs* in Eusebius, who places the accession of *Polydorus* at Ol. 1. 2. anno 1241 B. C. 775. But this is inconsistent with the dates recorded by himself

lib. I. p. 166. and with the true time; for the last year of *Alcamenēs* and the accession of *Polydorus* occurred 32 years later, in the beginning of the first Messenian war B. C. 743: Pausan. IV. 4, 3.

ε The various dates to which *Homer* is ascribed may be arranged in the following manner, each being computed downwards from the fall of Troy:

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|---------------|---|
| 24<br>cir. 78 | Philostrat. p. 194. See below at 160.<br>CRATES: Pseudo-Plutarch. p. 1070. Wyttēb. Tatian. p. 107. repeated by Euseb. Præp. X. 11. Chron. anno 915. and from thence by Syncellus p. 180. D. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. B. ἀν' ἐπεσθαί τις βουλευθῇ τῇ γραμματικῇ Κράτῃ, καὶ λέγῃ περὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείδων κάθεδον "Ὅμηρον γεγενῆσθαι, μετὰ ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. The passages of Tatian and Plutarch have been given already at p. 107. b. Euseb. Chron. anno 915. <i>Secundum quosdam Homerus poëta cognoscebatur. Nonnulli apud Cratelem eum ante Heraclidarum incursionem collocant.</i> Ibid. anno 857. <i>Hujus (sc. Orestis) ætate quidam Homerum vixisse aiunt.</i> Heyne ad Apollod. Fragm. p. 1086=410. supposes Clemens to draw from Tatian: <i>Tatianus et ex eo Clemens.</i> But an inspection of the two will shew that Clemens has many particulars which are not in Tatian. They drew from some common source; Clemens more largely; Tatian a more abridged account. Tatian, however, is the source of Eusebius, not only in Præp. X. 11. but in Chron. ad annum 915. and Eusebius in this last passage is the source of Syncellus p. 180. |
| 100           | ERATOSTHENES: Tatian. Ibid. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐρατοσθένη, (αὐτὸν ἡκμαίνειν) μετὰ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. Conf. Euseb. Præp. Chron. Ibid. Syncell. Ibid. Clem. Al. Ibid. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως τὴν Ὀμήρου ἡλικίαν φέρεi. Pseudo-Plutarch. p. 1071. ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις πεπίστευται μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γεγενῆσθαι, οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς θέσεως τῶν  |



- 'Ολυμπίων, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ κατὰ 'Ολυμπιάδα χρόνος ἀριθμεῖται. The term οὐ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς θέσεως—would seem to be meant by the original writer for the Olympiad of *Iphitus*, although understood by the author of this life to express the Olympiad of *Coræbus*.
- 140 ARISTOTLE, ARISTARCHUS, CASTOR: Pseudo-Plutarch. Vit. Hom. I. p. 1059. Wyttenb. 'Αριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ περὶ ποιητικῆς ἐν 'Ιφ φησὶ τῇ νήσῳ, καθ' ἣν καιρὸν Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου τῆς 'Ιωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἤγειτο, κόρην τινὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γενομένην ὑπὸ τινος δαίμονος—ἐγκύμονα κ. τ. λ. ληστὰς ἀνδραποδίσαι καὶ ἀγαγόντας εἰς Σμύρναν οὖσαν ὑπὸ Λυδοῖς τότε τῇ βασιλεῖ τῶν Λυδῶν ὄντι φίλῳ τοῦνομα Μαίονι χάρισασθαι, τὸν δὲ γῆμαι κ. τ. λ. For the date of Aristarchus in Tatian p. 108. Plutarch p. 1070. Clemens Al. p. 327. A. see above p. 107. b. 120. k. Conf. Euseb. Præp. X. 11. Chron. anno 915. Castor apud Eusebium p. 136. *Ionica migratio, in qua Homerum quoque fuisse traditum est.* Repeated by Eusebius p. 305. anno 980. and hence by Syncellus p. 178. D.
- 160 CASSIUS, PHILOSTRATUS: Gell. XVII. 21. *Vixisse annis post bellum Trojanum, ut Cassius in primo Annalium de Homero atque Hesiodo scriptum reliquit, plus centum atque sexaginta annis.* Suidas 'Ομηρος:—τινὲς δὲ μετὰ ρε' ἐνιαυτοῦς τῆς 'Ιλίου ἀλώσεως τετέχθαι ἱστοροῦσιν 'Ομηρον. Philostratus Heroic. p. 194. records three dates, 24 years after the fall of Troy, 127 years, and 160 years; but himself prefers the third: γέγονε γὰρ ποιητῆς 'Ομηρος καὶ ἦδεν, ὥς μὲν φασιν ἔναι, μετὰ τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, οἱ δὲ, μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατὸν, ἕτε τὴν ἀποικίαν οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ἐς 'Ιωνίαν ἔστειλαν' οἱ δὲ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγονέναι μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἐπὶ 'Ομηρῶν τέ φασιν καὶ 'ΗΣόδον.—καὶ ἀληθέστερα περὶ τῶν 'Ομήρων χρόνων ταῦτα.
- 165 CYRILLUS: adv. Julian. p. 11. D. ἑκατοστῇ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ πέμπτῃ ἔτει τῆς 'Ιλίου ἀλώσεως 'Ομηρον καὶ 'ΗΣόδον φασὶ γενέσθαι, βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων Λαβώτου κ. τ. λ. Repeated from Euseb. Chron. Anno 1001. *Nonnulli Homerum atque Hesiodum his temporibus fuisse aiunt.* 835 + 164 = 999. at which year Cyril probably found this notice.
- 168 AUCTOR VITÆ HOMERI: see above p. 133. q.
- 180 PHILOCHORUS: see above p. 120. k. The date is repeated from Tatian by Eusebius Chron. anno 915. and from Eusebius by Syncellus p. 180. D. where Eusebius and Syncellus erroneously have ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ιωνικῆς ἀποικίας. Eusebius more correctly in Præp. X. 11. p. 492. A.
- 200 EUTHYMEENES and ARCHEMACHUS: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. A. Εὐθυμένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς συνακμῶσιν Ἡσιόδῳ ἐπὶ 'Ακάστου ἐν Χίῳ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ὕστερον τῆς 'Ιλίου ἀλώσεως ταύτης δὲ ἔστι τῆς δόξης καὶ 'Αρχέμαχος ἐν Εὐβοϊκῶν τρίτῃ.
- 240 APOLLODORUS: Tatian. p. 108. Euseb. Præp. X. 11. See above p. 120. k. Repeated Euseb. Chron. anno 915. Syncell. p. 180. D. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. A. 'Απολλόδορος δὲ, μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν τῆς 'Ιωνικῆς ἀποικίας, 'Αγησιλάου τοῦ Δουρυσταίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύοντος, ὥστε ἐπιβαλεῖν αὐτῷ Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην ἔτι νέον ὄντα. Apollodorus with Eratosthenes placed *Lycurgus* 59 years below this date, or 299 years after the fall of Troy: see above p. 125. Cicero Tusc. V. 3. *Lycurgum, cujus temporibus Homerus etiam fuisse traditur.* Idem Brut. c. 10. *Homerus, cujus etsi incerta tempora, tamen annis multis fuit ante Romulum; siquidem non infra superiorem Lycurgum [see p. 141] fuit.* Idem Rep. II. 10. p. 146. *Homerum autem qui minimum dicunt Lycurgi atati triginta annis anteposuit fere.* If this is derived from Apollodorus, which is probable, Apollodorus must have fixed the birth of *Homer* at 240 years, and the ἀκμὴ of *Lycurgus* at 299; which would suppose *Lycurgus* about 30 years of age in 299, and 29 years younger than *Homer*, agreeing with this account of Cicero.
- 266 VELLEIUS: who seems to follow Apollodorus: I. 5. *Homerus ferme ante annos DCCCCI floruit, intra mille natus est.* But 950—35 = B. C. 924 for the ἀκμὴ of *Homer*; and as Velleius placed the fall of Troy at B. C. 1190 (see above p. 142. m), then 1190—924 = 266 years after the fall of Troy for the ἀκμὴ, which might place the birth of *Homer* at about the year 240, the date of Apollodorus.
- 273 NEPOS: Gell. XVII. 21. *Vixisse ante Romam conditam, ut Cornelius Nepos in primo Chronicorum de Homero dixit, annis circiter centum et sexaginta.* Nepos placed the foundation of Rome in Ol. 7. 2. the spring of B. C. 750, and followed Apollodorus and Eratosthenes: see F. H. III. p. XIX. He therefore placed the Trojan era at B. C. 1183. But 1183—750 = 433; and 433—160 = 273. This also may be founded on Apollodorus; for if the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* was at 273 years from the era, his birth might have been placed at 240 years.
- 275 PORPHYRY: Suid. v. 'Ομηρος.—Πορφύριος ἐν τῇ φιλοσόφῳ ἱστορίᾳ πρὸ ρλ' φησὶν [130 years before Ol. I].—τινὲς δὲ μετὰ ρε' ἐνιαυτοῦς τῆς 'Ιλίου ἀλώσεως τετέχθαι ἱστοροῦσιν 'Ομηρον, ὁ δὲ ῥηθεὶς Πορφύριος, μετὰ σδ'. We may suspect that Porphyry referred his ἀκμὴ to the year 275; which



is the opinion also of Mr. Boeckh *Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 334.* This would agree with Nepos, and might be resolved into the date of Apollodorus.

302 THE PARIAN MARBLE: The fall of Troy is placed 945 years before the epoch of the Marble: see N<sup>o</sup>. 25. and *Homer* at 643 years: N<sup>o</sup>. 30. ἀφ' οὗ Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐφάνη ἔτη [H]HΔΔΔΔIII. But 945—643=302.

305 SOSIBIUS: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. C. Σωσίβιος ὁ Λάκων ἐν χρόνων ἀναγραφῇ κατὰ τὸ ὄγδον ἔτος τῆς Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου βασιλείας Ὅμηρον φέρει—ὡς εἶναι ἐνεήκοντά που ἑτῶν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσεως Ὅμηρον. The 8th year of *Charilaüs* according to Sosibius, whose other dates agree with this calculation, was B. C. 866: see F. H. II. p. 409. His epoch for the fall of Troy was B. C. 1171: F. H. III. p. 509. But 1171—866=305 years for the interval, agreeing with the period allowed by the Marble.

(409) HERODOTUS: II. 53. Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους  
(329) γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλείους. He reckoned the fall of Troy more than 800 years before his time:  
(273) see p. 132. p. which leaves more than 400 for the interval. But compared with the date of Eratosthenes, the interval will be 1183—854=329: compared with the reduced epoch obtained from Callimachus and Phanias, it will give B. C. 1127—854=273 years after the fall of Troy for the ἀκμὴ of *Homer*.

500 THEOPOMPUS: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. B. Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν μετὰ ἑτῇ πεντακόσια τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλίου στρατευσάντων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ἱστορεῖ. Tatian. p. 109. Euseb. Præp. X. 11. ἑτέροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ἐπήγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον εἰπόντες· ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἤκμασε περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν, κατὰ Γόγγην τὸν Λυδὸν, τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ὑσπερον ἔτεσι πεντακοσίους. Euseb. Chron. anno 915. Alii apud Archilochum 23<sup>o</sup> Olympiade, post res Iliacas annis 500. Conf. Syncell. p. 180. D. The date ascribed to Theopompus, Ol. 23=B. C. 688—685, would make the Trojan war 685—500=1185 according to Theopompus. But the period of Theopompus seems to have been adapted to the era of Eratosthenes by the later chronologers. Euphorion apud Clem. Ibid. concurred in the same date, since he also referred *Homer* to the reign of *Gyges* and the 18th Olympiad.

The apparent varieties in these accounts are greater than the real. The dates of Velleius, Nepos, Porphyry, may be resolved into the date of Apollodorus, and the date of Apollodorus may be adjusted to that of Herodotus. Some of the other variations might be brought to a nearer agreement with each other, if we knew in all the cases whether the authors intended to express the birth or the ἀκμὴ of *Homer*. Thus the dates of Cassius, Philostratus, Cyril, the author of the life of *Homer*, and Philochorus, if interpreted of the ἀκμὴ, may be resolved into the date of Aristotle. But the inaccurate language of Clemens, Tatian, and Eusebius, and the ambiguous meaning of the term γέγονεν, leave this point sometimes obscure. This term is often used to express *flourisse* or *vixisse*; as in Suidas v. Ἀρίων. Ἀρίσταρχος, and especially in v. Ἀριστοτέλης. Σαπφώ. Πείσανδρος Νέστορας. Ἀναξανδρίδης. in Diodorus II. 32. κατὰ Ξέρξην γεγονώς τοῖς χρόνοις. in Clemens Strom. I. p. 309. B. Δράκων—γεγονώς: where it is intended to express not the time of his birth, but the time of his legislation. And in the testimonies quoted above ἡκμαίνειν in Tatian p. 107. is expressed in Clemens p. 327. B. by γεγενῆσθαι as an equivalent term; and in Tatian just quoted σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγενῆσθαι, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιλόχος ἤκμασε, γεγενῆσθαι will mean *flourisse* or *vixisse*. And yet this word is just as often used to express *natum esse*. The ambiguity,

then, in this term γεγονώς, added to the want of precision in the later writers, sometimes produces an uncertainty.

Aristarchus is made to place the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* at the Ionic migration; but as Aristotle placed the birth there, we may suspect that Aristarchus, if we had his meaning accurately reported, also placed the birth at that epoch. Whether the author of the life of *Homer* referred the birth or the ἀκμὴ to the year 168 is not clear. Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 332. understands him to speak of the nativity: Fabricius himself and others tom. I. p. 320. understand the same passage to mark the ἀκμὴ. Philochorus according to Tatian placed the ἀκμὴ at the year 180; according to Clemens he spoke of the birth of *Homer* at that date. We may reasonably, then, suspect that Apollodorus placed the birth at the year 240, especially when this interpretation of the date will explain the allusion of Cicero; although Tatian refers that date to the ἀκμὴ. And this conclusion is in some degree confirmed by a notice which Hieronymus has inserted in Euseb. Chron. anno 1101: *In Latina historia ad verbum hæc scripta reperimus. "Agrippa apud Latinos regnante [annis 1102—1141 Hier.=B. C. 915 —876] Homerus poeta in Græcia claruit, ut testatur Apollodorus grammaticus, et Ephorus* [sic Scal. p. 62] *historicus, ante urbem condi-*



"*tam annis 124, et, ut ait Corn. Nepos, ante Ol. 1. annis 100.*" These numbers are consistent:  $753 + 124 = 877$ , and  $776 + 100 = 876$ , the last year of the reign of *Agrippa*. But they do not represent the dates of either Apollodorus or Nepos, as Scaliger p. 62. has shewn; since they place the ἀκμὴ of Homer 307 years below the fall of Troy. But although the numbers are

inaccurate, yet we may reasonably infer from this account that Apollodorus and Nepos agreed, and that Apollodorus placed *Homer* within the reign of *Agrippa*. Both these things would happen, if Apollodorus placed the birth at the year 240, and Nepos the ἀκμὴ at 273, which would fall upon B. C. 910, the 6th year of *Agrippa*.

# **T A B L E S.**

**B. C. 776—559.**



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
776.	<p>Ol. 1. <i>Coræbus Eleus.</i>  Euseb. Chron. I. 30. p. 137. 32. p. 140. 33. p. 142. II. p. 319. Præp. X. p. 503. B.  Syncell. p. 196. C. 197. C. Pausan. V. 8, 3. VIII. 26, 3. Athen. IX. p. 382. B. Strabo VIII. p. 355. Phlegon p. 140.</p>	<p>THE first Olympiad is placed by Censorinus c. 21. in the 1014th year before the consulship of <i>Ulpus</i> and <i>Pontianus</i> A. D. 238 = B. C. 776. Solinus 1, 29. attests that Ol. 207 fell within the consulship of <i>Gallus</i> and <i>Verannius</i>: <i>Cum C. Pompeius Gallus et Q. Verannius fuerint consules, consulatu eorum Olympias 207<sup>a</sup> actis publicis annotata est.</i> But these were consuls U. C. Varr. 802 A. D. 49: conf. Tacit. Ann. XII. 5. Fast. apud Noris. p. 19. And if the 207th games were celebrated in July A. D. 49, 206 Olympiads or 824 years had elapsed, and the first games were celebrated in July B. C. 776. Eusebius places Ol. 1 in the 94th year before the first annual archon at Athens, and in the second year of <i>Æschylus</i>: Chron. II. p. 318. <i>Æschyli Atheniensium principis anno altero acta est prima Olympias qua vicit stadium Coræbus Eleus. Quinquennalem agonem Elei celebrant, quatuor annis in medio absolutis.</i> In the version of Hieronymus also <i>secundo anno Æschyli Atheniensium judicis.</i> The second year of <i>Æschylus</i> was therefore current in July B. C. 776, and he began to reign B. C. 778, and his 23rd year coincided with Ol. 6. 2. the 22nd Olympic year. The interval to the first annual archon is thus computed by Eusebius p. 318—324. <i>Æschylus</i> last 21 + <i>Alcmaeon</i> 2 + ten decennial archons 70 = 93 years. But some authorities placed Ol. 1 in the 12th year of <i>Æschylus</i>, and gave 12 years to <i>Alcmaeon</i>: Euseb. Chron. I. 30. p. 137. <i>Vigesimus nonus Æschylus Agamestoris annis XXIII. cujus anno duodecimo prima Olympias instituta est, qua vicit stadium Coræbus Eleus. —Post Æschylum imperat Athenis Alcmaeon annis II. Lege XII.</i> Græca Scaligeri p. 28. εἰκοστὸς ἑνατος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμήστορος ἔτη κγ'. ἐφ' οὗ ἔτει δωδεκάτῳ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη ἣν ἐνίκα Κόροιβος Ἡλείος στάδιον.—τριακοστὸς δὲ μετὰ Αἰσχύλον Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύει Ἀλκμαίων ἔτη ιβ'. This computation placed the reign of <i>Æschylus</i> 10 years higher, his accession at B. C. 788, and his 23rd year at B. C. 765. And the 93 years were obtained thus: <i>Æschylus</i> last 11 + <i>Alcmaeon</i> 12 + decennial archons 70. Syncellus p. 195. C. expresses the higher date: Αἰσχύλου τῷ ιβ' ἔτει πληρουμένῳ καὶ ἀρχομένῳ τῷ ιγ' αὐτοῦ ἔτει—ἡ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη. Another computation has been already noticed at p. 132. o.</p> <p>In both the copies of Eusebius the first Olympic games are placed within the Eusebian year 1240, which is made conumerary with the 2nd year of <i>Æschylus</i>. Accordingly that Eusebian year was completed in the autumn of B. C. 776; and 3 months of the first Olympic year belong to 1240 and 9 months to 1241. Hence a different mode of notation in the two copies. The Armenian marks the first Olympic year at the year in which it commenced; Hieronymus at the year in which it ended.</p> <p>The first Olympic games B. C. 776 are placed at the 1st of <i>Ahas</i> by Africanus apud Syncell. p. 197. C. ὁ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸς—κατὰ τὸ α' ἔτος Ἀχαζ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα φάσκων ἤρχθαι ἐν τε τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ λόγῳ τῶν ἱστορικῶν αὐτοῦ τρανῶς, ἐν οἷς ὥδε γράφει· “ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ πρώτην τὴν τρισσαρεσκαίδεκάτην [conf. F. H. II. p. 410] ἡνίκα καὶ Κόροιβος στάδιον ἐνίκα. “τότε ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀχαζ ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔτος πρῶτον.” εἶτα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ θησί· “ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦ Ἀχαζ βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτον, ᾧ συντρέχειν ἀπεδείξαμεν “τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα.” Eusebius Chron. II. p. 318. places here the 49th of <i>Uzziah</i>, and misrepresents Africanus. Conf. Euseb. Chron. II. p. 319. Syncell. p. 197. B. Eusebius himself Præp. X. p. 503. B. where he probably gives the dates of Africanus, refers Ol. 1 to the</p>

3. POETS, &c.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>reign of <i>Ahaz</i>: Ἀχαζ ἔτη ις'. κατὰ τοῦτον ἡ πρώτη ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη. Syncellus p. 197. B. places the games at the 45th of <i>Uzziah</i>: ἀπὸ τοῦ μὲ' ἔτους Ὁζίου. But the 33rd of <i>Uzziah</i> in reality was current at the time of the first Olympic games in July B. C. 776. See Appendix c. 5.</p>
775.	1, 2.	<p>The 3rd year of <i>Æschylus</i> (the 13th by some accounts) and the Eusebian year 1241 extended according to the scheme of Eusebius from autumn B. C. 776 to autumn B. C. 775, and the second Olympic year from July B. C. 775 commenced within it. Hence this second Olympic year is referred in the Armenian copy to the 3rd of <i>Æschylus</i> and the year 1241. Conf. a. 776. F. H. III. p. 302. e. Hieronymus, after naming the first Olympic games at the year 1240, inserts, <i>Hinc decedentibus et succedentibus regnis novus ordo consurgit.</i> and places the first Olympic year at 1241. By this observation (which is not in the Armenian copy) he appears to mean that the years of <i>Abraham</i> and of each respective reign, which were heretofore reckoned from autumn to autumn, are in future reckoned from midsummer to midsummer, corresponding with the Olympic years. In that case Hieronymus strikes out three months from the 2nd year of <i>Æschylus</i> and from the year 1240, and computes the year 1241 (the 3rd of <i>Æschylus</i>) from July B. C. 776, making it conumerary with the first Olympic year.</p>
774.	1, 3.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1242 Ol. 1. 3. <i>In Italia Pandosia et Metapontus conditæ.</i> Placed at the same period by Syncellus p. 212. C. ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Πανδοσία καὶ Μεταπόντιον πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν. An earlier origin is ascribed to Metapontum by Justin XX. 2. <i>Metapontinî in templo Minervæ ferramenta quibus Æpeus, a quo conditi sunt, equum Trojanum fabricavit ostendant.</i> Conf. Pseudo-Aristot. de Mirab. p. 1161. B. And by Velleius I. 1. * * tempestate distractus a duce suo Nestore Metapontum condidit.</p>
772.	Ol. 2. <i>Antimachus Eleus.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 142.	
768.	Ol. 3. <i>Androclus Mes-senius.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. 33. p. 143.	

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Arctinus* flourished: Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. B. πρώτη Ὀλυμπιάδι Μιλήσιος ἐποποιὸς Ἀρκτῖνος λέγεται γεγονέναι. Euseb. Chron. Anno 1241 Ol. 1. 2. *Æschyli* 3<sup>o</sup> [anno 1242 *Æschyli* 4<sup>o</sup> Hier.] *Arctinus Milesius versificator florebat*. Hence Syncellus p. 212. C. Ἀρκτῖνος Μιλήσιος ἐποποιὸς ἤκμαζεν. Placed by Suidas at Ol. 9: Ἀρκτῖνος Τηλέω τοῦ Ναύτεω ἀπογόνου Μιλήσιος, ἐποποιὸς, μαθητὴς Ὀμήρου, ὡς λέγει ὁ Κλαζομένιος Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὀμήρου [conf. Tzetz. Chil. XIII. 641]· γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν θ' Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. 400 years after the Trojan era would give B. C. 783. See similar computations at B. C. 693. But Ol. 9 = B. C. 743 would give 440 years for the interval. On this account we may perhaps substitute in Suidas γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν α' ὀλ. The fiction that *Arctinus* was the disciple of *Homer* attests his high antiquity. The date, however, as it stands in Suidas, Ol. 9, is consistent with the accounts which place him at Ol. 1; and *Arctinus* might occupy 35 years B. C. 775—740. According to Phanias, he contended with *Lesches*: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 333. B. Φανείας πρὸ Τερπάνδρου τιθεῖς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρεи τὸν Τέρπανδρον· διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρκτῖνον. *Lesches* is placed by Eusebius 118 years below this date, at Ol. 30. conf. a. 657. We shall not, however, with Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 69. and Dodwell de Cycl. p. 129., bring down *Arctinus* to the 30th Olympiad, but rather conclude that Phanias, who places *Lesches* before *Terpander* and in the time of *Arctinus*, followed a different account from that which Eusebius adopted, and assigned to *Lesches* a higher date. Welcker Fragm. Aleman. p. 7., quoting Clemens, observes, *Leschen certamine musico Arctinum superasse circa Ol. 18 auctor est Xanthus Lydus*. But this is neither affirmed by Xanthus, nor is it referred to Ol. 18. That passage of Clemens refers to another transaction, the foundation of Thasos. *Lesches*, then, according to the account of Phanias, might have flourished in Ol. 9 or 10, 80 years before the date of Eusebius, and 60 before the ἀκμή of *Terpander*. Two works of *Arctinus* are described by Proclus: Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία ε' Ἀρκτῖνου Μιλησίου p. 477. Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος βιβλία β' Ἀρκτῖνου Μιλησίου p. 483. Eight lines of the Ἰλίου Πέρσις are preserved Schol. Hom. Il. λ'. 515. Ἀρκτῖνος ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει—φησὶν. The *Æthiopsis* without the name of the author is quoted Schol. Pindar. Isthm. IV. 58. ὁ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γράφων. The Πέρσις, by Lysimachus apud Schol. Eur. Troad. 31. e cod. Vat. Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν Περσηίδα [leg. Πέρσιδα] πεποιηκότα φησὶ γράφειν οὕτως·

Θησεΐδαις δὲ πόρεν δῶρα κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
ἥδ' ἔ Μενεσθῆι μεγαλήτορι ποίμενι λαῶν.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
765.	3, 4.	The 13th year of <i>Æschylus</i> ; coinciding with the Eusebian year 1251 from autumn B.C. 766 to autumn 765 (conf. a. 775); within which the 12th Olympic year Ol. 3, 4 commenced in July B.C. 765. According to another computation, the 23rd year of <i>Æschylus</i> , conf. a. 776.
764.	Ol. 4. <i>Polychares Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. 33. p. 143. Pausan. IV. 4, 4.	Pausan. IV. 4, 4. Πολυχάρης Μεσσήνιος τὰ τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν καὶ νίκην Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἀνηρημένος. τετάρτην ὀλυμπιάδα ἤγον Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα ἦν σταδίου μόνον [conf. a. 724] ὅτε ὁ Πολυχάρης ἐνίκησε. This <i>Polychares</i> twenty years afterwards was the cause of the first Messenian war: Pausan. <i>Ibid.</i> Diod. tom. IV. p. 22.
761.	4, 4.	
760.	Ol. 5. <i>Æschines Eleus.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	
759.	5, 2.	[Euseb. Chron. Anno 1257 Ol. 5. 2. <i>Thebani</i> [bene Hieron. <i>Therai</i> ] <i>Cyrenem incolis frequentaverunt jubente oraculo. Coloniae dux fuit Battus, proprio nomine Aristoteles.</i> In Hieron. Anno 1259. Syncellus p. 212. C. Θεβαῖοι Κυρήνην ᾤκισαν κατὰ χρησμόν· οἰκιστὴς δὲ αὐτῆς Βάττος ὁ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. Whence it would seem that Θεβαῖοι for Θεραῖοι was the error of Eusebius himself. In the date there is a <i>prochronism</i> of 128 years. Eusebius gives the true date at B. C. 631.]
758.	5, 3.	<i>Telestes</i> king of Corinth, the 5th from <i>Bacchis</i> , reigns 12 years: conf. a. 744. According to the dates of Diodorus (quoted <i>Ibid.</i> ) he recovers the kingdom 41 years after the death of his father <i>Aristodemus</i> .
757.	5, 4.	The 21st year of <i>Æschylus</i> is named by Mar. Par. N <sup>o</sup> . 32. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρχίας Εὐαγγήτου δέκατος ὢν ἀπὸ Τημένου ἐκ Κορίνθου ἤγαγε τὴν ἀποικίαν..... Συρακού..... — ...τος Ἀθηναίων Αἰσχύλου ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἐνός. The 21st year of <i>Æschylus</i> in the Tables of Eusebius is placed anno 1259 Ol. 5. 4, and would commence by his computation in autumn B. C. 758. According to another reckoning (conf. a. 776) it is placed ten years higher. As the Marble does not agree with Eusebius in the preceding dates, we have no proof that it agreed with him in this. And since the

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Cinæthon* flourished: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1251 Ol. 3. 4. *Æschyli* 13° *Cynæthon Lacedæmonius poëta, qui Telegoniam fecit, cognoscebatur*. Placed by Hieronymus anno 1259 *Æschyli* 21°. Pausan. II. 3, 7. Κιναιθων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἐγενεαλόγησε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἔπεσι. Quoted also de *Penthilo* II. 18, 5. Schol. Hom. Il. γ'. 175. ὡς δὲ Κιναιθων, (Ἑλένης καὶ Μενελάου παῖδα) Νικόστρατον. Pausan. VIII. 53, 1. Κιναιθων ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ῥαδάμανθυς μὲν Ἡφαίστου, Ἡφαιστος δὲ εἶη Τάλω, Τάλων δὲ εἶναι Κρητὸς παῖδα. IV. 2, 1. ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἡοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναιθων καὶ Ἀσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. From hence we learn that these ancient poems were still extant in A. D. 175. Κιναιθων ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ is quoted Schol. Apollon. I. 1357. The Ἰλιάς μικρὰ was by some ascribed to *Cinæthon*: Schol. Eur. Troad. 822. e Cod. Vat. τὸν Γανυμήδην καθ' Ὅμηρον Τρωῶς ὄντα παῖδα Λαομέδοντος νῦν εἶπεν [see above p. 82. v], ἀκολουθήσας τῷ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκότι· ὃν οἱ μὲν Θεστορίδην Φωκέα φασὶν [conf. Vit. Hom. c. 16], οἱ δὲ Κιναιθωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, ὡς Μελάνικος· οἱ δὲ Διόδωρον Ἐρυθραῖον. φασὶ [l. φησὶ] δὲ οὕτως· “Ἀμπελον ἦν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν”—four lines, which are also extant in Schol. Eur. Or. 1376. where they are quoted from the κύκλος: καθάπερ ἐν κύκλῳ λέγεται. “Ἀμπελον” x. t. λ.

*Eumelus* and *Arctinus* flourished: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1255 Ol. 4, 4. *Æschyli* 17° *Eumelus poëta qui Bugoniam et Europiam fecit: item Arctinus qui Æthiopicam Iliique Captum, cognoscebatur*. Placed by Hieronymus five years higher: anno 1250 *Æschyli* 12°. *Eumelus* is mentioned again by Eusebius at Ol. 9: conf. a. 744. He was contemporary with *Phintas* king of Messenia: Ibid. and reached the times of *Archias*: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 333. C. Εὐμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος, πρεσβύτερος ὧν, ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχία τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι. According to these testimonies *Eumelus* flourished about 30 years B. C. 761—731. For *Arctinus* conf. a. 775.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Marble placed <i>Temenus</i> 26 years higher than the epoch of Eratosthenes (see p. 132), or at B. C. 1129, the nine generations = 300 years would better agree with the highest date for the reign of <i>Æschylus</i>; which places his 21st year at B. C. 767. If the <i>lacuna</i> is rightly supplied by the editors with <math>\epsilon\tau\eta\ \text{HHHHI}\overline{\text{I}}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{IIII}</math>, which places the 21st year at the date of Eusebius, this will leave 370 years for the 9 generations, and will place the era of Syracuse, according to the corrected Tables of Eusebius, 23 years above its true date. conf. a. 734.</p>
756.	<p>Ol. 6. <i>Æbotas Dymæus</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Pausan. VI. 3, 4. VII. 17, 3.</p>	<p>[Euseb. Chron. Anno 1260 Ol. 6. 1. <i>Æschyli</i> 22°. In <i>Ponto Trapezus conditur</i>. Recognised by Syncellus p. 212. C. ἐν Πόντῳ Τραπεζοῦς ἐκτίσθη. Hieron. omits Trapezus, but at Ol. 7. 3 inserts <i>Aradus insula condita</i>: <i>Cyzicus condita</i>. Cyzicus was planted by the Megarians in Ol. 26. conf. a. 675. But Cyzicus is a Milesian colony in Strabo XIV. p. 635. Μιλήσιοι συνόκησαν—ἐν τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ Ἀρτάκην, Κύζικον. Schol. Apollon. I. 1077. cod. Par. Ἰάονας φησὶν ἐπειδὴ Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου εἰς Ἰωνίαν ἀποικίαν ἐστείλατο [εἰς Μίλητον ἀπ. ἐσ. ed.], ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου Ἰωνικῆς πόλεως μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἀποικία εἰς Κύζικον ἀφίκετο. Plin. H. N. V. 32. <i>Oppidum Milesiorum Cyzicum</i>. We may therefore ascribe this first settlement to the Milesians, and a second establishment in B. C. 675, about 80 years after the first, to the Megarians. Trapezus, with Cotyora and Cerasus, was a colony of Sinopë: Xenoph. Anab. IV. 8, 22. Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα—ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν. Idem Ib. V. 5, 3. Κοτύωρα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποίκους. Ib. V. 3, 3. Κερασσοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, Σινωπέων ἀποικόν. Steph. Byz. Τραπεζοῦς—Σινωπέων ἀποικος. Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 113. Τραπεζοῦντα—πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ὡς λέγει ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκεῖνος,—Σινωπέων ἀποικόν. Diod. XIV. 31. Κοτύωρα—Σινωπέων ἀποικόν. Arrian. l. c. p. 129. Κερασσοῦς—Σινωπέων καὶ αὕτη ἀποικος. cf. Diod. XIV. 30. If this date for Trapezus is accurate, Sinopë itself, from whence Trapezus proceeded, must have been founded at least 130 years before the date assigned in Eusebius: conf. a. 629.]</p>
754.	6, 3.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1262 Ol. 6. 3. <i>Alcmæon annis II</i>. The 1st of <i>Alcmæon</i> accordingly commences in autumn B. C. 755, where the last year of <i>Æschylus</i> terminates according to Eusebius. But by another computation the last year of <i>Æschylus</i> was B. C. 765, and the first of <i>Alcmæon</i> B. C. 764: conf. a. 776.</p>
753.	6, 4.	<p>The second year of <i>Alcmæon</i> in Eusebius, anno 1263; the 12th by another account: conf. a. 776. [Rome founded according to Varro: F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Vel-leius I. 8. <i>Sexta Olympiade, post duo et viginti annos quam prima constituta fuerat, Romulus—Romam urbem Parilibus in Palatio condidit</i>. The numbers which follow are corrupted; but this date, equivalent to the 23rd year current, expresses the date of Varro.]</p>
752.	<p>Ol. 7. <i>Dæicles Messenius</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 180. Phlegon p. 148. records the victory of <i>Dæicles</i>, but by an error either</p>	<p>The first year of the first decennial archon was current in Ol. 7. 1 according to Eusebius. Anno 1264 Ol. 7. 1. <i>Athenis principatus quoad vitu maneret mutatur in decennalem, imperatque Charops Æschyli</i>. The year 1264 (the 1st of <i>Charops</i>) extends from autumn B. C. 753 to autumn B. C. 752, and the 25th Olympic year Ol. 7. 1 commences within it. In Hieronymus the 1st of <i>Charops</i> and the year 1264 cor-</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Antimachus* of *Teos* flourished: Plutarch. Romul. c. 12. ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν [*XI Kal. Mai.*] ἢ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἔκτιζεν ἀτρεκῇ τριακάδᾳ τυχεῖν λέγουσι, καὶ σύνοδον ἐκλειπτικὴν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι σελήνης πρὸς ἥλιον, ἣν εἶδέναι καὶ Ἀντίμαχον οἶονται τὸν Τήϊον ἐποποιόν, ἔπει τρίτῃ τῆς ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος συμπεσοῦσαν. This expresses the date of Varro, and we may observe that the era of Varro is referred to the third year, and not to the fourth, of Ol. 6; that is, to the Olympic year to which it belonged, and not to the Olympic year following: see p. 126. a. *Antimachus* is named by Clem. Strom. VI. p. 622. D. Ἀντιμάχου τοῦ Τήϊου εἰπόντος—“Ἐκ γὰρ δώρων πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται.”



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
	places him in the time of <i>Iphitus</i> who was contemporary with <i>Lycurgus</i> , or omits to distinguish between a first and a second <i>Iphitus</i> : see p. 141.	respond with Ol. 6. 4. But the notation of the Armenian copy better agrees with Dionysius Ant. I. p. 192. who makes the 1st of <i>Charops</i> still current in Ol. 7. 1. ἔπει πρῶτον τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι τῆς δεκαετίας Χάροπος ἔτος πρῶτον. Ibid. p. 180. κτίζουσι Ῥώμην, ἔτους ἐνεστῶτος πρώτου τῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δαίκελῆς Μεσσήνιος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Χάροπος ἔτος τῆς δεκαετίας πρῶτον. Eusebius, who assumes that the years of every reign in his Tables coincide with the year of <i>Abraham</i> annexed, seems to have placed the accession of <i>Charops</i> a few months too high, since <i>Charops</i> in Dionysius is still in his first year at the foundation of Rome in the tenth month of Ol. 7. 1.
751.	7, 2.	[Rome founded according to Cato: see p. 126. a. and F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Cato fixed it 432 years after the Trojan era of Eratosthenes. But we have shewn p. 124. that Eratosthenes placed the fall of Troy at <i>Thargelion</i> B.C. 1183; and from that date 432 years were completed in <i>Thargelion</i> B.C. 751. which determines the era of Cato to the spring of Ol. 7. 1. If, as some suppose, he had referred it to the spring of Ol. 6. 4, and of B.C. 752, the 431st year was not yet completed. Theophilus ad Autolyceum III. 27., who appears to follow Cato, also names the 7th Olympiad and not the 6th: ἐκτισμένης τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου Ὀλυμπιάδι ζ', πρὸς ἰ' καὶ α' καλανδῶν Μαΐων. and Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 143. <i>Ol. VII Romulus Romam condit.</i> ]
750.	7, 3.	[Rome founded according to Polybius: F. H. III. p. XIX. t. This date is recorded by Cicero Rep. II. 10. p. 145. <i>Nam si, id quod Græcorum investigatur annalibus, Roma condita est secundo anno Olympiadis septumæ, in id sæculum Romuli cecidit ætas cum jam plena Græcia poetarum et musicorum esset.</i> This treatise <i>de Republica</i> was written B.C. 54: F. H. III. p. 191. But Cicero himself afterwards in B.C. 46, in the <i>Brutus</i> , adopted the era of Varro: F. H. III. p. 25.] The Milesian empire of the sea is placed at this date by Hieronymus: conf. a. 732. To this period, or a little after, may be referred many of the colonies of this state: Strabo XIV. p. 635. πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔργα ταύτης· μέγιστον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποικίων· ὅτε γὰρ Εὐξείνιος πόντος ὑπὸ τούτων συνώκισται πᾶς καὶ ἡ Προποντὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους τόποι. Ἀναξιμένης γοῦν ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὕτω φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ Ἰκαρον τὴν νῆσον καὶ Λέρον Μιλήσιοι συνώκισαν, καὶ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν μὲν τῇ Χερρόνησῳ Λίμναις ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἀβυδὸν [conf. a. 715], Ἀρισβαν [hinc apud Steph. Byz. Ἀρίσβη, Eustath. ad Il. p. 894. apud Berkel. ad loc. πόλις τῆς Τρωάδος, Μιτυληναίων ἀποικὸς l. Μιλησίων ἀπ.], Παισόν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ Ἀρτάκην [Ἀρτάκη, πόλις Φρυγίας, ἀποικὸς Μιλησίων Steph. Byz.], Κύζικον [conf. a. 756]· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Τρωάδος Σκήψιν. Naucratis was a Milesian colony: Steph. Byz. Ναύκρατις, πόλις Αἰγύπτου, ἀπὸ Μιλησίων τότε θαλασσοκρατούντων. Στράβων ἐπτακαίδεκάτῃ. Conf. Suid. Ναύκρατις. Placed at this date by Hieronymus: conf. a. 732. in the reign of <i>Psammetichus</i> [B.C. 670—617] by Strabo XVII. p. 801: conf. a. 630. Among the distant colonies of Miletus referred to by Ephorus apud Athen. XII. p. 523. a. (see above p. 115. w) were Tius: Steph. Byz. Τίος, πόλις Παφλαγονίας τοῦ Πόντου, ἀπὸ Τίου ἱερέως, τὸ γένος Μιλησίου, ὡς Φίλων. Arrian. Peripl. p. 126. εἰς Τίον πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ἰωνικήν—Μιλησίων ἀποικον. Phasis: Steph. Byz. Φάσις, πόλις τῆς Ἀσίας—ἐκτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ Μιλησίων. Di-

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

Hieronym. *Anno 1266 Charopis 3<sup>o</sup> Ol. 7. 2 = 3 Arm. Thales Milesius physicus philosophus agnoscitur.* In this notice (which is absent from the Armenian copy) Hieronymus has mistaken *Thaletas* the Cretan for *Thales of Miletus*. conf. Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. 15. Augustine Civ. Dei XVIII. 24. follows Hieronymus in the same mistake: *Eodem Romulo regnante Thales Milesius fuisse perhibetur, unus e septem sapientibus.* The time, then, of *Thaletas* is given, whom some accounts placed at the 7th Olympiad. Other accounts assigned to him a still higher antiquity. He was accounted earlier than *Homer*: Suidas: *Θαλήτας, Κρής ἢ Ἰλλύριος [Ἐλύριος Meurs.], λυρικὸς, γεγονὼς πρὸ Ὁμήρου.* and contemporary with *Lycurgus*: Ephorus apud Strabon. X. p. 482. λέγεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ Κρητῶν ὡς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο Λυκοῦργος—ἐλθόντα δὲ πλησιάσαι Θάλῃτι μελοποιῶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ νομοθετικῶ, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 4. ἔνα τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν χάριτι καὶ φιλίᾳ πείσας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θάλητα, ποιητὴν μὲν δοκοῦντα λυρικῶν μελῶν, κ.τ.λ. Demetrius Magnes apud Laërt. I. 38. *Θαλῆς—ἀρχαῖος πάνυ, κατὰ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Λυκοῦργον.* Sextus Empir. p. 293. ὁ δὲ Σπαρτιάτης Λυκοῦργος, ὡς ἀν' ἐξηλωτῆς Θάλητος τοῦ Κρητὸς γενόμενος. But Aristotle Rep. II. 9, 5. = II. 12. rejects this account: *πειρῶνται τινες συνάγειν ὡς Ὀνομακρίτου μὲν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικὴν· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἐταῖρον. Θάλητος δ' ἀκροατὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου δὲ Χαράωνдан. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσχεπτότερον τῶ χρόνῳ λέγοντες.* *Thaletas* in reality flourished fifty or sixty years later than the date of Hieronymus: conf. ann. 665. 644.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>oscurias: Arrian. p. 122. Διοσκουριάς—ἄποικος Μιλησίων. Apollonia on the Euxine: Strab. VII. p. 319. Ἀπολλωνία ἄποικος Μιλησίων. Odessus: conf. a. 592. Theudosia and Panticapæum: F. H. II. p. 281. Cepi Scymn. Fragm. 151. Κῆπός τ' ἀποικισθεῖσα διὰ Μιλησίων. Tyras: Scymn. 55. ὁμώνυμος δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ κεῖται πόλις Τύρας, ἄποικος γενομένη Μιλησίων. Olbia or Borysthenes: Steph. Byz. Βορυσθένης—πόλις Ἑλληνίς—Μιλησίων ἀποικία, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Βορυσθένην αὐτοὶ δὲ Ὀλβίαν. Scymn. Fragm. 60.—πρότερον Ὀλβία καλουμένη, Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων πάλιν Βορυσθένης Κληθεῖσα ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Μιλήσιοι Κτίζουσι κατὰ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐπαρχίαν. Founded therefore after B. C. 711.</p>
748.	Ol. 8. <i>Anticles Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	<p><i>Phidon</i> tyrant of Argos celebrated the 8th Olympiad games: Pausan. VI. 22, 2. Πισαῖοι ἐφειλκύναντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τε Ἡλείων καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἡλείων οἱ γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδωνι. Ephorus apud Strab. VIII. p. 358. agrees with this date, and places <i>Phidon</i> in the tenth generation from <i>Temenus</i>. The Parian Marble, however, N<sup>o</sup>. 31. and many other authors referred to by Dexippus apud Syncell. p. 262. place <i>Phidon</i> three generations higher, and in the same generation with <i>Iphitus</i> and <i>Lycurgus</i>. But the lower date is the true date, because <i>Phidon</i> flourished after the Olympiads were begun to be registered, and after the Lacedæmonians had acquired the lead in Peloponnesus. See Appendix c. 1.</p>
747.	8, 2.	<p>[Rome founded according to Fabius Pictor: F. H. III. p. XIX. t. Lydus de Mensibus c. 5. p. 5. Ῥωμύλος κτίζει τὴν Ῥώμην τῇ πρὸ δεκαμῆος καλανδῶν Μαΐου κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑκτῆς [April B. C. 753], ἢ, ὡς ἕτεροι, κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον τῆς ὀγδοῆς [April B. C. 746]. The first is the era of Varro; the second seems intended for the date of Fabius. The era of <i>Nabonassar</i> is computed from Feb. 27 B. C. 747: F. H. III. p. XVII.</p>
746.	8, 3.	<p><i>Automenes</i> king of Corinth: conf. a. 744.</p>
745.	8, 4.	<p>The first annual <i>prytanis</i> at Corinth, 90 years before the reign of <i>Cypselus</i>: conf. a. 744.</p>
744.	Ol. 9. <i>Xenocles Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. <i>Xenodocus</i> Pausan. IV. 5, 4. conf. a. 743. 2.	<p>The second annual <i>prytanis</i> at Corinth: Pausan. II. 4, 4. ἀπὸ Βάκχιδος οἱ Βακχίδαι καλούμενοι (βασιλεύουσι) πέντε—γενεὰς ἐς Τελέστην τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου. καὶ Τελέστην μὲν κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀριεὺς καὶ Περάντας κτείνουσι, βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐγένετο, πρυτάνεις δὲ ἐκ Βακχιδῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες, ἐς δὲ Κύψελος τυραννήσας ὁ Ἡετίωνος ἐξέβαλε τοὺς Βακχίδας. The five generations are marked by Diodorus apud Euseb. p. 164. Syncellum p. 179. Προῦμνης ἔτη λβ' [B. C. 959—925] καὶ Βάκχης ὁμοίως τὸν ἴσον χρόνον [B. C. 924—890], γινόμενος ὑπερανέστατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διὰ καὶ συνέβη τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντας οὐκ ἔτι Ἡρακλείδας ἀλλὰ Βακχίδας προσαγορευέσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀγέλας μὲν ἔτη λ' [B. C. 889—860], Εὐδήμος δὲ ἔτη κς' [B. C. 859—835], Ἀριστομήδης [Ἀριστοδήμος Eusebius cum Pausan.] ε' καὶ λ' [B. C. 834—800]. οὗτος δὲ τελευτήσας ἀπέλιπεν υἱὸν Τελέστην παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν οὗ τὴν κατὰ γένος βασιλείαν ἀφείλατο θεῖος αὖν καὶ ἐπίτροπος Ἀγήμεαν, ὃς ἤρξεν ἔτη ις' [B. C. 799—784]. μετὰ τοῦτον κατέσχευεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κς'</p>

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*Eumelus* is named again at Ol. 9: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1272 Ol. 9. 1. *Charopis* 9<sup>o</sup> *Eumelus Corinthius versificator florebat*. Anno 1275 Ol. 9. 4. *Æsimidis* 2<sup>o</sup> *Sibylla Erythræa cognoscebatur*. In Hieronymus they are placed together at the year 1276. Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. B. ἐνάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Θύμηλον [I. Εὐμηλον] ἐποποιὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ Σίβυλλαν τὴν Ἑρυθραίαν. Pausan. IV. 4, 1. ἐπὶ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι. τὸ δὲ σφισιν ἄσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μὴ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα. Idem IV. 33, 3. τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν· ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον·

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτα καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μῦσα  
— ἃ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαιλ' ἔχουσα.

Idem V. 19, 2. τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτὴν [arcam Cypseli] τάχα μὲν που καὶ ἄλλος τις ἂν εἴη πεποιηκώς, τῆς δὲ ὑπονοίας τὸ πολὺ ἐς Εὐμηλον τὸν Κορίνθιον εἶχεν ἡμῖν, ἄλλων τε εἵνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα δ' ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον. The age of *Phintas* agrees with the time assigned to *Eumelus* in Ol. 9. See above p. 129. k. *Eumelus* was of the *Bacchiadæ*: Pausan. II. 1, 1. Εὐμήλος ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιαδῶν καλου-



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>[B. C. 783—759]. τοῦτον ἀνελὼν Τελέστης ὁ στερηθεὶς τῆς πατρῷας ἀρχῆς ἤρξεν ἔτη ιβ' [B. C. 758—747]. τούτου δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀναιρεθέντος Αὐτομένης μὲν ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν [B. C. 746] οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους Βακχίδαὶ πλείους ὄντες διακοσίαν κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ κοινῇ μὲν προεστήκεισαν τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντες, ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ ἓνα κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἤρουτο πρύτανιν, ὃς τὴν τοῦ βασιλείως εἶχε τάξιν, ἐπὶ ἔτη γ', μέχρι τῆς Κυψέλου τυραννίδος, ὃς ἦς κατελύθησαν. The same numbers are in Euseb. p. 165. and in the list of reigns apud Syncell. p. 180. which ends with Αὐτομένης ἔτος ἕν. μεθ' οὗς ἐνιαύσιοι πρυτάνεις ἔτη γ'. For the account in the Tables of Eusebius see above p. 130. m. <i>Cypselus</i> began to reign B.C. 655: conf. a. 625. which fixes the 90 years to B. C. 745—656, and determines the dates of the preceding reigns. The <i>Bacchiadæ</i> are noticed by Herodotus V. 92. ἦν ὀλιγαρχίη, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν. and by Strabo VIII. p. 378. οἱ Βακχιάδαι τυραννήσαντες, πλούσιοι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ γένος λαμπροὶ, διακόσια ἔτη σχεδόν τι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν—τούτους τε Κύψελος καταλύσας αὐτὸς ἐτυράνησε, καὶ μέχρι τριγονίας ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ συνέμεινε. Larcher, who adds 87 years to the chronology of Eratosthenes, assigns these 200 years to the annual <i>prytanes</i>: Herodot. tom. VII. p. 522. <i>Diodore de Sicile en compte</i> 90; mais <i>Strabon en met jusqu'à deux cens</i>. Mr. Muller Dor. tom. II. p. 519. also understands the 200 years of the annual <i>prytanes</i>: "Strabo's 200 <i>prytanes</i> have arisen from a confusion with the number "of males in the <i>Bacchiadæ</i>." It is more probable, from comparing Pausanias l. c., that Strabo intended to express the whole government of the <i>Bacchiadæ</i>, kings as well as <i>prytanes</i>, and to mark the interval between <i>Bacchis</i> and <i>Cypselus</i>. That interval in Diodorus is 234 years: but Strabo adopting another computation (perhaps shortening the space between <i>Aristodemus</i> and <i>Telestes</i>) might reckon the period at 200 years. See above p. 130. m.</p>
743. 9, 2.		<p>First Messenian war: Pausan. IV. 5, 4. ταύτην Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρώτην ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους ἔξοδον ἐποίησαντο ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἐνάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Ξενοδοκος Μεσσηνίος ἐνίκα στάδιον. Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν πω τότε οἱ τῶ κλήρῳ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχοντες· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ Μελάνθου, καλουμένους δὲ Μεδοντίδας, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀντὶ βασιλείας μετέστησαν εἰς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ προθεσμίαν ἐτῶν δέκα ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Ἀμφείας Αἰσιμίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἤρχεν ὁ Αἰσχύλου πέμπτον ἔτος. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 321. Anno 1274 Ol. 9. 3. <i>Æsimidis</i> 1<sup>o</sup>. <i>Lacedæmonii cum Messeniis bellum gerunt</i>. This Eusebian year commenced in autumn B. C. 743, and included nine months of Ol. 9. 2. The date of Eusebius, then, may agree with the date of Pausanias. Hieronymus places the war at the preceding year: Anno 1273 <i>Charopis</i> 10<sup>o</sup>.</p> <p>In the time of the decennial archons Pausanias differs from Dionysius and Eusebius. If the 5th year of <i>Æsimides</i> was current in Ol. 9. 2, his first was current in Ol. 8. 2, and the first of <i>Charops</i> was current in Ol. 5. 4 B. C. 757, five years higher than the date of Eusebius: conf. a. 723. From Eusebius p. 320. and Pausan. l. c. we learn that the two first decennial archons were both sons of the archon <i>Æschylus</i>.</p>
742. 9, 3.		First year of <i>Æsimides</i> according to Eusebius: conf. a. 743.

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

μένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθία συγγραφῇ (εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ) Ἐφύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα κ. τ. λ. It is well explained by Groddeck and Siebelis ad loc. that this Κορινθία συγγραφὴ was a prose epitomē of the poem of *Eumelus*: *epitome prosaica a grammatico aliquo ex antiquo Eumeli carmine concinnata*. The prose epitomē seems quoted by Pausanias II. 2, 2 (ubi confer Lobeck. Aglaopham. p. 284. f). II. 3, 8. Clemens Al. Strom. VI. p. 629. A. the original poem of *Eumelus* by Theopompus apud Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 174. Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος Εὐμήλου τῆς Κορίνθου ἱστορικοῦ ποιητοῦ μέμνηται λέγοντος οὕτως·

ἀλλ' ὅτε δ' Αἰήτης καὶ Ἀλκων ἐξεγένοντο κ. τ. λ.

Eight lines. Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIII. 74. gives the same lines: Εὐμηλὸς τις ποιητὴς ἱστορικὸς εἰπών— but without naming Theopompus; and they are again referred to by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 1024. Εὐμηλος ὁ ποιητὴς, οὗ τὰ ἔπη ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν εἰρήκειν. The poem is quoted Schol. Apollon. III. 1372. οὗτος καὶ οἱ ἐξῆς στίχοι εἰλημμένοι εἰσὶ παρ' Εὐμήλου, παρ' ᾧ Μήδεια πρὸς Ἰδμονα διαλέγεται. Either the poem or the epitomē by Schol. Eur. Med. 10. Perhaps the poem itself by Schol. Apollon. I. 146. Εὐμηλος ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς. IV. 1212. Ἐφύρα ἡ Κόρινθος, ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως θυγατρὸς. Εὐμηλος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, γυναικὸς δὲ γενομένης Ἐπιμηθέως.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
740. *	Ol. 10. <i>Dotades Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	
736.	Ol. 11. <i>Leochares Messenius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.	
735.	11, 2.	<p>Naxos founded the year before Syracuse: Thucyd. VI. 3. 'Ελλήνων δὲ πρῶτοι Χαλκιδῆς ἐξ Εὐβοίας πλεύσαντες μετὰ Θουκλέους οἰκιστοῦ Νάξον ᾤκισαν, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου βωμὸν ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἰδρύσαντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ὅταν ἐκ Σικελίας θεωροὶ πλέωσι, πρῶτον θύουσι. Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾤκισε Σικελούς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη ἡ πόλις ἢ ἐντός ἐστιν. Placed two years too high in Euseb. Chron. Anno 1280 Ol. 11. 1. <i>In Sicilia conditur Anaxus</i> [l. <i>Naxos</i>]. In Hieron. at the year 1281. For Ephorus see F. H. II. p. 265. Add Seymnus 270—277. Naxos is marked as the first settlement by Diodorus XIV. 88.</p>
734.	11, 3.	<p><i>Archias</i> founds Syracuse: Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1282 Ol. 11. 3. <i>Æsimidis</i> 9<sup>o</sup>. Arm. M. anno 1283 Ol. 11. 4. <i>Æsimidis</i> 10<sup>o</sup>. <i>Syracusæ et Catina in Sicilia conduntur</i>. Hieron. Anno 1284 <i>Clidici</i> 1<sup>o</sup>. Syracuse is at the right date; Catana four years too high. The higher date of the Venetian edition is much to be preferred. It will place the epoch of Syracuse in the summer of B. C. 734, the close of Ol. 11. 2. and the epoch of Catana (conf. a. 730) in the summer of B. C. 730, the beginning of Ol. 12. 3. The era of Syracuse is thus carried upwards one year higher than the date formerly obtained, and two complete years intervene between <i>Trotilus</i> and <i>Megara Hyblæa</i>: see F. H. II. p. 264. 265.</p> <p><i>Chersicrates</i> the founder of Corcyra was the companion of <i>Archias</i>: Strabo VI. p. 262. See F. H. II. p. 265. The account of Strabo is confirmed by a narrative in which <i>Chersicrates</i> and <i>Archias</i> apud Plutarch. Amat. Narr. p. 772. 773. Schol. Apollon. IV. 1212. are both concerned in the same transaction, the death of <i>Actæon</i>. The Scholiast: οἱ Βακχιάδαι νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες ἐβούλοντο ἀποσπᾶν τὸν παῖδα Ἀκταίωνα. τῶν δὲ γυνέων ἀντεχόντων, συνέβη διασπασθῆναι αὐτόν.—οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι—ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Βακχιάδας. Χερσικράτης δὲ, εἰς τῶν Βακχιάδων, ἔκτισε Κερκύραν. Plutarch: Ἀρχίας, γένους μὲν ὦν τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν πλούτου δὲ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει λαμπρότατος Κορινθίων—ἀπάγειν τὸν παῖδα ἐπειράτο· ἀντιποιούμενου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων—ἀνθελκόμενος ὁ Ἀκταίων διεφθάρη.—μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ αὐχμὸς καὶ λοιμὸς κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν· καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνείλε μῆνιν εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος—ταῦτα πυθόμενος Ἀρχίας (αὐτὸς γὰρ θεωρὸς ἦν) εἰς μὲν τὴν Κορίνθον ἐκὼν οὐκ ἐπανήλθε, πλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἔκτισε. Diodorus Excerpt. tom. IV. p. 24. mentions <i>Archias</i> and <i>Actæon</i> after the beginning of the Messenian war B. C. 743: whence Valesius justly infers that Diodorus agreed with Eusebius rather than with the Marble in the era of Syracuse. <i>Chersicrates</i> is named by Timæus apud Schol. Apollon. IV. 1216. Χερσικράτη ἀπόγονον τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, εἴτε ἐκπεσόντα τῆς Κερύνης, εἴτε καὶ ἐκόντα, ἀπελθεῖν διὰ ἀτιμίαν [διὰ τὸ ἡτιμῶσθαι Cod. Par.], καὶ καταρκεῖναι τὴν νῆσον. These expressions of Timæus seem to point at the affair of <i>Actæon</i>. The son</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Callinus* of *Ephesus* probably flourished as early as this date : conf. a. 712.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>of <i>Melissus</i> and the expulsion of the <i>Bacchiadæ</i> are noticed by Alexander <i>Ætolus</i> apud Parthen. c. 14.</p> <p>θαλλήσκει μέγαν υἱὸν ἀφ' οὗ μέγα χάριμα Κορίνθω ἔσται καὶ βριαροῖς ἀλγέα Βακχιάδαις.</p> <p><i>Myscellus</i> was also contemporary with <i>Archias</i>: F. H. II. p. 265. h. and yet Crotona is placed 24 years, and Corcyra 26, below the date of Syracuse: conf. ann. 710. 708.</p>
732.	<p>Ol. 12. <i>Oxythemis Crotonæus</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143.</p>	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1284 Ol. 12. 1. <i>Clidicus annis</i> 10. According to Pausanias I. 3, 2. <i>Clidicus</i> was the son of <i>Æsimides</i>: τοὺς ἀπὸ Με- λάνθου βασιλεύσαντας ἐς Κλειδικὸν τὸν Αἰσιμίδου. From hence it would seem that in <i>Clidicus</i> the lineal succession failed; and that <i>Hippomenes</i>, though one of the <i>Medontidæ</i> (conf. a. 723), was not the son of <i>Clidicus</i>.</p> <p>Eusebius Chron. I. p. 168. having brought down the empire of the sea (from Diodorus) to the year 1137 = B. C. 880 (see above p. 23. s) proceeds thus: 6°, <i>Cyprii annis</i> 33. 7°, <i>Phænices annis</i> 45. 8°, <i>Ægyptii annis</i>... 9°, <i>Milesii annis</i> [18]. 10°, [<i>Cares</i>] <i>annis</i> [61]. Hieronymus: Anno 1192 [B.C. 825] 7°, <i>Phænices mare obtinuerunt</i>. Anno 1230 [B. C. 787] <i>Ægyptii post Phænices mare obtinuerunt</i>. Anno 1264 [B. C. 753] <i>Mare obtinent Milesii construxeruntque urbem in Ægypto Naucratis</i>. These three notices are not in the Armenian copy of the Tables. But between the 5th period in Eusebius ending B. C. 880, and the 7th in Hieronymus commencing B. C. 825, is a space of 55 years. Eusebius p. 321. proceeds: Anno 1286 Ol. 12. 3. <i>Clidici</i> 3°, <i>decimo loco maria tenuerunt Cares annis</i> 61. Hieron. anno 1284 <i>Clidici</i> 1°. which better agrees with the termination of the 61 years in Ol. 27. 1. conf. a. 671. And if the 18 years of the Milesians ended in B. C. 732, they would commence in B. C. 750.</p>
730.	<p>12, 3.</p>	<p>Leontium and Catana are founded in the fifth year after Syracuse: Thucyd. VI. 3. Θουκλῆς καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὀρμηθέντες ἔπει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας Λεοντίους τε, πολέμῳ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσαντες, οἰκίζουσι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Κατάνην· οἰκιστὴν δὲ αὐτοὶ Καταναῖοι ἐποιήσαντο Εὐ- αρχον. Syracuse being founded, by the corrected date of the Tables of Eusebius (conf. a. 734), in the close of Ol. 11. 2. nineteen years after the Varronian era of Rome, Catana, in the fifth year afterwards, is fixed to the beginning of Ol. 12. 3. the middle of B. C. 730. About the same time a settlement was attempted at Trotilus: F. H. II. p. 264.</p>
728.	<p>Ol. 13. <i>Diocles Corinthius</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Aristot. Rep. II. 9, 7.</p>	<p>Megara Hyblæa is founded: F. H. II. p. 264. Perhaps a year or two later: Ibid. But this date, B. C. 728, will leave two complete years between the establishment at Trotilus and the foundation of Megara.</p> <p>[Rome founded according to Cincius: F. H. III. p. XIX. t.]</p>
724.	<p>Ol. 14. <i>Dasmon Corinthius</i>. Euseb. Chron. I.</p>	<p>The <i>διαυλος</i> added at the Olympic games: Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 142. <i>Solius studii usus fuit usque ad 13<sup>um</sup> Olymp.</i> p. 143.</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Philolaus* the Corinthian flourished : Aristot. Rep. II. 9, 7 = II. 12. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Φιλόλαος ὁ Κορίνθιος νομοθέτης Θηβαίοις. ἦν δ' ὁ Φιλόλαος τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν Βακχιαδῶν, ἐραστὴς δὲ γενόμενος Διοκλέους τοῦ νικήσαντος Ὀλυμπίαςιν [sc. in Ol. 13], ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὴν πόλιν ἔλιπε διαμισήσας τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλκυόνης, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Θήβας, κακεὶ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν ἀμρότεροι. καὶ νῦν ἔτι δεικνύουσι τοὺς τάφους αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοισι μὲν εὐσυνόπτους ὄντας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων χώραν τοῦ μὲν συνόπτου τοῦ δ' οὐ συνόπτου, κ. τ. λ.—ᾤκησαν μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παρὰ τοῖς Θηβαίοις, νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περὶ τ' ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου νενομοθετημένον, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζεται τῶν κλήρων.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
	p. 143. Pausan. IV. 13, 5. <i>Desmon Armen.</i>	<i>Ol. 14. Additus est recursus, quem vicit Hypenus Eleus.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. ἐξ οὗ τὸ ξυνεχὲς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστὶ, δρόμου μὲν ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον, καὶ Ἡλείος Κόροιβος ἐνίκα.—Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ὕστερον τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ προσετέθη σφίσι δίαυλος Ὑπηνος δὲ ἀνὴρ Πισαῖος ἀνείλετο ἐπὶ τῷ διαύλῳ τὸν κοτῖνον, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς Ἀκανθος.
723.	14, 2.	<p>First Messenian war ended: Pausan. IV. 13, 5. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν οὗτος τέλος ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ δεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Δάσμων Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα στάδιον, Ἀθήνησι Μεδοντιδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν δεκέτιν, καὶ ἔτους Ἱππομένει τετάρτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡνυσμένου. The war lasted 19 years, and was ended in the 20th: Tyrtæus apud Strab. VI. p. 279.</p> <p>ἄμφω τὰδ' ἐμάχοντ' ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη νωλεμέως αἰεὶ ταλασίφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες αἰχμηταὶ πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες εἰκοστῇ δ' οἱ μὲν κατὰ πλῆνα ἔργα λιπόντες φεύγον Ἴθωμαίων ἐκ μεγάλων δρέων.</p> <p>Conf. Pausan. IV. 13, 4. 15, 1. Isocrates Archidam. p. 127. e. marks the duration of this war: Μεσσηνίαν ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς χώρας εἰκοσιν ἔτη πολιορκηθέντων. Orosius I. 21. <i>Per annos viginti bellantes.</i> Diodorus XV. 66. τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσαετῇ φασὶ γενέσθαι. <i>Theopompus</i> king of Sparta concluded this war: Pausan. IV. 6, 2. Θεόπομπος ἦν καὶ ὁ πέρας ἐπιθεὶς τῷ πολέμῳ μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὰ ἐλεγεία τῶν Τυρταίου λέγοντα ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῇ θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ, ὃν διὰ Μεσσήνην εἰλομεν εὐρύχορον.</p> <p>If the war began in Ol. 9. 2, in the autumn, or towards the close of B.C. 743, it would terminate in the beginning of B.C. 723, the middle of Ol. 14. 1.</p> <p>Pausanias, who supposed the fourth year of <i>Hippomenes</i> to have been completed in Ol. 14. 1, consequently reckoned his first year to have been completed in Ol. 13. 2 B.C. 727, five years earlier than the date of Eusebius, as he had placed <i>Æsimides</i> five years higher. Conf. a. 743.</p>
722.	14, 3.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1294 Ol. 14. 3. <i>Hippomenes annis decem.</i> commencing according to Eusebius in autumn B.C. 723. conf. a. 776.
721.	14, 4.	Sybaris founded, according to the combined accounts of Diodorus and Scymnus: conf. a. 710.
720.	Ol. 15. <i>Orsippus Megarensis.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. See col. 2.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 143. Ol. 15. <i>Additus est dolichus.</i> <i>Nudi currebant, vincebatque Acanthus Iaco.</i> Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1485. ὁ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας ἀποδυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνὸς Ὀλυμπίᾳσι δραμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος Ἀκανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν. τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων δι' αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἅπαντες Ἕλληνες ὅλα γυμνά φαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἀγωνίαις τὰ σώματα. Hesych. ζώσατο.—κατὰ τοὺς Ὀμήρου χρόνους οὐδέπω γυμνοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Other accounts ascribe this to <i>Orsippus</i>, who won the <i>stadium</i> in this Olympiad: Pausan. I. 44, 1. Κοροΐβου τίθεται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, ὃς περιέζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἦθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός. φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμεῖσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων. δοκῶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περίζωμα ἐκόντι περιβρῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμένου δραμῶν βῶν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ γυμνός. Inscriptio apud Boeckh. No.</p>

3. POETS, &c.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>1050. tom. I. p. 553. Jacobs. Anthol. tom. XIII. p. 796. Conf. Schol. Thueyd. I. 6.</p> <p>Ὀρρίππῳ Μεγαρῆς με δαίφρονι τῇδ' ἀρίδηνλον          μνάμα θέσαν, φάμα Δελφίδι πειθόμενοι          ὅς δ' ἡ μακίστους μὲν ὄρους ἀπειλίσσαςτο πάτρην,          πολλὰν δυσμενέων γὰρ ἀποτεμνομένων,          πρῶτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐστεφανώθη          γυμνῆς, ζωννυμένων τῶν πρὶν ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.</p> <p>Jacobs suspects the authenticity of this inscription; but its genuineness is well defended in the commentary of Mr. Boeckh p. 553—556. Eustathius ad Il. ψ'. p. 1324, 14. agrees in the date, but follows an inaccurate account that <i>Orsippus</i> failed: φέρεται ἱστορία ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ιδ' ὀλυμπιάδα συνέβη Ὀρσιππὸν τινα ἐμποδισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ περιζώματος πεσεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι ἢ, κατὰ τινας, νικηθῆναι. ὅθεν ἐθεσπίσθη γυμνοὺς τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Schol. Victor. in Iliad. ψ'. 683. agrees with Eustathius both in the date and the narrative: κατὰ τὴν ιδ' ὀλυμπιάδα ἐφ' Ἰππομένους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Ὀλυμπιάσι στάδιον θεόντων ἐν περιζώμασι συνέβη ἓνα αὐτῶν Ἐρσιππον ἐμποδισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ περιζώματος πεσεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι. Although some accounts (as that which Pausanias followed) might place <i>Hippomenes</i> at Ol. 13. 2, yet, since the more received date for <i>Hippomenes</i> was at Ol. 14. 3, we may correct the Scholiast from Eusebius, μετὰ τὴν ιδ' ὀλ. Schol. Ven. in this passage is corrupted: ὕστερον δὲ Ἀθηναίων τινων ἀγωνιζομένων, ἄρχοντος Ἰππομένους. l. ὕστερον δὲ τινων ἀγωνιζομένων, Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχ. Ἰππομ. In other scholia upon Homer and in Etym. v. γυμνάσια the numbers are corrupted into τ' καὶ β' ὀλ. and λβ' ὀλ. and Mr. Boeckh l. c. justly rejects these numbers. The explanation, which Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 278. p. ascribes to Boeckh, of the apparently contradictory statements concerning <i>Acanthus</i> and <i>Orsippus</i>, had been already given by Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 23.</p> <p>Thasos founded, according to Dionysius: conf. a. 708.</p>
718.	15, 3.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1298 Ol. 15. 3. <i>Hippomenis</i> 5°. <i>Argivorum et Lacedæmoniorum bellum in Thyrea</i>. Placed by Hieron. at 1296. Solinus 7, 9. <i>Anthia et Cardamyle, ubi quondam fuere Thyra, nunc locus dicitur, in quo anno septimo decimo regni Romuli inter Laconas et Argivos memorabile bellum fuit</i>. The date of Solinus would place this war at Ol. 10. 4 B. C. 737. Referred by Pausan. III. 7, 4. to the end of the reign of <i>Theopompus</i>: Θεοπόμπου ἔτι ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γίνεται καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς Θυρεάτιδος καλουμένης χώρας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀγὼν πρὸς Ἀργείους. Θεοπόμπος δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ μετέσχε τοῦ ἔργου γῆρα καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης τὸ πλέον. Ἀρχίδαμον γὰρ Θεοπόμπου ζῶντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεών. This account is consistent with Eusebius. <i>Theopompus</i> in old age might be still living six years after the conclusion of the Messenian war.</p>
716.	Ol. 16. <i>Pythagoras Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 143. Dionys. Ant. II. p. 360.	<p><i>Gyges</i> began to reign in Lydia. This dynasty reigned according to Herodotus 170 years, which terminated at B. C. 546. Hence we may refer their beginning to B. C. 716. Dionysius places it about two years higher, at B. C. 718: F. H. II. p. 6. 296. Herodotus I. 14. ascribes 38 years to <i>Gyges</i>: βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη.</p> <p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1300 Ol. 16. 1. <i>Hippomenis</i> 7°. <i>In Sicilia Chersonesus condita est</i>. Placed by Hieron. at 1301. Syncellus p. 212. C., after naming the foundation of Naxos, adds, ἐν Σικελίᾳ Χερρό-</p>

## 3. Poets, &amp;c.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>νησος ἐκτίσθη. The town there founded was called Mylæ: Schol. Apollon. IV. 965 (quoted by Scal. ad Euseb. p. 77). Μύλας δὲ Χερρόνησον Σικελίας. Hence Polyb. I. 9, 7. τῷ Μυλαίῳ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Λογγανὸν ποταμόν. I. 23, 1. τὴν Μυλασίτιν χώραν. Diod. XII. 54. τῶν πλησιοχώρων Σικελῶν τοῖς Μυλαίοις. XIV. 87. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι—εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας ἐπελθόντες εἶλον τὴν πόλιν. Steph. Byz. Μυλαί. πόλις Σικελίας. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ.</p>
715.	16, 2.	<p>The Milesians planted Abydos in the reign of <i>Gyges</i>: Strabo XIII. p. 590. Ἄβυδος δὲ Μιλησίων ἐστὶ κτίσμα, ἐπιτρέψαντος Γύγου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως· ἦν γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ χωρία καὶ ἡ Τρωάς ἅπασα. Idem XIII. p. 587. Πριάπος.—κτίσμα δ' οἱ μὲν Μιλησίων φασίν, οἵπερ καὶ Ἄβυδον καὶ Προκόννησον συνῴκισαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, οἱ δὲ, Κυζικηνῶν.</p>
712.	Ol. 17. <i>Polus Epidaurius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1304 Ol. 17. 1. <i>Leocrates annis decem.</i> conf. ann. 776. 722.</p> <p>Astacus founded by the Megarians (<i>Astacon a Megarensibus conditam</i> Mela I. 19) in Ol. 17: F. H. III. p. 411. Placed at Ol. 18. 2 by Eusebius: Anno 1309 Ol. 18. 2. <i>Leocratis 6<sup>o</sup>. Nicomedia conditur, quæ prius Astacus appellabatur.</i> Astacus received the name of Nicomedia in B. C. 264, 448 years after its foundation: F. H. III. p. 412.</p>
711.	17, 2.	<p>The death of <i>Sennacherib</i> is fixed by the testimonies of Scripture to the beginning of B. C. 711. Upon his death the Medes revolted from the Assyrians; and we may place this revolt in the close of B. C. 711, the beginning of Ol. 17. 2, a little more than a year before the reign of <i>Deiocrates</i> commences according to the reckoning of Herodotus. conf. ann.</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Callinus* was near the times of *Archilochus*, since it was a question which of the two preceded. Strabo XIV. p. 647. infers from circumstances that he was older than *Archilochus*: τὸ παλαιὸν συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, εὐτυχήσαντος πολὺν χρόνον· τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει Μιλησίους κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλίνος μὲν οὖν ὡς εὐτυχούτων ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἑφεσίους πολέμῳ. Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ἤδη φαίνεται γνωρίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφορὰν.

κλαίειν τὰ θάσσω [Θασίων Tyrwhitt] οὐ τὰ Μαγνήτων κακά.

ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν. Clemens Strom. I. p. 333. B. collects from the same fact that he was not much older: Ἀρχίλοχος—μέμνηται τῆς Μαγνήτων ἀπωλείας, προσφάτως γεγενημένης. Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλίνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῶ· τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπολωλότων, ὁ δὲ εὐημερούντων μέμνηται. The Magnesians were destroyed before the death of Candaules: Plin. H. N. XXXV. 8. *In confesso est Bularchi pictoris tabulam in qua erat Magnetum praelium a Candaule rege Lydiae Heraclidarum novissimo, qui et Myrsilus vocitatus est, repensam auro.* Idem VII. 38. *Candaules rex Bularchi picturam Magnetum exitiū—rependit auro.* The death of Candaules is fixed by the accession of *Gyges* to B. C. 716; and the destruction of Magnesia, which was thus recorded by the painter, might have occurred twenty years before: which would place *Callinus* at B. C. 736. But he also survived the fate of Magnesia: Athen. XII. p. 525. c. ἀπώλοντο δὲ καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ διὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνεθῆναι, ὥς φησι Καλλίνος ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος· ἐάλωσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἑφεσίων. Although Athenæus has erred in referring their destruction to the Ephesians, yet he attests that their fall was mentioned by *Callinus*. This poet might therefore flourish cir. B. C. 736—712, during a period of 25 years. *Callinus* also mentioned the capture of Sardis by the *Treres*: Strabo XIII. p. 627. φησὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης ἀλῶναι τὰς Σάρδεϊς ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν καὶ Λυκίων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλίνου δηλοῦν, τὸν τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητὴν· ὅστατα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Κροίσου γενέσθαι ἄλωσιν. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλίνου τὴν ἐφοδὸν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑσιονεῖς γεγονέναι, καθ' ἣν αἱ Σάρδεϊς ἐάλωσαν, εἰκάζουσιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκήψιον Ἰαστὶ λέγεσθαι Ἑσιονεῖς τοὺς Ἀσιονεῖς. But this capture preceded the destruction of Magnesia: Strabo XIV. p. 648. ἄλλης δὲ τινος ἐφόδου τῶν Κιμμερίων μέμνηται πρεσβυτέρας [older than the fall of Magnesia] ὁ Καλλίνος, ἐπὰν φῇ·

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὀβριμαέργων.

ἐν ἣ τὴν Σάρδεων ἄλωσιν δηλοῖ. But the date of this event is not known; since the Cimmerians occupied many parts of Western Asia during a long period of years: conf. a. 635; and *Callinus* here does not relate a transaction of his own time but a past event. This passage, then, will not contribute to fix the age of *Callinus*.



B. C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>709. 634. Append. c. 3. 4. According to Herodotus I. 95. the Assyrians had governed Upper Asia 520 years: 'Ασσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἀνω Ἀσίας ἐπ' ἑτέα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτέων Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι· καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἡλευθερώθησαν. This account will give B. C. 710+520=B. C. 1230 for the commencement of the Assyrian dominion. And Appian Præf. c. 9. concurs in the same date: Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶνδε μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν, εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου συντιθεμένων, οὗτ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκοιτο τῶν ἑκακοσίων ἐτῶν. But B. C. 331+900=1231 coincides with the preceding computation. This term of 520 years is confirmed by Alexander Polyhistor, who names a period of 526 years apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 18. which would place the beginning of the Assyrian empire at B. C. 1237. See Appendix c. 4.</p>
710.	17, 3.	<p>Crotona founded: Dionys. Ant. II. p. 361. τέσσαρσιν ὁλοῖς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νομῶν ἄρξει Ῥωμαίων Μύσκελος αὐτὴν ἐκτίσεν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐπτακαίδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. Four years after Ol. 16. 3 B. C. 714½: Dionys. p. 360. which will place the era of Crotona in the middle of Ol. 17. 3, the beginning of B. C. 709. Placed only two years lower by Eusebius: Anno 1308 Ol. 18. 1. <i>Leocratis 5<sup>o</sup> Crotona et Parion</i> [conf. a. 708] <i>et Sybaris conditæ sunt</i>. But in Hieron. at the year 1314, seven or eight years too low. It was founded before Tarentum, for the settlers at Tarentum found the Achæans already in the country: F. H. II. p. 410. u. To the testimonies concerning <i>Myscellus</i> quoted II. p. 265. h. add Diod. Vatican. p. 8. N<sup>o</sup>. X.</p> <p>Sybaris flourished 210 years: Scymnus 360.</p> <p>τὰ πάντα διαμείναντας ἀπταιστώσ ἔτη ὡς ἑκατὸν ἐνεθήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι.</p> <p>It was destroyed by the <i>Crotoniata</i> 58 years before the archonship of <i>Lysicrates</i> B. C. 453: Diod. XI. 90. XII. 10.=B. C. 511 Ol. 67. 2 for the period of its fall: which would give B. C. 721 for its foundation, eleven years before the era of Crotona. That Sybaris was founded before Crotona is attested by Antiochus apud Strab. VII. p. 262. φησὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος τοῦ θεοῦ φήσαντος [f. χρήσαντος] Ἀχαιοῖς Κρότωνα κτίζειν, ἀπελθεῖν Μύσκελλον κατασκευόμενον τὸν τόπον ἰδόντα δ' ἐκτισμένην ἦδη Σύβαριν κ. τ. λ. The era of Crotona is confirmed by these testimonies. Sybaris was founded B. C. 721, and Crotona after Sybaris: which agrees with the date of Dionysius. That Sybaris was destroyed in the time of <i>Pythagoras</i> is confirmed by Andron ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ quoted by Porphyry. apud Euseb. Præp. X. p. 465. A. which agrees with the date of Diodorus, B. C. 511.</p>
709.	17, 4.	<p>The 53 years of <i>Deioces</i> commence at this date, within Ol. 17. 3 according to Herodotus, who reckoned 150 years from <i>Deioces</i> inclusive to the beginning of the reign of <i>Cyrus</i>: conf. a. 634.</p>
708.	Ol. 18. <i>Tellis Sicyonius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144. <i>Tullus Arm.</i>	<p>The foundation of Tarentum and Coreyra is placed here by Hieron. Anno 1309 <i>Leocratis 6<sup>o</sup> Ol. 18. 1. Hi quæ Partheniæ vocabantur Tarentum condiderunt, et Corinthii Coreyram</i>. This is wanting in the Armenian copy, where the date would have been either Anno 1308, or <i>Olymp. 18. 2.</i> conf. a. 776. As it is not likely that this notice should</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Archilochus* participated in the colony to Thasos: *Ænomaüs* apud Euseb. *Præp.* VII. p. 256.

Ἀγγεῖλον Παρίοις, Τελεσέκλεες, ὃς σε κελεύω  
νῆσφ' ἐν Ἑρίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελλον ἄστυ.

[Steph. Byz. Θάσσος. ὅτι καὶ Ἀερία ἢ Θάσσος δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ χρησιμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος πατρὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου·  
“Ἀγγεῖλον” κ. τ. λ.]—καὶ ἔστι Θάσος μὲν ἢ Ἑρία νῆσος, ἥξουσιν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν Πάριοι Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ ἐμοῦ



B. C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>have been added by Hieronymus, it was probably omitted by some error in the Armenian version: conf. a. 704.</p> <p>On the colony of Tarentum conf. F. H. II. p. 410. u. The present date, two years after Crotona and 16 after the Messenian war, is consistent with the accounts there quoted. Coreyra seems too far removed from the era of Syracuse: conf. a. 734. When <i>Chersicrates</i> arrived at Coreyra, he found the island preoccupied by the Eretrians; their expulsion led to the foundation of Methonë: Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. p. 293. A. Κέρκυραν τὴν νῆσον Ἑρετριεῖς κατέκουν. Χερσικράτους δὲ [male Χαριγράτους] πλεύσαντος ἐκ Κορίνθου μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντος, ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς οἱ Ἑρετριεῖς ἀπέπλευσαν οἴκαδε. προαισθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολῖται τῆς χώρας εἶργον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποβαίνειν ἐκώλυον σφενδονοῦντες. μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ μῆτε πείσαι μῆτε βιάσασθαι—ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐπλευσαν, καὶ κατασχόντες χωρίον—τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀνόμασαν Μεθώνην.</p> <p>Thasos founded according to Xanthus: Clem. Al. p. 333. B. see col. 3. A Parian colony: Strabo X. p. 482. ὑπὸ δὲ Παρίων ἐκτίσθη Θάσος καὶ Πάριον ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι πόλιν. The foundation of Parion is placed at this very year Ol. 18. 1. by Eusebius: conf. a. 710.</p> <p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 144. Ol. 18. <i>Addita est lucta, vicitque Eurybatus Laco. Additum etiam quinquertium, vicitque Lampis Laco.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ δεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος πεντάθλου καὶ πάλης ἀρίκοντο ἐς μνήμην· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λάμπιδι ὑπῆρξεν Εὐρυβάτω δὲ ἡ νίκη τῆς πάλης, Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τούτοις.</p>
704.	Ol. 19. <i>Menus Megarensis.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	<p>Thucyd. I. 13. πρῶτοι Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσασθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριήρεις πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγήσθαι [conf. Diod. XIV. 42]. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίους ἦλθε. Placed by Eusebius in the version of Hieronymus 58 years too high: Anno 1255 <i>Æschyli 17<sup>o</sup> Athenis primum trieres navigavit, Ameinocleo cursum dirigente.</i> Syncellus p. 212. C. at the same date: Ἀθήνησι πρώτη ἐναυπηγήθη τριήρης ὑπὸ Ἀμεινοκλέους. On the erroneous version and the erroneous date of Hieronymus conf. Scal. Animadv. p. 72. Although this does not appear in the Armenian copy, yet we collect from Syncellus that it is from Eusebius himself. Pliny H. N. VII. 56—<i>Triremem Thucydides Aminoclem Corinthium</i>—erroneously understands Thucydides to ascribe the invention of the trireme to <i>Aminocles</i>.</p>
702.	19, 3.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1314 Ol. 19. 3. <i>Apsander annis decem.</i> He computes from the autumn of B. C. 703.</p>
700.	Ol. 20. <i>Atheradas Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	
696.	Ol. 21. <i>Pantacles Atheniensis.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	
693.	21, 4.	

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

υιού φράσαντος ὅτι ἡ νῆσος αὕτη πρὶν Ἡερίᾳ ἐκαλεῖτο. σὺ οὖν (δαιμόνιος γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν) οὐκ ἀνέξη οἶμαι αὐτοῦ—ός, εἰ μὴ σὺ μνηῦσαι αὐτῷ ἐβουλήθης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἤγγειλεν, οὐδ' ἂν Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Παρίου ἐξενάγησεν, οὐδ' ἂν οἱ Πάριοι Θάσον ᾤκησαν. Hence Clemens Strom. I. p. 333. B. determines the time of *Archilochus* by the era of Thasos: Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς περὶ τὴν δεκάκαιδεκάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος, περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην, Θάσον ἐκτίσθαι· ὡς εἶναι συμφανὲς τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἤδη γνωρίζεσθαι Ὀλυμπιάδα. *Ælian*. V. H. X. 13. εἰ μὴ, φασιν, Ἀρχίλοχος τοιαυτὴν δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπυθόμεθα ἡμεῖς οὔτε ὅτι Ἐνιποῦς υἱὸς ἦν τῆς δούλης, οὐδ' ὅτι καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἦλθεν εἰς Θάσον, οὐδ' ὅτι ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐχθροῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅτι ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις—οὔτε ὅτι μοιχὸς ἦν ᾔδειμεν ἂν εἰ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθόντες, οὔτε ὅτι λᾶγνος καὶ ὑβριστής· καὶ τὸ ἔτι τούτων αἰσχιστον, ὅτι τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέβαλεν. He is placed in the reign of *Gyges* by *Herodotus* I. 12. Γύγης, τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη [conf. *Schweigh.* ad loc.], by *Proclus*, and by *Tatian*: conf. a. 693: and see above p. 147. In the reign of *Romulus* by *Cicero* *Tusc.* I. 1. *Archilochus regnante Romulo*. Both these accounts may be reconciled. The colony to Thasos was in the 9th year of *Gyges*, and *Archilochus*, who assisted in that colony, would be born in the reign of *Romulus*, which ended according to *Varro* 8 years before.

*Simonides* of *Amorgus* flourished: *Suidas*: Σιμωνίδης Κρίνεω Ἀμοργίνος, ἱαμβογράφος—γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. ἔγραψεν ἰάμβους πρῶτος αὐτὸς κατὰ τινάς. The same notice occurs in *Suidas*, attached by mistake to Σιμμίας Ῥόδιος. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σάμιος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀποι-



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
692.	Ol. 22. <i>Pantacles Atheniensis</i> II. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	Euseb. Chron. Anno 1324 Ol. 22. 1. <i>Eryxias annis decem.</i>
691.	22, 2.	Euseb. Chron. p. 324. Anno 1325 Ol. 22. 2. <i>Eryxias</i> 2°. <i>Glaucus Chius qui ferri glutinum excogitavit cognoscebatur.</i> Placed 15 years lower by Hieronymus: conf. a. 677. The works of <i>Glaucus</i> were celebrated in the time of <i>Alyattes</i> : Herodot. I. 25. 'Αλυάττης ἀνέθηκεν ἐκφυγῶν τὴν νοῦσον—ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν, καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητὸν—Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μόνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε. Conf. Athen. V. p. 210. b. Pausan. X. 16, 1. Plutarch. Def. Or. p. 436. A.
690.	22, 3.	Foundation of Gela: Thucyd. VI. 4. Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἐντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης [conf. Pausan. VIII. 46, 2. Schol. Pindar. Ol. II. 16] ἐποίκους ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἰκισιν. καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τούνομα ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη, Λίνδιοι καλεῖται. νόμιμα δὲ Δωρικὰ ἐτέθη αὐτοῖς. Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1326 Ol. 22. 3. <i>Eryxias</i> 3°. <i>In Sicilia Gela condita, et Phaselis in Pamphylia.</i> At the true date, Ol. 22. 3, the 45th year after Syracuse, which was in the close of Ol. 11. 2. Armen. M. separates the two cities: Anno 1328 Ol. 23. 1. <i>Gela</i> ; Anno 1330 Ol. 23. 3. <i>Phaselis</i> . Gela two years too low. Hieronymus places them together; Anno 1340, fourteen years too low. The cause of the name Λίνδιοι is explained by Herodotus VII. 153. κτιζομένης Γέλῃς ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμευ. <i>Antiphemus</i> himself was of Lindus. Etymol. v. Γέλα names Ἀντίφημος ἢ Δεινομένης ὁ Ῥόδιος. We may collect from Herodot. VII. 153. that

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κισμῷ τοῦ Ἀμοργοῦ ἐστάλη καὶ αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν ἀπὸ Σαμίων. ἔκτισε δὲ Ἀμοργὸν εἰς γ' πόλεις, Μινώαν, Αἰγιαλὸν, Ἀρκεσίμην. γέγονε δὲ μετὰ υς' ἔτη [read from the former passage υς'] τῶν Τραινικῶν. ἔγραψε κατὰ τινὰς πρῶτος ἰάμβους. The blunder of Suidas has misled Raoul-Rochette Col. Grecques tom. III. p. 151. and in part Eudocia p. 386. who has under Σιμμίας ἔγραψε πρῶτος, κατὰ τινὰς, ἰάμβους, which belonged to *Simonides* of *Amorgus*. *Simonides* was contemporary with *Archilochus*: Clem. Strom. I. p. 333. B. conf. a. 708. And *Archilochus* himself is placed 500 years after the Trojan war: Tatian p. 109. See above p. 147. These numbers, measured by the vulgar era, the epoch of Eratosthenes, give for *Archilochus* 1183—500=B. C. 683, and for *Simonides* 1183—490=B. C. 693. They are mentioned together again at Ol. 28. 4 by Eusebius (conf. a. 665), where Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 81. and Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 46. confound *Simonides* of *Amorgos* with *Simonides* of *Ceos*; although he is distinguished by Strabo X. p. 487. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀμοργὸς τῶν Σποράδων, ὅθεν ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητής. And by Stephanus v. Ἀμοργός. νῆσος—ἔχουσα πόλεις τρεῖς, Ἀρκεσίμην, Μινώαν, Αἰγιαλὸν,—ἀπὸ τῆς Μινώας ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς, Ἀμοργίνος λεγόμενος. And by Proclus apud Phot. Cod. 239. p. 984. ἰάμβων δὲ ποιηταὶ Ἀρχίλοχος τε ὁ Πάριος ἄριστος, καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ἀμοργίνος, ἢ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Σάμιος [confirming Suidas v. Σιμμίας], καὶ Ἰππῶναξ ὁ Ἐφέσιος' ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπὶ Γύγου, ὁ δὲ ἐπ' Ἀνανίου τοῦ Μακεδόνης, Ἰππῶναξ δὲ κατὰ Δαρεῖον ἤκμαζε. Sylburgius apud Gaisford. Hephæst. p. 380. for Ἀνανίου reads Ἀμύντου. But this would give the time of *Simonides* of *Ceos*, who flourished in the reign of *Amyntas* Ol. 57—69, and was later than *Hipponax*; while Proclus describes *Simonides* who preceded *Hipponax*. We must therefore for ἈΝΑΝΙΟΥ substitute ἈΡΓΑΙΟΥ. *Argæus* reigns in Eusebius Ol. 24. 1—33. 3 B. C. 684—646, the period to which the ancient *Simonides* is ascribed. *Archilochus* the contemporary of *Simonides* flourished about 45 years: conf. a. 687. *Simonides* is mentioned again at B. C. 665 and 662, the 28th or 29th Olympiad: conf. a. 665. He might flourish accordingly 32 years B. C. 693—662.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.																																												
		<p><i>Dinomenes</i> was the ancestor of <i>Gelon</i>, and participated in the colony: τοῦ Γέλωνος πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ἐὼν Γέλῃς, ἣν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλῃς κ. τ. λ.</p> <p><i>Phaselis</i> was founded by <i>Lacius</i> brother of <i>Antiphemus</i>: Athen. VII. p. 297. f. Ἡρόπυθος ἐν Ὠροῖς Κολοφωνίων περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἱστορῶν τῆς Φασήλιδος φησιν ὅτι Λάκιος ὁ τὴν ἀποικίαν στείλας μισθὸν ἔδωκε τοῦ τόπου Κυλάβρᾳ ποιόμενι κ. τ. λ.—p. 298. a. Φιλοστέφανος—οὕτως γράφει· “Λάκιον “τὸν Ἀργεῖον τῶν σὺν Μόψῳ ἀφικομένων, ὃν τινες μὲν Λινδῖον εἶναι λέγουσιν “ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιφῆμου τοῦ Γέλαν οἰκίσαντος, εἰς τὴν Φασήλιδα ὑπὸ Μόψου “μετ’ ἀνδρῶν πεμφθέντα,” κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Γέλα. Ἀρισταίνετος ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν περὶ Φασήλιδα, ὅτι Λάκιος καὶ Ἀντιφῆμος ἀδελφοὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς Δελφοὺς μαντεύσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν οὐδ’ ἂν [οὐδὲ ἐν Salmas.] περὶ ἐκείνων λέγουσαν προστάσσει [1. προστάσσειν] τὸν Λάκιον πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου πλεῖν. τοῦ δ’ Ἀντιφῆμου γελάσαντος, τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν πάλιν, ἂν ἡλίου δυσμῶν [1. ἐφ’ ἡλίου cum Salmas. πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀπὸντα Etymol. v. Γέλα], καὶ ἣν ἂν πόλιν οἰκίσῃ [1. Γέλαν πόλιν ᾤκησε cum Salmas.].</p>																																												
688.	Ol. 23. <i>Icarius Hyperesius</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144. Ἰκαρος Pausan. IV. 15, 1.	Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. p. 144. Ol. 23. <i>Additus est pugilatus, vicitque Onomastus Smyrnaeus, qui et pugilatus leges tulit.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. τρίτῃ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ εἰκοστῇ πυγμῇς ἄλλα ἀπέδοσαν· Ὀνόμαστος δὲ ἐνίκησεν ἐκ Σμύρνης συντελοῦσης ἤδη τηλικαῦτα ἐς Ἰωνας. Smyrna was originally one of the twelve Æolian states: see p. 105. w. apparently conquered by the Colophonians not long before the present date.																																												
687.	23, 2.	The empire of the Medes is computed by Herodotus I. 130. to commence from this date, the 23rd year of their independence: Μηδοὶ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν (Ἀστυάγεος) πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἀνω Ἀλφειοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ’ ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα. The 128 years terminated at the reign of <i>Cyrus</i> B. C. 559; which places their beginning at B. C. 687. See Appendix c. 3.																																												
685.	23, 4.	<p>(Second Messenian war: Pausan. IV. 15. 1. ἀπέστησαν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἰθώμης ἄλωσιν, τετάρτῳ δὲ τῆς τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Ἰκαρος Ἑπερησιεὺς ἐνίκη στάδιον. Ἀθήνησι δὲ οἱ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν ἤδη τότε ἄρχοντες, καὶ Τλησίης ἦρχεν. If the first war ended in the beginning of B. C. 723, the second might commence, according to the dates of Pausanias, in the autumn of B. C. 685. It is probable, however, that Pausanias has placed the second war about six years too high: see Appendix c. 2.)</p> <p>Pausanias placed the decennial archons five years higher than the dates of Eusebius: conf. ann. 743. 723. And consequently <i>Creon</i>, the first annual archon, is five years higher. The variations will be these:</p> <table><thead><tr><th>HIERONYM.</th><th>EUSEBIUS.</th><th>PAUSANIAS.</th><th>DIONYSIUS.</th></tr><tr><th>B.C. Ol.</th><th>B.C. Ol.</th><th>B.C. Ol.</th><th>B.C. Ol.</th></tr></thead><tbody><tr><td>75½ 6. 4.</td><td>752. 4. 3. Charops</td><td>757. 5. 4. (Charops)</td><td>75½ 7. 1. Charops</td></tr><tr><td>74½ 9. 2.</td><td>742. 9. 4. Æsimides</td><td>747. 8. 2. Æsimides</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>73½ 11. 4.</td><td>732. 11. 4. Clidicus</td><td>737. 10. 4. (Clidicus)</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>72½ 14. 2.</td><td>722. 14. 4. Hippomenes</td><td>727. 13. 2. Hippomenes</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>71½ 16. 4.</td><td>712. 16. 4. Leocrates</td><td>717. 15. 4. (Leocrates)</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>70½ 19. 2.</td><td>702. 19. 4. Apsander</td><td>707. 18. 2. (Apsander)</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>69½ 21. 4.</td><td>692. 21. 4. Eryxias</td><td>697. 20. 4. (Eryxias)</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>68½ 24. 2.</td><td>682. 24. 4. Creon</td><td>687. 23. 2. (Creon)</td><td>(68½ 24. 2. Creon)</td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td>685. 23. 4. Tlesias</td><td></td></tr></tbody></table>	HIERONYM.	EUSEBIUS.	PAUSANIAS.	DIONYSIUS.	B.C. Ol.	B.C. Ol.	B.C. Ol.	B.C. Ol.	75½ 6. 4.	752. 4. 3. Charops	757. 5. 4. (Charops)	75½ 7. 1. Charops	74½ 9. 2.	742. 9. 4. Æsimides	747. 8. 2. Æsimides		73½ 11. 4.	732. 11. 4. Clidicus	737. 10. 4. (Clidicus)		72½ 14. 2.	722. 14. 4. Hippomenes	727. 13. 2. Hippomenes		71½ 16. 4.	712. 16. 4. Leocrates	717. 15. 4. (Leocrates)		70½ 19. 2.	702. 19. 4. Apsander	707. 18. 2. (Apsander)		69½ 21. 4.	692. 21. 4. Eryxias	697. 20. 4. (Eryxias)		68½ 24. 2.	682. 24. 4. Creon	687. 23. 2. (Creon)	(68½ 24. 2. Creon)			685. 23. 4. Tlesias	
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## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Archilochus* flourished: Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. C. εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι φασὶ γενέσθαι Ἀρχίλοχον. Tatian concurs in this date, and Clemens, who places him μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. conf. a. 708. The reign of *Gyges*, in which *Archilochus* flourished, extended from Ol. 15. 4 to Ol. 25. 2 B. C. 716—679. The earliest notice of *Archilochus* is at B. C. 708, the latest at B. C. 665 : conf. ann. He might have been eminent during a period of 45 years.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p><i>Creon</i> is placed at Ol. 24. 2 by a concurrence of testimonies: conf. a. 683. We know from Dionysius that the first year of <i>Charops</i> coincided with Ol. 7. 1: conf. a. 752. Consequently 69 years Ol. 7. 1—24. 1 inclusive are left for the decennial archons. Eusebius, who thought it necessary to give them the full term of 70 years, has brought <i>Creon</i> too low. Hieronymus, who also gives the complete period of 70 years, by his different method of notation has placed <i>Creon</i> at the right year, but carried back <i>Charops</i> one year too high. Pausanias compared with the actual dates is five years too high in the decennial archons, and four years too high in the time of <i>Creon</i>.</p>
684.	Ol. 24. <i>Cleoptolemus Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	
683.	24, 2.	<p><i>Creon</i> first annual archon: Africanus apud Syncellum p. 212. B. ἄρχοντες ἐνιαυσιαῖοι εὐρέθησαν [ἤρέθησαν Routh] ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, ἐννέα τε ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὴ κατεστάθη· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐνιαυσιαίων ἡρχθῆ—Κρέοντος πρώτου ἀρχοντος ἡγησαμένου ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ' Ὀλυμπιάδος· οἱ δὲ, ἐπὶ κέ' ἀφ' οὗ ἐπὶ σ' Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀρχοντες ἄγ' μέχρι Φιλίνου, καθ' ὃν ὑπάτευσεν Γράτος Σαβινιανὸς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Σέλευκος—κατὰ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν, ὅπερ ἦν Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ καὶ Αὐγέντου [Αύεϊτου Routh] Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἔτος γ'. <i>Gratus</i> and <i>Seleucus</i> entered on their consulship Jan. 1. A. D. 221, in the middle of Ol. 249. 4, which commenced at midsummer A. D. 220, and of the third year of <i>Heliogabalus</i> (<i>Antoninus</i>), which commenced June 7. A. D. 220. <i>Philinus</i>, the 903rd archon, in whose year <i>Gratus</i> and <i>Seleucus</i> were consuls, and who was archon in the 3rd year of <i>Heliogabalus</i>, was consequently archon in Ol. 249. 4. But <math>683 + 220 = 903</math>: and <i>Creon</i> the first archon commenced at midsummer B. C. 683, since <i>Philinus</i> the 903rd commenced at midsummer A. D. 220. And with this the Parian Marble N°. 33. agrees: ἀφ' οὗ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡρ. εν . ρ. ων ἔτ. ΗΗΗΗΔΔ.—<math>420 + \text{B. C. } 264 = \text{B. C. } 684</math>. But as the archons on the Marble are a year too high (see F. H. II. p. X), this date, when rectified, is equivalent to B. C. 683. Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 36. places <i>Creon</i> at Ol. 24. <math>\frac{1}{2}</math> and supposes 903 archons to have preceded <i>Philinus</i>, whom he reckons the 904th and places at Ol. 250. 1. But this would fix that archon below the 3rd year of <i>Heliogabalus</i>, which expired in Ol. 249. 4; and Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 80. more justly interprets Africanus to mean that <i>Philinus</i> was the 903rd, that his year coincided with Ol. 249. 4 and ended when the 250th Olympiad began. If the Attic year in the time of <i>Creon</i> commenced at <i>Gamelion</i> (of which we have no certain account), this would bring down the accession of <i>Creon</i> to <i>Gamelion</i> of Ol. 24. 2, or the winter of B. C. <math>68\frac{1}{2}</math>: since in this case it is not likely that the 603 archons occupied more than 603 years, but less.</p> <p>Eusebius reckons this the last year of the 7th decennial archon: Anno 1333 Ol. 24. 2. <i>Eryx</i> 10°. Then follows, <i>Regibus Athenarum cessantibus, principes annui fuerunt: patricii autem novem dominati sunt</i>. For the notation of Hieronymus conf. a. 685. The 70 years of the decennial archons are reckoned complete by Castor apud Euseb. p. 134. <i>Deinde qui decennalem potestatem gerebant secuti sunt VII. hique annis 70 viguerunt. Tandem annui magistratus a Creonte</i></p>

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*Tyrtæus* flourished in the second Messenian war, and came to Sparta after the first successes of the Messenians. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 172. rejects as fabulous the account which made *Tyrtæus* a lame schoolmaster; and his opinion is justified by the silence of the earliest authorities. *Tyrtæus* is mentioned by king *Leonidas* apud Plutarch. Cleom. c. 2. Λεωνίδα τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπερωτηθέντα ποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητὴς γεγονέναι Τυρταῖος, εἰπεῖν, “ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν.” conf. Plutarch. Mor. p. 959. B. He is noticed by Plato Leg. I. p. 629. 630. προστησώμεθα Τυρταῖον τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον τῶνδε δὲ [sc. Lacedæm.] πολίτην γενόμενον κ. τ. λ. Conf. Leg. II. p. 660. 661. Lycurgus Leocr. p. 162. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις—ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνα λαβεῖν καὶ νικήσειν τοὺς ἐναντίους.—τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι Τυρταῖον στρατηγὸν ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως; μεθ’ οὗ καὶ τῶν πολέμιων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς νέους ἐπιμέλειαν συνετάξαντο, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον ἀλλ’ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα βουλευσάμενοι καλῶς. κατέλιπε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλεγεία ποιήσας, ὧν ἀκούοντες παιδεύονται πρὸς ἀνδρείαν κ. τ. λ. Aristotle Rep. V. 7. γίνονται αἱ στάσεις—ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν Μεσσηνιακὸν πόλεμον. δῆλον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Τυρταίου ποιήσεως τῆς καλουμένης Εὐνομίας· θλιβόμενοι γάρ τινες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἤξιον ἀνάδατον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν. Philochorus: Athen. XIV. p. 630. f. Φιλόχορος δὲ φησι κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἃν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ἄδειν καθ’ ἓνα Τυρταίου, κ. τ. λ. The fable of the lame schoolmaster is mentioned in Pausan. IV. 15, 3. and followed by Justin III. 5, 4. Suidas Τυρταῖος. Schol. Hor. Art. Poet. 402. but it is not noticed in Diodorus XV. 66. δουλεύοντων Μεσσηνίων τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, Ἀριστομένης ἔπεισε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀποστῆναι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ διειργάσατο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας· ὅτε καὶ Τυρταῖος ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἡγεμῶν ἐδόθη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. or in Fragm. Vatican. p. 12. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προτραπέντες ὑπὸ Τυρταίου κ. τ. λ. or in the parallel passage Polyæn. I. 17. Nor is it noticed in Themistius p. 197. 198. Orosius I. 21. Tzetzes Chil. I. 692—699. or in the brief mention made of *Tyrtæus* in the following passages: Aristides Leuctr. I. p. 425. Dio Or. 36. tom. II. p. 79. Max. Tyrius Or. 37. p. 209. Galen tom. I. p. 268. 269. ed. Bas. Ælian V. H. XII. 50. Harpocr. Τυρταῖος. *Tyrtæus* was admitted a citizen of Sparta: Plato l. c. Plutarch. Mor. p. 230. D. (Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομβρότου) πυνθανομένου τινὸς διὰ τί Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐποιήσαντο πολίτην, “Ὅπως, ἔφη, μηδέποτε ἑένος φαίνεται ἡμῶν ἡγεμῶν. which was not, as some have supposed, contrary to the early practice of Sparta: conf. Aristot. Rep. II. 6, 12. Λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων μετεδίδουσαν τῆς πολιτείας. Strabo VIII. p. 362. Τυρταῖος ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Εὐνομίαν

αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης  
 Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν.  
 οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἡμεῖντα  
 εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

ὥστε ἡ ταῦτα ἀκυρωτέον [sic Porsonus Adv. p. 39] τὰ ἐλεγεία, ἢ Φιλοχόρου ἀπιστητέον καὶ Καλλισθένει καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν εἰποῦσιν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀφιδνῶν ἀφικέσθαι, δεγθέντων Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ χρησμόν, ὃς ἐπέταττε παρ’ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα. The interpretation of Strabo is rejected by Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 173. and with reason. The poet did not speak in his own person but in the person of the nation, as when



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		<p>orsi. Velleius I. 8. <i>Cæperunt in denos annos creari. Quæ consuetudo in annos 70 mansit; ac deinde annuis commissa est magistratibus respublica. Ex iis qui denis annis præfuerunt primus fuit Charops, ultimus Eryxias: Ex annuis primus Creon.</i> Their names and years are recited by Eusebius Chron. I. p. 138. who adds, <i>Mox placuit annuos magistratus creare. Et primus quidem annuus princeps fuit Creon 24<sup>a</sup> Olympiade.</i> By Syncellus p. 211., by the Excerpta apud Scalig. See above p. 132. o. We have seen already, however, at 685, that only 69 years were completed.</p>
681.	24, 4.	<p>The archon <i>Lysias</i> is placed by the Parian Marble N<sup>o</sup>. 34 two years below the date of <i>Creon</i>: ἀφ' οὗ.....ο.....υ..—..ἔτη ΗΗΗΗΔΠΙΙΙ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσί... As the date of <i>Creon</i>, when rectified, was 683, the date of <i>Lysias</i> will be B. C. 681. Called <i>Tlesias</i> by Pausan. IV. 15, 1. who places <i>Tlesias</i> two years, according to his own computation, below <i>Creon</i>: conf. a. 685. Scaliger δλ. ἀναγρ. p. 314. at Ol. 23. 4 marks Τλησίας. ἀρχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου Μεσσηνιακοῦ πολέμου. and again at Ol. 24. 3. Κρέων πρῶτος ἐνιαύσιος ἀρχων. without adverting to the inconsistency. Corsini, who had rightly shewn F. A. tom. I. p. 8. 9. that Pausanias dated the decennial and annual archons higher than other authors, yet argues tom. III. p. 37. that <i>Tlesias</i> was a distinct archon from <i>Lysias</i>, and places him at the next year to <i>Creon</i> B. C. 682, because he supposes <i>Tyrtæus</i> to be mentioned in N<sup>o</sup>. 34 of the Marble, and because the transactions of <i>Tyrtæus</i> agree better, in his opinion, with this date: <i>Res Lysiae anno consignatæ uno serius anno contigisse videntur quam quæ Tlesiae anno contigerant.</i> But <i>Tyrtæus</i> is there inserted upon conjecture, and, as <i>Tlesias</i> in Pausanias is at the same distance from <i>Creon</i> as <i>Lysias</i> in the Marble, there can be little doubt that Τλησίας is a corruption of Λυσίας.</p>
680.	Ol. 25. <i>Thalpis Laco.</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 144. Ol. 25. <i>Addita est quadriga, vicitque Paoron (sic) Thebanus.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. πέμπτη ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι κατεδέξαντο ἵππων τελείων δρόμον, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη Θηβαῖος Παγώνδας κρατῶν ἄρματι.</p>
679.	25, 2.	<p>(The victory of the Lacedæmonians over the Messenians in the battle of the trenches was in this year according to Pausanias; since it was followed by the siege of Ira, which ended in the 11th year current, in the autumn of B. C. 668. See Appendix c. 2.)</p>
678.	25, 3.	<p><i>Ardys</i> king of Lydia: Herodot. I. 16. Ἄρδυος βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεα δυώδεκα Σαδυάττew δὲ Ἀλυάττης. These numbers combined with the years of <i>Gyges</i> will place the accession of <i>Ardys</i> in B. C. 678, of <i>Sadyattes</i> in B. C. 629, and of <i>Alyattes</i> in B. C. 617. Conf. a. 716.</p>
677.	25, 4.	<p>[Hieronymus in Euseb. Chron. Anno 1340 Ol. 25. 4=26. 1 Armen. <i>Glaucus Chius primus ferri inter se glutinum excogitavit et junxit. Gela et Phaselis condita.</i> The Armenian copy places <i>Glaucus</i> at the year 1325: conf. a. 691. Gela and Phaselis at the year 1326; which is the true date for Gela and Phaselis: conf. a. 690. and the true date of Eusebius is probably there expressed for <i>Glaucus</i> also.]</p>

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he said elsewhere πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες. conf. a. 723. 2. and the acts of a former period are ascribed to the nation collectively, as in Thucyd. III. 54. ἐναυμαχίσσαμεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κ. τ. λ. That *Tyrtæus* was a foreigner is not the account of the Athenians alone, but was acknowledged by the Lacedæmonians, as appears from the observation of *Pausanias* apud Plutarch. l. c.



B. C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
676.	Ol. 26. <i>Callisthenes Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 144. <i>Ol. 26. Philimbrotus Laco quinquertium tribus Olympiadibus vicit. Carneae primum Lacedaemone instituta sunt, quod est citharædorum certamen.</i> Athen. XIV. p. 635. e. ἐγένετο ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Σωσίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ χρόνων.
675.	26, 2.	Cyzicus founded: Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1341 Ol. 26. 2. Cyzicus condita.</i> Placed by Hieronymus with Locri at the year 1334 <i>Ol. 24. 2=3 Armen.</i> Syncellus p. 213. B. Κύζικος ἀκίσθη. Placed, however, in Syncellus after the <i>Gymnopædia</i> , although ten years before them in the Armenian copy and thirteen before them in Hieronymus. Cyzicus was founded by the Megarians: Jo. Lydus de Mag. Rom. III. 70. τὰς Χαριδήμου στοᾶς (πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπωνόμασαν) οἱ Κύζικον οἰκήσαντες Μεγαρεῖς. Other authorities make Cyzicus a Milesian colony, and place it at B. C. 756. conf. a. The first settlement probably decayed, and a second was made by the Megarians at the present date.
674.	26, 3.	Foundation of Chalcedon: Hieronym. <i>Anno 1342 Ol. 26. 2=3 Armen. Chalcedon condita.</i> Omitted in the Armenian copy. Founded by the Megarians: Thuecyd. IV. 75. Χαλκηδόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου Μεγαρέων ἀποικίαν. Mela I. 19, 33. <i>Oppido est nomen Chalcedon, auctor Archias Megarensium princeps.</i> Seventeen years before Byzantium: Herodot. IV. 144. ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Χαλκηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώραν Βυζαντίων. Strabo VII. p. 320. τὸν Ἀπόλλω φασὶ τοῖς κτίσασιν τὸ Βυζάντιον ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων Χαλκηδόνας κτίσιν χρηστηριαζομένοις προστάξαι, ποιήσασθαι τὴν Ἱδρυσιν ἀπεναντίον τῶν τυφλῶν. κ. τ. λ. And Byzantium is placed by Hieronymus at the year 1359: conf. a. 657.
673.	26, 4.	Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1343 Ol. 26. 4. In Italia Locri conduntur.</i> Placed with Cyzicus by Hieronymus at the year 1334: <i>Cyzicus condita est et Locri in Italia.</i> But Locri was founded before either of these eras: F. H. II. p. 410. u. Probably about Ol. 17. 36 or 38 years before the present date. Founded, however, after Syracuse: Strabo VI. p. 259. ἔτη μὲν οὖν τρία ἢ τέτταρα ἄκουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ· εἴτα μετήνεγκαν τὴν πόλιν συμπραξάντων καὶ Συρακουσίων. Scymnus 316. recounts the two opinions mentioned by Strabo p. 259. concerning their original:

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*Terpander* flourished: Athen. XIV. p. 635. e. ὅτι Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος Ἀνακρέοντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις καὶ τοῖς καταλογάδην. Hieronymus and Hellanicus ascribed to *Terpander* a remote antiquity: Athen. Ibid. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ κιθαρωδῶν—κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 333. A. καὶ Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαῖζουσὶ τινες· Ἑλλάνικος γοῦν τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ κατὰ Μίδαν γεγενῆσθαι. But he is fixed to this date by the era of the *Carnea*: see col. 2. He four times gained the prize at the *Pythia*, and was accounted older than *Archilochus*: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1132. E. ἔοικε δὲ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν ὁ Τέρπανδρος διενηνοχέναι· τὰ Πύθια γὰρ τετράκις ἐξῆς νενικηκώς ἀναγέγραπται· καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις δὲ σφόδρα παλαιός ἐστι· πρεσβύτερον γοῦν αὐτὸν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀποφαίνει Γλαῦκος ὁ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐν συγγράμματι τινι τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πρῶτους ποιήσαντας αὐλωδίαν. These *Pythia* were not the games instituted in Ol. 48, but the ancient games, ἀρχαιότατον ἀγώνισμα, described by Pausanias X. 7, 2. The opinion of Glaucus that *Terpander* preceded *Archilochus* is repeated by Plutarch p. 1133. A. μετὰ δὲ Τέρπανδρον καὶ Κλονᾶν Ἀρχιλόχος παραδίδοται γενέσθαι. But *Archilochus* in Ol. 18, in the reign of *Gyges*, was a settler at *Thasos*: conf. a. 708. *Terpander* 64 years after that date made improvements in music in Ol. 33 or 34: conf. a. 644. The account, then, of Glaucus is erroneous; and that of Phanias more accurate: Clem. Strom. I. p. 333. A. B. Φανείας πρὸ Τέρπανδρου τιθεῖς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον. *Terpander*, who occupied B. C. 676—644, was about thirty years younger, and his early years would be contemporary with the latter time of *Archilochus*.



B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>εἰσὶν δ' ἄποικοι τῶν Ὀπουντίων Λοκρῶν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ Λοκρῶν φασὶ τῶν ἐν Ὀξόλαις. The former was the opinion of Ephorus, which Strabo rejects.</p>
672.	<p>Ol. 27. <i>Eurybus Atheniensis</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 144. Εὐρυβάτης Dionys. Ant. III. p. 406. Εὐρύβοτος Pausan. II. 24, 8.</p>	<p><i>Pantaleon</i> king of <i>Pisa</i> participated in the second Messenian war: Strabo VIII. p. 362. πλεονάκις ἐπολέμησαν διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατέκτησιν αὐτῶν φησὶ Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι [conf. a. 723]· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καθ' ἣν ἐλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἡλείους [καὶ Ἀρκαδας] καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Πισάτας ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομενοῦ βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγὸν Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλέοντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνα· ἥνικα φησὶν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.—ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τυρταίου ὁ δευτερός ὑπῆρξε πόλεμος. τρίτον δὲ [B. C. 490] καὶ τέταρτον [B. C. 464] συστήναί φασιν, ἐν ᾧ κατελύθησαν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι. For the time at which <i>Pantaleon</i> joined the Messenians see Appendix c. 2. If we understand from this account that <i>Pantaleon</i> was an ally in the early period of the war, before the battle of the trenches, the dates of Pausanias would place him at B. C. 680. But other considerations make it probable that he joined the Messenians in the latter years of the war, in B. C. 674. See Appendix c. 2.</p>
671.	27, 2.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1345 Ol. 27. 2. <i>Post Cares maria tenuerunt Lesbii</i>. Hieronym. Anno 1341 Ol. 26. 1=2 Armen. <i>Post Caras mare obtinuerunt Lesbii annis 69</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 168. <i>Ex Diodori libris</i>.—<i>Undecimi Lesbii annis</i> .... The date of Hieronymus is four years too high; the term ascribed to the Carians, 61 years (conf. a. 732), would conclude at the year 1344, and may be expressed by B. C. 732—672 both inclusive. Dionysius Ant. III. p. 406. marks the archon of this year: ὁ δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Εὐρυβάτης Ἀθηναῖος, ἀρχοντας Λεωστράτου.</p>
670.	27, 3.	<p><i>Psammetichus</i> king of Egypt begins to reign 145 years before the death of <i>Amasis</i>: conf. a. 616. And <i>Amasis</i> died Ol. 63. 3: Diod. I. 68. in the beginning of B. C. 525: F. H. II. p. 14.</p>
669.	27, 4.	<p>The Argives defeat the Lacedæmonians at Hysia: Pausan. II. 24, 8. πολυάνδρια ἐνταυθα ἐστὶν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Ὑσίας. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὕρισκον Ἀθηναῖοις ἀρχοντας Πισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἣν Εὐρύβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. sc. Ol. 27: conf. a. 672. 1. Siebel. ad l. observes, <i>Dionysius Olympiade 27. 2 non Pisistrato sed Leostrato archonte stadio vicisse refert non Eurybotum sed Eurybatem</i>. Dionysius and Pausanias are not inconsistent. They speak of different archons and of different years. <i>Eurybates</i> or <i>Eurybotus</i> obtained his victory in the year of neither. <i>Damocrattides</i> at this time is probably king of Argos, since a transaction which occurred in his reign had lately happened in B. C. 668:</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Alcman* is placed at this date by Suidas : Ἀλκμάν. Λακων ἀπὸ Μεσσήας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Κράτητα τῷ ὄντι Λυδὸς ἐκ Σάρδεων, λυρικὸς, υἱὸς Δάμαντος ἢ Τιτάρου. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, βασιλεύοντος Λυδῶν Ἀρδουοῦ τοῦ Ἀλυάττου πατρὸς· καὶ ὧν ἐρωτικὸς πάνυ εὐρετὴς γέγονε τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν [conf. Athen. XIII. p. 600. f]. ἀπὸ οἰκετῶν δὲ [ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμάν οἰκέτης ἦν Ἀγησίδου, εὐφυὲς δὲ ὧν ἡλευθερώθη καὶ ποιητὴς ἀπέβη Heraclides περὶ πολιτείων p. 206]. ἔγραψε βιβλία 5' μέλη, καὶ Κολυμβώσας. πρῶτος δὲ εἰσήγαγε τὸ μὴ ἑξαμέτροις μελεῖν. κέχρηται δὲ Δωριὶ διαλέκτῳ καθάπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. On the dialect of *Alcman* conf. Pausan. III. 15, 2. Greg. Cor. p. 371. ed. Schæf. Apollon. de Syntax. III. 31. p. 279. Bekk. His Lydian origin is noticed by Alexander Ætolus Epigr. 3. Anthol. tom. I. p. 207. Leonidas Ep. 80. Ibid. p. 175. Antipater Thess. Ep. 56. Ibid. tom. II. p. 110. Hence Velleius I. 18. justly observes, *Alcmana Lacones fulso sibi vindicant*. The authority of Crates is without reason questioned by Welcker Fragm. Alcman. p. 3. and of Velleius by Harles ad Fabric. tom. II. p. 89. who, however, corrects his own opinion. There never was any doubt that *Alcman* was of Lydian origin. Leonidas (whom Welcker quotes) merely expresses that his education and residence at Sparta made him a Spartan rather than a Lydian. Conf. Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. 50. *Alcman* is placed at Ol. 30. 3 by Eusebius: conf. a. 657.



B. C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Pausan. IV. 24, 2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τότε ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας [B. C. 668], τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναιῶν αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μοθώνην δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐδίδσαν ἐκπεπτωκόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἑναγχος ὑπὸ Ἀργείων. Idem IV. 35, 2. Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ διωχθεῖσι Δαμοκρατίδα βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ Μοθώνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι διδόασιν. M<sup>r</sup>. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 113. f., in placing <i>Damocratidas</i> at Ol. 30, places him too low.</p>
668.	<p>Ol. 28. <i>Charmis Laco</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis</i> Pausan. IV. 23, 2.</p>	<p>(End of the second Messenian war according to Pausanias IV. 23, 2. ἐάλω δὲ ἡ Εἶρα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ δεύτερος Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Μεσσηνίων τέλος ἔσχεν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Αὐτοσθένους ἔτει πρώτῃ τῆς ὀγδόης τε καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνῖκα Χίονις Λάκων. It is probable that the whole war is to be placed about six years lower, at B. C. 679—662. See Appendix c. 2. For the date of Eusebius, who places 90 years, and of Justin, who places 80 between the first and second Messenian war, see Appendix Ibid.)</p> <p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. <i>Ol. 28. Charmis Laco stadium; qui aridis tantum ficubus utebatur. Hanc primo Olympiadem egerunt Pisani, eo quod Elei bello occidentali distinerentur.</i> Ἡλείων ἀσχολουμένων διὰ τὸν πρὸς Δυμαίους πόλεμον Excerpt. Scalig. p. 40. Strabo VIII. p. 355. μέχρι τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν ἣ Ἰόροιβος ἐνῖκα στάδιον Ἡλείους τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον—τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἡλείοι.—μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑκτὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα οἱ Πισᾶται τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπολαβόντες αὐτοὶ συνετέλουν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντα χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον μεταπεσούσης πάλιν τῆς Πισατίας εἰς τοὺς Ἡλείους μετέπεσε πάλιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ ἀγνοηθεῖσα. Strabo therefore places the independence of the Pisæans one Olympiad earlier than Africanus.</p>
665.	28, 4.	<p>Euseb. Chron. Anno 1351 Ol. 28. 4. <i>Puerorum nudorum lucta primum Lacedæmone peracta est.</i> Hieronym. Anno 1347 Ol. 27. 3 = 4 Armen. <i>Nudipedalia primum acta in Lacedæmone.</i> Recognised by Syncellus p. 213. Α. γυμνὴ παιδεία πρῶτον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤχθη.</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Archilochus* and *Simonides* are named here by Eusebius: Anno 1351 *Archilochus et Simonides cognoscebantur*. Hieronymus places this notice three years lower: conf. a. 662. They are named together by Anonym. ad calcem Censorini c. 9. p. 140. *Cum sint antiquissimi poëtarum Homerus, Hesiodus, Pisander, et hos secuti elegiarii Callinus, Mimnermus, Euhemerus* [Evenus Nunnes.]; *mox Archilochus et Simonides trimetrum iambicum, choreum catalecticum tetrametrum composuerunt*.

*Thaletas* continued to flourish after the *Gymnopædia*: conf. a. 644. He was later than *Archilochus*: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1134. D. καὶ περὶ Θαλήτα τοῦ Κρητὸς εἰ Παιάνων γεγένηται ποιητῆς ἀμφισβητεῖται. Γλαῦκος γὰρ μετ' Ἀρχίλοχον φάσκων γεγενῆσθαι Θαλήταν μεμιμῆσθαι μὲν αὐτόν φησι τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου μέλη, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μακρότερον ἐκτείνειν. But he preceded *Polymnastus*: Pausan. I. 14, 3. Θάλητα δὲ εἶναί φησι Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας: who is placed after him by Plutarch: conf. a. 644. *Thaletas* purified Sparta: Pausan. I. 14, 3. Θάλης ὁ Λακεδαιμονίος τὴν νόσον παύσας. Plutarch. Mus. p. 1146. C. Τέρπανδρον ἂν τις παραλάβοι τὸν τὴν γενομένην ποτὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις στάσιν καταλύσαντα: καὶ Θαλήταν τὸν Κρήτα, ὃν φασὶ κατὰ τι πυθόχρηστον Λακεδαιμονίοις παραγενόμενον διὰ μουσικῆς ἰάσασθαι, ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοῦ κατασχόντος λοιμοῦ τὴν Σπάρτην, καθάπερ φησὶ Πρατίνας. Idem Mor. p. 779. A. τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων στάσιν παύειν ἐπάδων καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὡς Θαλῆς. where Plutarch has confounded *Thaletas* with *Terpander*. Ælian. V. H. XII. 50. Λακεδαιμόνιοι—μετεπέμψαντο Τέρπανδρον καὶ Θάλητα καὶ Τυρταῖον καὶ τὸν Κυθωνιάτην Νυμφαῖον, καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα, αὐλωδὸς γὰρ ἦν. His songs were sung at the *Gymnopædia* in after times: Athen. XV. p. 678. C. τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας—χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσω παίδων, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστου ἀνδρῶν [ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν Schw.], γυμνῶν ὄρχουμένων καὶ ἀδόντων Θαλήτου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσιοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας. He was accounted the first composer of songs for the Pyrrhic dance: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. II. 127. Θαλήταν δὲ πρῶτον τὰ εἰς αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν ἔνοπλον ὄρχησιν] ὑπορχήματα. Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 480. τοῖς ρυθμοῖς Κρητικοῖς—οὗς Θάλητα ἀνευρεῖν. ὧ καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ᾠδας ἀνατιθέας, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων. But he was referred by many accounts to an early period: conf. a. 750.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
664.	Ol. 29. <i>Chionis Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis II</i> . Pausan. IV. 23, 5.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. <i>Ol. 29. Chionis Laco stadium. Huius unus saltus cubitorum XXII erat</i>. Pausan. IV. 23, 5. ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Χίωνις Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχόντος. Pausanias places the first victory of <i>Chionis</i> at Ol. 28. where Africanus names <i>Charmis</i>.</p> <p>A sea fight between the Corinthians and Corcyreans: Thucyd. I. 13. ναυμαχία παλαιτάτη ὃν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίων· ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου. sc. ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ Πελ. πολέμου. B. C. 404 + 260 = 664. This sea fight is seventy years before the date which, according to Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 136. s., Timæus is supposed to have fixed as the foundation of Corcyra. An error into which Timæus could not have fallen; and a sufficient proof that his period of 600 years is to be explained by raising his date for the Trojan war, and not by bringing down his era of Corcyra. See F. H. III. p. 490. x. and see above p. 135. w.</p> <p>Acrae and Enna founded: Thucyd. VI. 5. Ἀκραι δὲ καὶ Κασμέναι ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων ἀκίσθησαν, Ἀκραι μὲν ἐβδόμηκοντα ἔτεσι μετὰ Συρακούσας Κασμέναι δὲ ἐγγύς· εἴκοσι μετὰ Ἀκρας. Steph. Byz. Ἐννα, πόλις Σικελίας, κτίσμα Συρακουσίων, μετὰ ὃ ἔτη Συρακουσῶν. The era of these two cities, 731—70 = B. C. 664, will fall upon the close of Ol. 28. 4.</p>
662.	29, 3.	<p>(Selymbria was founded a little before Byzantium: Scymnus 713.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—ἐν Προποντίδι Θράκη παρῆκει, καὶ Σαμίων ἀποικία Πέριθός ἐστιν ἐχρμένη Σηλυμβρία, ἣν οἱ Μεγάροις κτίζουσι πρὶν Βυζαντίου.</p> <p>Strabo VII. p. 319. Μεσημβρία Μεγαρέων ἀποικίος, πρότερον δὲ Μενεβρία, ὅλον Μενάπολις, τοῦ κτίσαντος Μένα καλουμένου· τῆς δὲ πόλεως βεβίας καλουμένης Θρακιστί· ὡς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σήλυος πόλις Σηλυβρία προσηγόρευται. Steph. Byz. Σηλυμβρία, πόλις Θράκης. κέκληται δὲ ἀπὸ Σήλυος. Βρία γὰρ κατὰ Θράκας ἡ πόλις.</p> <p>If the era of Byzantium was at B. C. 657 (conf. an.), and if we may assume the foundation of Selymbria to have been about five years before, it will be placed at this date.)</p>
660.	Ol. 30. <i>Chionis Laco II</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis III</i> . Pausan. VIII. 39, 2. conf. a. 656. 2.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Ol. 30. Ab Eleis defecerunt Pisaei atque hanc et consequentes XXII egerunt</i>. ταύτην τε ἤξαν καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς· κβ' Fragm. apud Scalig. p. 40. According to this account of Africanus the Pisaeans presided Ol. 30—52. But they only presided once within that period according to Pausanias: conf. a. 644. To reconcile Africanus with Pausanias we must understand that the Pisaeans participated in the presidency till Ol. 52: συνετίλουν Strab. VIII. p. 355. during the period of their independence. After Ol. 52 the Pisaeans were reduced to subjection in the reign of <i>Pyrrhus</i>, and the Eleans had the sole administration of the games: conf. a. 572.</p>
659.	30, 2.	<p>Phigalia taken by the Lacedaemonians: Pausan. VIII. 39, 2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡνίκα Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιχειρήσαν καὶ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Φιγαλίαν στρατιᾷ</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Arion* is placed in Ol. 29 by Solinus 7, 6. *Tænaron in quo funum est Methymnæi Arionis quem delphine eo advectum imago testis est, ad effigiem casus et veri operis expressa are; præterea tempus signatum; Olympiade enim undetrigesima, qua in certamine Siculo idem Arion victor scribitur, id ipsum gestum probatur.* The statue of *Arion* is mentioned by Herodotus I. 24. Pausanias III. 25, 5. Dio tom. II. p. 102. *Ælian* H. A. XII. 45. Gellius XVI. 19. who repeats the whole narrative of Herodotus. Dio ascribes the erection of the statue to *Arion* himself. *Bianor* apud Jacobs Anthol. tom. II. p. 141. attributes it to *Periander*. The statue appears to have stood there from the time of Herodotus to the time of *Ælian*; at least 700 years. The hymn ascribed to *Arion* apud *Ælian*. H. A. XII. 45., and received as genuine by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 84. and Brunck Analect. tom. III. p. 327., is justly regarded by Schneider ad *Ælian*. l. c. as a spurious composition. The date recorded by Solinus, Ol. 29, which would place this transaction 38 or 39 years before the reign of *Periander*, is contrary to all testimonies concerning his time: conf. a. 625. That date, then, is either derived from an erroneous account, or the number is corrupted in the text of Solinus, and for *undetrigesima* we may read *undequadragesima*, which might express the date of a Sicilian victory in music.

Hieronymus: Anno 1354 Ol. 29. 2=3 Armen. *Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus insignes habentur.* Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. C. εικοστῇ ἐνάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Ἰππώνακτα καὶ Σιμωνίδην φασὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸν μουσικὸν Ἀριστόξενον. Syncellus p. 213. A. Ἀρχίλοχος καὶ Σιμωνίδης καὶ Ἀριστόξενος οἱ μουσικοὶ ἐγνωρίζοντο. *Archilochus* and *Simonides* are placed three years higher in the Armenian copy: conf. a. 665. Syncellus has this notice before the foundation of Cyzicus; but in Hieronymus it is twenty years, and in the Armenian ten below that era. Upon *Aristoxenus* Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 81. observes, *Aristoxenus musicus auditor Aristotelis fuit: prochronismus CCC annorum.* Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 46. *Aristoxenus ille ad Ol. 110 referri debet.* But Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς is only a wrong expression for *Aristoxenus* of *Selinus*, an early Iambic poet: Hephæst. p. 45. Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Σελινούντιος Ἐπιχάρμου πρεσβύτερος ἐγένετο ποιητής, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐπιχάρμος μνημονεύει ἐν Λόγῳ καὶ Λογίῳ.

οἱ τοὺς ἰάμβους κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον,  
ἐν πρῶτος εἰσηγήσαθ' Ἀριστόξενος.

*Aristoxenus*, however, flourished 34 years after this date: conf. a. 628. In the time of *Hipponax* Cyril has committed an error of at least a century; for *Hipponax* flourished after *Bias* in the 60th Olympiad: F. H. II. p. 9. An error, however, derived from early accounts: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1133. D. ἔνιοι δὲ πλανώμενοι νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον Τερπάνδρου Ἰππώνακτα γεγονέναι· φαίνεται δὲ Ἰππώνακτος καὶ Περίκλειτος ὢν πρεσβύτερος.

Euseb. Chron. Anno 1356 Ol. 30. 1. *Zaleucus Locrus jurisperitus cognoscebatur.* Hieronymus places *Zaleucus* at 1355. Syncellus p. 213. A. Ζάλευκος ὁ νομοθέτης Λοκρῶν ἤρχαζε. Syncellus places this notice where it is placed in our copies of Eusebius; before the reign of *Cypselus*. Upon *Zaleucus* see Bentley Diss. Phal. p. 334—344. Bentley demonstrates from Aristotle apud Schol. Pindar. Ol. XI. 17. *Chamæleon* apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 351. D. that *Zaleucus* was not the disciple of *Pythagoras*; and that he was earlier than *Pythagoras* from Ephorus apud Strab. VI. p. 260. Scymnus 313. Demosthenes in Timocrat. p. 744. Wesseling ad Diod. XII. 20. sums up the arguments with brevity and clearness.

The birth of *Epimenides* is ascribed to this time by Suidas: Ἐπιμενίδης Φαίστου ἢ Δοσιάδου ἢ Ἀγιάσαρχου υἱὸς καὶ μητὴρ Βλάστας, Κρής ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ—γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν καὶ τῶν



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>μάχη τε νικῶσι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν προσκαθεζόμενοι· κινδυνεύοντος δὲ ἀλῶναι τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ Φιγαλεῖς, ἥ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς ἀφιᾶσιν ἐξελεῖν ὑποσπόνδους. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ τῆς Φιγαλίας ἁλωσις καὶ Φιγαλέων ἡ ἐξ αὐτῆς φυγὴ Μιλτιάδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχόντος δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Χίονις Λάκων ἐνίκα τὸ τρίτον.</p>
657.	30, 4.	<p>Byzantium founded: Eusebius Hieronymi: <i>Anno</i> 1359 <i>Ol.</i> 30. 3=4 Armen. <i>Byzantium conditur.</i> Placed in the Armenian copy <i>Anno</i> 1357 <i>Ol.</i> 30. 2. But, as Hieronymus preserves the true interval, 17 years, between Chalcedon and Byzantium (conf. a. 674), his date is to be preferred. He places Chalcedon in the year 1342, which commenced in autumn B. C. 675, and Byzantium in 1359, which commenced in autumn 658. We may therefore assign Chalcedon to the beginning of B. C. 674, the close of <i>Ol.</i> 26. 2, and Byzantium to the beginning of 657, the close of <i>Ol.</i> 30. 3. Cassiodorus refers both colonies to the reign of <i>Hostilius</i>: <i>Tullus Hostilius regnavit annis</i> 32 [B. C. 672—641]; <i>cujus temporibus Chalcedon conditur et Byzantium</i>; which nearly agrees with the dates of Hieronymus. Byzantium was a Megarian colony: <i>Scymnus</i> 717. ἐξῆς Μεγαρέων εὐτυχῶν Βυζάντιον. Steph. Byz. Βυζάντιον. πόλις διασημωτάτη πρὸς τῇ Προποντίδι, πρὸς τῷ μέρει τῆς Εὐρώπης. Χρησμός δ' ἐδόθη ἐρωτησάντων εἰς Δελφούς Μεγαρέων τοιοῦτος. “Ὀλβιοι” κ. τ. λ.—καὶ οὕτως ἐκτίσθη, ἀπὸ Βύζαντος τοῦ Κοροέσσης—ἡ ὅτι τοῦ στόλου Βύζας ἦν ἡγεμὼν. Conf. Eustath. ad Dionys. 803. who adds, τὸν δὲ Βύζαντα, οὐ ἐπώνυμον τὸ Βυζάντιον ἄστυ, δικαιοτάτον φασιν ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐπάρξει τῆς παραλίας ἀπάσης Θράκης, ἕως καὶ εἰς Αἶμον τὸ ὄρος.</p> <p>A fresh body of Megarians seems to have settled there under <i>Zeuxippus</i> in <i>Ol.</i> 38: conf. a. 628. The names <i>Byzas</i> and <i>Zeuxippus</i> are both preserved in Chron. Pasch. p. 265.</p>
656.	<p><i>Ol.</i> 31. <i>Chionis Laco</i> III. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Chionis</i> IV. Pausan. see col. 2.</p>	<p><i>Chionis</i> according to Pausanias III. 14, 3. obtained four victories in the <i>stadium</i>. The first in <i>Ol.</i> 28; where his name was perhaps corrupted into <i>Charmis</i> in the lists of Olympic victors which Africanus followed. Hence the fourth would be in <i>Ol.</i> 31, which Africanus calls the third. Pausanias has the following account: στήλην ὄψει, γεγραμμένοι δὲ εἰσιν ἄς Ἀγχιόνις [al. Χιόνις. conf. Siebel. ad loc.] ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος δρόμου νίκας ἀνείλετο, ἀλλας τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίαςιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπτά ἐγένοντο νῖκαι, τέσσαρες μὲν σταδίου [<i>Ol.</i> 28—31], διαύλου δὲ αἱ λοιπαί· τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινεν εἶναί πω [scil. <i>Ol.</i> 65 ὀπλιτῶν δρόμος Pausan. V. 8, 3]. Ἀγχιόνιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ Θηραίῳ Βάττω καὶ Κυρήνῃ οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέφασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους λέγουσιν.</p> <p>Accession of <i>Phraortes</i> king of Media: conf. a. 634. Four years lower in Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno</i> 1363 <i>Ol.</i> 31. 4.</p> <p>The foundation of Istrus is placed here in the Venetian edition of the Armenian Eusebius: <i>Anno</i> 1360 <i>Ol.</i> 31. 1. In <i>Ponto Histrus civitas condita</i>. Placed one year lower in the Milan edition: <i>Anno</i> 1361. Two years lower in Hieronymus: conf. a. 654. The true era of Istrus was 23 years below the present date: conf. a. 633.</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

ἑπτὰ κληθέντων σοφῶν, ἥ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. Laërt. I. 109. Ἐπιμενίδης, καθά φησι Θεόπομπος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Φαιστίου· οἱ δὲ Δωσιάδου, οἱ δὲ Ἀγησάρχου· Κρῆς τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ. He is in Plutarch Sol. c. 12. Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαιστίος. interpreted by Xylander, *Phæsto Cretæ oppido ortus*. Strabo X. p. 479. ἐκ τῆς Φαιστοῦ τὸν τοὺς καθαρμοὺς ποιήσαντα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν Ἐπιμενίδην φασὶν εἶναι. Eudocia p. 166. follows Suidas: Ἐπιμενίδης Φαίστου καὶ Βλαίστης, Κρῆς ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ. but p. 150. expresses a doubt: Κρῆς Κνώσσιος, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς Φαίστιος. Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 31. suggests in Plutarch Ἐπ. ὁ Φαιστίου, and observes, *Filius Phæstii dicitur a Theopompo apud Laërtium*. Theopompus, however, might only have expressed that his father was a Phæstian; and might have agreed with Plutarch and Strabo.

*Alcman* and *Lesches* are named at this date by Euseb. Chron. Armen. *M. Anno 1359 Ol. 30. 4. Lesches qui parvam Iliadem fecit, et Alcæon cognoscebantur*. One year higher, *anno 1358 Ol. 30. 3. Arm. Ven.* Two years lower, *anno 1360*, in Hieronymus. Syncellus p. 213. B. Λέσχης Λέσβιος ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα ποιήσας καὶ Ἀλκμαίων ἤμαρξεν. Placed at the right date according to our copies of Eusebius. In all these passages *Alcæon* occurs for *Alcman*: conf. a. 611. 2. According to Eusebius and Suidas *Alcman* flourished in the reign of *Ardys*, and is placed at B.C. 671—658: conf. a. 671. As he mentioned *Polymnastus*, we may extend his time to the end of the reign of *Ardys*, and suppose him to have occupied a space of forty years: conf. a. 644. This period for *Alcman* is consistent with the account of Suidas, that he was older than *Stesichorus*: F. H. II. p. 5. and the preceptor of *Arion*: conf. a. 625. The death of *Alcman* is mentioned by Aristotle H. A. V. 31. Plutarch Sulla c. 36. Pliny H. N. XI. 33. On the mistake of Antig. Cæryst. c. 95. conf. Beckmann. ad locum Welcker. *Aleman*. p. 14.

The *Ilias Parva* of *Lesches* is described by Proclus p. 481. Ἰλιάδος μικρᾶς βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχεω. Schol. Pindar. Nem. VI. 85. ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσχου μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος. Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 155. Λέσχης ὁ Λέσβιος ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Ἰλιάδι. Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1269. Λέσχης ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς, where eleven lines are given. Often quoted without the name of the author: Aristot. Poet. c. 23. p. 1459. ὁ ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. Pausan. III. 26, 7. ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1053. ὡς φησιν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκώς, where three lines are quoted. Hesych. v. Διομήδεος ἀνάγκη: ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. For Clemens and Schol. Eur. Orest. see above p. 127. d. This poem is assigned to *Homer* by the author of the Life of *Homer* c. 16. ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάσσω, ἥς ἡ ἀρχή· “Ἰλιον αἰεῖδω” κ. τ. λ. and by some to *Cinætho*: conf. a. 765. *Lesches* is referred by Phantias to an earlier period: conf. a. 775.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
655.	31, 2.	<p><i>Cypselus</i> began to reign: Herodot. V. 92. ἄρξαντος τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτη. Aristot. Rep. V. 9, 22=V. 12. Κύψελος ἐτυράνησεν ἔτη τριάκοντα. conf. a. 625. The expelled <i>Bacchiadæ</i> withdraw to Lacedæmon: Plutarch. Lysand. c. 1. Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγόντων εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀμόρφων. Their overthrow is noticed by Ælian V. H. I. 19. ἡ τῶν Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἀρχή, ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμειος προελθοῦσα, ὁμῶς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν τὴν ἔξω τοῦ μέτρου καὶ αὐτὴ κατελύθη.</p>
654.	31, 3.	<p>Acanthus and Stagira founded: Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1362 Ol. 31. 3. <i>Acanthus et Stagira conditæ</i>. One year lower, Anno 1363, in ed. M. but at this year, with other towns, in Hieronymus: Anno 1362 <i>Acanthus condita et Stagira. Istrus in Ponto condita. Lampsacus condita et Abdera. In Sicilia Selinus condita. In Ponto Borysthenes condita est</i>. Lampsacus and Abdera are three years lower in the Armenian: Anno 1365 Ol. 32. 2. Syncellus p. 213. B. has the following order:</p> <p>ἐν Πόντῳ πόλις Ἰστορος ἐκτίσθη.  Ἀκανθος καὶ Στάγειρα ἐν Ἑλλάδι ἐκτίσθησαν.  Λάμψακος καὶ Ἀβδηρα ἐκτίσθησαν.</p> <p>Solinus, however, 10, 10. determines Abdera to Ol. 31: <i>Abderam Olympiade prima et tricesima senio collapsam Clazomenii ex Asia ad majorem faciem restitutam—nomini suo vindicaverunt</i>. The leader of the colony was <i>Timesias</i>: conf. a. 564. Lampsacus was a Milesian settlement: Strabo XIII. p. 589. Παισὺς ἦν πόλις—κατέσπαστο δ' ἡ πόλις, οἱ δὲ Παισηνοὶ μετώκησαν εἰς Λάμψακον, Μιλησίων ὄντες ἀποικοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Λαμψακηνοί. But it was also a Phocæan colony, founded by <i>Phobus</i> of Phocæa, according to the narrative of Charon Lampsac. apud Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 255. ἐκ Φωκαίας τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένους ἦσαν ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι Φόβος καὶ Βλέφος· ὃν ὁ Φόβος ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκάδων πετρῶν πρῶτος ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν, ὡς Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἰστόρηκεν. ἔχων δὲ δύναμιν καὶ βασιλικὸν ἄξιωμα παρέπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον κ. τ. λ. conf. Polyæn. VIII. 37. Wytt. ad Plutarch. l. c. Steph. Byz. Λάμψακος. πόλις κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα, ἀπὸ Λαμψάκης ἐπιχωρίας τινὸς κόρης· ἔστι δὲ Φωκαίων κτίσμα, πάλαι Πιτύουσα λεγομένη, ὡς Δημόλοχος ὁ Κυζικηνός. Mela I. 19. <i>Lampsacum Phocæis appellantis nomen ex eo traxit quod consulentibus in quasnam terras potissimum tenderent responsum erat, ubi primum fulsisset ibi sedem capesserent</i>. Conf. Eckhel. Doct. Num. tom. II. p. 102. The original foundation was by the Phocæans; the second colony was planted by the Milesians, to which we may refer the date of Eusebius.</p>
652.	Ol. 32. <i>Cratinus Megarensis</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. Ol. 32. <i>Cratinus Megarensis stadium. Quo tempore etiam Comæus pugilatu certans tres fratres vicit</i>. Κομαῖος τρίτος ἀδελφῶν ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκᾳ Græca Scalig. p. 40.</p>
651.	32, 2.	

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Birth of *Pittacus* according to Suidas: Πιττακός—οὗτος γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λβ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ὢν. —τῇ μβ' Ὀλυμπιάδι Μέλαγχρον τὸν τύραννον Μιτυλήνης ἀνείλε [conf. a. 611. 2]. καὶ Φρύωνα στρατηγὸν Ἀθηναίων πολεμοῦντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σιγείου μονομαχῶν ἀπέκτεινε, δικτύῳ περιβαλὼν αὐτόν [conf. a. 606. 2]. Eudocia p. 362. has the same numbers: —γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λβ' Ὀλυμπιάδα—τῇ μβ' Ὀλ. Μέλαγχρον—ἀνείλε. This date for the birth of *Pittacus* would make him past 80 at his death in B. C. 569. conf. a.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
650.	32, 3.	<p>(Selinus is placed here by Diodorus XIII. 59. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως οἰκηθεῖσα χρόνον ἑτῶν διακοσίων τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἑάλω. Its destruction by the Carthaginians in the year of <i>Diocles</i> (Diod. XIII. 54) may be placed at the beginning of B. C. 408, which gives <math>408 + 242 = 650</math>. Hieronymus places Selinus four years higher: conf. a. 654. In the Armenian copy of Eusebius Selinus is omitted. But Syncellus p. 213. B. names Selinus; whence we may infer that it was in the text of Eusebius. The true era of Selinus, however, is fixed by Thucydides 22 years below the date of Diodorus: conf. a. 628.)</p>
648.	Ol. 33. <i>Gylis Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Gilis</i> Armen. Γύγης Græca Scalig. p. 40.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. Ol. 33. <i>Additum est pancratium vicitque Lygdamis Syracusanus, magno corpore præditus, qui stadium pedibus suis metitus est, idque passuum tantummodo 600 esse voluit</i> [Scalig. στάδιον ἐξεμέτρησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ, μόνας ἑξακοσίους παραθέσεις ποιησάμενος]. <i>Additus est etiam celes, vicitque Craxilas Thessalus</i>. Pausan. V. 8, 3. ὁ γδοή ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀλυμπιάδι [sc. from Ol. 25] ἐδέξαντο παγκρατιαστὴν τε ἄνδρα καὶ ἵππον κέλητα· ἵππος μὲν δὴ Κρανωνίου Κραυξίδα παρέφθη, τοὺς δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον ὁ Λύγδαμις κατειργάσατο Συρακούσιος.</p> <p><i>Myron</i> of <i>Sicyon</i> is victor in the chariot race: F. H. II. p. 298.</p> <p>Himera founded 240 years before its destruction: Diod. XIII. 62. ὁ δ' Ἀνίβας—τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑδαφος κατέσκαψεν, οἰκισθεῖσαν ἔτη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα. Its fall is related under the year of <i>Diocles</i>: Diod. XIII. 54. but after the destruction of Selinus: c. 59. We may refer it to B. C. 408, which places the era at B. C. 648. Himera was destroyed 58 years after its establishment by <i>Theron</i>: Diod. XI. 49. Θήρων δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἱμεραίων σφαγὴν ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκητόρων δεομένην συνώκισεν εἰς ταύτην τοὺς τε Δωριεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπολιτογράφησεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι διετέλεσαν ἔτη πενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ. τότε δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων χειρωθείσης καὶ κατασκαφείσης, διέμεινεν ἀοίκητος μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν. <i>Theron's</i> settlement, then, was in B. C. 466. But he had occupied Himera ten years before, in the year of <i>Phædon</i> B. C. 476: Diod. XI. 48.</p>
647.	33, 2.	
644.	Ol. 34. <i>Stomus Atheniensis</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145.	<p><i>Pantaleon</i> king of <i>Pisa</i> celebrated the Olympic games: Pausan. VI. 22, 2. τιτάρτη ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλείων ὁ Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροίσαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Pisander* flourished: Suid. Πείσανδρος Πείσανος καὶ Ἀρισταίχμας, Καμειραῖος ἀπὸ Ῥόδου [Πείσανδρος ὁ διασημώτατος ποιητὴς Καμειρεὺς ἦν Steph. Byz. Κάμιρος. Πείσανδρος ὁ τὴν Ἡρακλείαν γράψας ποιητὴς Ῥόδιος Strabo XIV. p. 655]—καὶ τινες μὲν αὐτὸν Εὐμόλπου τοῦ ποιητοῦ σύγχρονον καὶ ἐρώμενον ἱστοροῦσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδου πρεσβύτερον· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν λγ' Ὀλυμπιάδα τάττουσιν. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴν Διόκλειαν. ποιήματα δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἡράκλεια ἐν βιβλίοις β' [Πείσανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἡρακλείας Athen. XI. p. 469. d]. ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα. ἐνθα πρῶτος Ἡρακλεῖ ῥόπαλον περιτέθεικε [conf. Strab. XV. p. 688. Schol. Apollon. I. 1196]. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ νόθα δοξάζεται, γενόμενα ὑπὸ τε ἄλλων καὶ Ἀριστεύς τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Named among the most ancient poets: conf. a. 665. He was said to have borrowed from *Pisinius*: Clem. Al. Strom. VI. p. 628. B. Πείσανδρος Καμειρεὺς Πισίνου τοῦ Λινδίου τὴν Ἡράκλειαν (ὡς ἰδίαν ἐξήνεγκεν) which is not inconsistent with Theocrit. Epigr. 20. Τὸν λειοντομάχαν τὸν ὀξύχειρα Πρᾶτος τῶν ἐπάνωθε μουσοποιῶν Πείσανδρος συνέγραψεν ὥκ Καμείρου, Χῶτους ἐξεπόνασεν εἰπ' ἀέθλους—if, with Jacobs Anthol. tom. VII. p. 207., we refer the expression πρᾶτος συνέγραψεν to the attire of *Hercules*, with which *Pisander* first invested him. *Pisander* was still living after the establishment of Cyrenë: conf. a. 631. which is perfectly consistent with the date of Suidas.

*Terpander* flourished: Mar. Par. N<sup>o</sup>. 35 (34). ἀφ' οὗ Τέρπανδρος ὁ Δερδένεος ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς νόμους του...α...ων...δ.... οὗς .αι αὐλητ...λησε, καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθε μουσικὴν μετέστησεν, ἔτ. ΗΗΗΙΔΙΔΔΔΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Δρωπί. ου. B. C. 264 + 381 = B. C. 645. But from the mode of computation in the



B.C.	I. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Ἡλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια. ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας [sc. Ol. 8, <i>Phidonis</i>: conf. a. 748. Ol. 34, <i>Pantaleontis</i>] καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστὴν, τεθεῖσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων [B.C. 364: F. H. II. p. 116], ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἡλείοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν. The Pisæans in this Olympiad assumed the presidency, excluding the Eleans. But they participated in the presidency jointly with the Eleans, according to Strabo and Africanus, for twenty-six Olympiads, Ol. 27—52 inclusive, B.C. 672—572: conf. ann. 668, 660, 572. <i>Pantaleon</i> had been engaged in the second Messenian war: conf. a. 672; which might place the beginning of his reign about thirty years before the present date.</p> <p>Casmenæ founded by the Syracusans, twenty years after Acræ: conf. a. 664.</p> <p><i>Dropilus</i> archon at Athens: see col. 3.</p>
640.	<p>Ol. 35. <i>Sphæron Laco</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 145. <i>Sphærus</i> Dionys. Ant. III. p. 518.</p>	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 145. Ol. 35. <i>Recursum Cylon Atheniensis</i>, is qui tyrannidem affectavit. His Olympic victory is mentioned Herodot. V. 71. ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε· προσποιεσάμενος δὲ ἐταιρήτην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη κ. τ. λ.—φονεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο. Thucyd. I. 126. Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμῆκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρὸς ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. Pausan. I. 28, 1. (Κύλων)—εἶδος κάλλιστος καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀφανῆς, ἀνελόμενος διαύλου νίκην Ὀλυμπικὴν· καὶ οἱ θυγατέρα ὑπῆρξε γῆμαι Θεαγένους, ὃς Μεγάρων ἐτυράνησεν. conf. I. 40, 1.</p>
639.	35, 2.	<p>Dionys. Ant. III. p. 518. ἐνιαυτῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς τριακοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἦν ἐνίκᾳ Σφαίριος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀρχὴν εἶχε Δαμασίας.</p> <p>First establishment of <i>Battus</i>: Herodot. IV. 156. ἀπέστελλον τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι κ. τ. λ.—οἱ δὲ—ἐκτίσαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ ὄνομα—ἐστὶ Πλατεά. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλει. ταύτην οἰκόντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γὰρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς. conf. a. 637. Of</p>

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Marble (F. H. II. p. X) the true date of *Dropilus* or *Dropides* was probably B. C. 644. Eusebius apud Hieron. places *Terpander* only two years higher: Anno 1370 Ol. 33. 2=3 Armen. *Terpander insignis*. Omitted in the Armenian copy, but verified by Syncellus p. 213. B. Τέρπανδρος μουσικός ἐγνωρίζετο. Placed, however, in Syncellus before the era of Selinus. The improvements of *Terpander* in the Spartan music are noticed by Plutarch Music. p. 1134. B. although he places them at an earlier period: ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ Τερπάνδρου καταστήσαντος γεγένηται· τῆς δευτέρας δὲ Θαλήτας τε ὁ Γορτύνιος, καὶ Ξενοδάμος ὁ Κυθήριος, καὶ Ξενοκρίτος ὁ Λοκρὸς, καὶ Πολύμνηστος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, καὶ Σακάδας ὁ Ἀργεῖος μάλιστα αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνες γενέσθαι· τούτων γὰρ εἰσηγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τὰς γυμνοπαιδίας τὰς ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι λέγεται καταστήναι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τὰς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.—ἦσαν δὲ οἱ περὶ Θαλήταν τε καὶ Ξενοδάμον καὶ Ξενοκρίτον ποιηταὶ παιάνων [conf. p. 1134. E], οἱ δὲ περὶ Πολύμνηστον τῶν ὀρθίων καλουμένων, οἱ δὲ περὶ Σακάδαν ἐλεγείων. ἄλλοι δὲ Ξενοδάμον ὑπορχημάτων ποιητὴν γεγονέναι φασὶ καὶ οὐ παιάνων, καθάπερ Πρατίνας. *Thaletas* flourished by this testimony after the *Gymnopædia* B. C. 665. *Sacadas* flourished B. C. 586—578: conf. a. 586. *Polymnastus* is mentioned by *Pindar* apud *Strabon*. XIV. p. 643. λέγει δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ Πολύμναστον τινὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐλλογίμων· “φθέγμα μὲν πάγκοινον ἔγνωκας Πολυμνάστου Κολοφωνίου ἀνδρός.” And by *Alcman*: *Plutarch*. Music. p. 1133. A. γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ Πολύμνηστον ποιητὴν, Μέλητος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου υἱόν—τοῦ δὲ Πολυμνήστου καὶ Πίνδαρος καὶ Ἀλκμάν οἱ τῶν μελῶν ποιηταὶ ἐμνημόνευσαν. As *Alcman* lived in the reign of *Ardys* (conf. a. 671), and *Polymnastus* after the *Gymnopædia*, they must have been contemporary. *Polymnastus* was later than *Thaletas*, whom he mentioned: conf. a. 665. He probably intervened between *Thaletas* and *Alcman*, and was in part contemporary with both. We may upon conjecture place *Thaletas* at B. C. 690—660 and *Polymnastus* at B. C. 675—644. *Alcman* according to *Suidas* and *Eusebius* might flourish B. C. 671—631. *Xenocritus* was later than *Thaletas*: *Plutarch*. p. 1134. F. πρεσβύτερον τῇ ἡλικίᾳ φησὶν ὁ Γλαῦκος Θαλήταν Ξενοκρίτου γεγονέναι. He is mentioned by *Heraclides* περὶ πολιτείων p. 215. ἐγένετο Λοκρὸς Ξενοκρίτος, τυφλὸς ἐκ γενετῆς ποιητής. *Plutarch*, in placing the inventions of *Terpander* before the improvements of *Thaletas* and *Polymnastus*, follows those who ascribed to *Terpander* a high antiquity: conf. a. 676. But the true date of *Terpander*’s improvement, given by the *Parian Marble*, places it below them; and *Plutarch* himself p. 1133. B. gives another account: τὸ δ’ ὅλον ἡ μὲν κατὰ Τέρπανδρον κιθαριδία καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φρύνιδος ἡλικίας παντελῶς ἀπλὴ τις οὕσα διετέλει. But if the style introduced by *Terpander* was unchanged till the time of *Phrynis* (who was later than the Median wars: conf. *Schol.* *Aristoph.* *Nub.* 967), the style introduced by *Thaletas* must have preceded *Terpander*.

The birth of *Thales* is placed here in Eusebius Armen. V. Anno 1377 Ol. 35. 2. *Thales Examilæ Milesius primus physicus cognoscebatur. Is dicitur usque ad XLVIII Olympiadem* [recte Hieronymus *LVIII*] *vitam protraxisse*. Hieronymus also, anno 1377. But in Armen. M. Anno 1378 Ol. 35. 3. Syncellus p. 213. C. Θαλῆς Ἐξαμῶου Μιλήσιος φιλόσοφος εἰς τῶν ζ’ σοφῶν ἐγνωρίζετο, ὃς λέγεται ζῆσαι ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη. In this notice, which is placed before the eras of Borysthenes (conf. a. 654. 2) and of Sinopë (conf. a. 629. 2), Syncellus has mistaken the time of the birth of *Thales* for the time of his ἀκμή. On the birth of *Thales* see F. H. II. p. 3.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		Platea, Herodotus IV. 169. remarks, ἡ Πλατεία νῆσος τὴν ἔκτισαν Κυρηναῖοι.
637.	35, 4.	Second settlement of <i>Battus</i> : Herodot. IV. 157. 158. οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον—ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀζιρίς—τοῦτον οἶκεον τὸν χῶρον ἐξ ἔττα, ἐβδόμῃ δὲ σφεας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίβυες ὡς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἄξουσι ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. The seventh year, in which Cyrenè was founded, was B.C. 631: conf. a. which places this second establishment at B.C. 637. Herodotus IV. 169. mentions Aziris again: Ἀζιρίς τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἶκεον.
636.	Ol. 36. <i>Phrynon Atheniensis</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. <i>Ol. 36. Phrynon Atheniensis, qui in Co insula singulari certamine interemptus est.</i> ὃς Πιττακῷ μονομαχῶν ἀνιρέθη Græca Scal. p. 40. conf. a. 606.
635.	36, 2.	The Cimmerians take Sardis in the reign of <i>Ardys</i> , a little before the irruption of the Scythians into Asia: Herodot. I. 15. Ἀρδύος—ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθίων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες [conf. a. 634] ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ Σάρδεις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον. To this irruption into Ionia he refers I. 6. τὸ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆς. The Cimmerians, however, had often before overrun the north of Asia Minor: Strabo I. p. 61. οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὓς καὶ Τρήρωνας [l. Τρήρας] ὀνομάζουσιν, ἢ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες. They had penetrated to Ionia before the time of <i>Homer</i> : Strabo I. p. 6. καὶ μὴν (Ὁμηρος) καὶ τὸν Κιμμερικὸν Βόσπορον οἶδε τοὺς Κιμμερίους εἰδῶς (οὐ δὴ που τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῶν Κιμμερίων εἰδῶς αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀγνοῶν), οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἢ μικρὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέχρις Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ Βοσπόρου πᾶσαν. III. p. 149. καὶ γὰρ καθ' Ὁμηρον ἢ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν λέγουσι τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἔφοδον γενέσθαι τῶν μέχρι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας. which places their first appearance in Asia Minor a century at least before the Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> . An irruption of the Cimmerians is assigned by Orosius I. 21. to B.C. 782: <i>Anno ante urbem conditam tricesimo—Tunc etiam Amazonum gentis et Cimmericorum in Asiam repentinus incursus plurimam diu lateque vastationem stragemque edidit.</i> According to Aristotle they held <i>Antandrus</i> in Mysia for 100 years: Steph. Byz. Ἀντανδρος.—Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ ταύτην ὠνομάσθαι Ἠδωνίδα διὰ τὸ Θρᾶκας Ἠδωνοὺς ὄντας οἰκῆσαι, καὶ Κιμμερίδα, Κιμμερίαν ἐνοικούντων ἑκατὸν ἔτη. After their last irruption they were expelled by <i>Alyattes</i> : consequently not before B.C. 617. conf. a.
634.	36, 3.	<i>Phraortes</i> slain by the Assyrians: Herodot. I. 102. Φραόρτης,—στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νίνον ἔχον, αὐτὸς τε διεφάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔττα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός. His son <i>Cyaxares</i> is interrupted in the siege of Nineveh by the irruption of the Scythians: I. 103. συλλίξας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον τιμωρέων τῷ πατρί—καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημίνω τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθίων στρατὸς μέγας—οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης· τούτοις δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύ-

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B. C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>γούσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο. IV. 1. τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας ἤρξαν Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους. Eusebius Armen. V. marks this Scythian invasion: Anno 1384 Ol. 37. 1. <i>Scythæ in Palestinam usque dominati sunt</i>. In Armen. M. anno 1385 Ol. 37. 2. In Hieronymus, anno 1386. Herodotus ascribes 150 years to the four Median reigns: I. 102. Δηϊόκω παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, δὲ, τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκω βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτεα [B. C. 709—657], παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν. ὁ Φραόρτης—δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα [B. C. 656—635]. c. 106. Κυαξάρης βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἤρξαν, τελευτᾷ [634—595]. c. 130. Ἀστυάγης βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα [594—560] τῆς βασιλείης κατεπαύθη. Cyrus began to reign in Ol. 55. i B. C. 559 (F. H. II. p. 2); which determines the times of the four preceding reigns. For the kings of Media see Appendix c. 3.</p>
633.	36, 4.	<p>Istrus and Tomi, Milesian colonies: Scymnus Fragm. 21. Anonymi Periplus Euxini p. 157. Τομέοι ἄποικοι γενόμενοι Μιλησίων, ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐν κύκλῳ οἰκούμενοι.—ἡ πόλις Ἰστρός ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔλαβε τοῦνομα—καὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν Μιλήσιοι κτίζουσιν ἡνίκα Σκυθῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν στράτευμα διέβη βαρβάρων Τὸ Κιμμερίου δῶκον ἐκ τοῦ Βοσπόρου. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 823. Ἰστριανοὶ—Μιλησίων ἄποικοι. Strabo VII. p. 319. Ἰστρός πολίχνη—Μιλησίων κτίσμα.</p>
632.	Ol. 37. <i>Euryclidas Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. Ol. 37. <i>Additum est puerorum stadium, vicitque Polynices Eleus. Addita lucta puerorum, vicitque Hipposthenes Laco, qui una intermissa quinque continentibus Olympiadi-bus luctam virilem vicit.</i> Pausan. V. 8, 3. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παῖσιν ἄλλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ Ἰπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνείκης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἠλείος.</p> <p>The third year of the Scythian dominion in Asia. In this year Eusebius places their occupation of Palestine: conf. a. 634. Herodot. I. 104. 105. οἱ Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμίτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δᾶροισί τε καὶ λιτῆσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει,—ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρὸν κ. τ. λ. For the time of <i>Psammetichus</i> conf. a. 616.</p>
631.	37, 2.	<p><i>Battus</i> founds Cyrenë: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1385 Ol. 37. 2. <i>Battus Cyrenem condit.</i> In Hieronymus, anno 1386. Recorded by Syncellus: conf. a. 627. This date is consistent with Theophrastus, who reckons more than 300 years from the foundation to B. C. 311: Hist. Plant. VI. 3, 3. οἰκοῦσι μάλιστα περὶ τριακόσια (ἔτη) εἰς Σιμωνίδην ἄρχοντα Ἀθήνησιν [B. C. 311]; and with the period of the <i>Battiadae</i> in Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 1. Κυρήνης πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκ Θήρας εἰς Λιβύην ἀπαγαγὼν καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσας, δὲ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς κατέλιπεν υἱὸν Ἀρκεσίλαον. παρὰ δὲ τούτου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Βάττος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς εὐδαίμων· τοῦ δὲ Βάττου ἄλλος γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλαος, καὶ οὕτω παῖς παρὰ πατρός τὴν δυναστείαν παρέλαβε, καὶ τέσσαρες μὲν Βάττοι τέσσαρες δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαοι ἐγένοντο [ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσαρας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαους τέσσαρας, ὁκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς Herodot. IV. 163]—ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος οὗτος Ἀρ-</p>

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Birth of *Stesichorus*: see F. H. II. p. 5.

*Pisander* of *Camira* still flourished: Pindar. Pyth. IX. 184=109. ἔβαν Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν Ἀνταίου μετὰ καλλίκομον μναστῆρες ἀγακλέα κούραν. Schol. Ἰρασσα, πόλις Λίβυης.—ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος—φησὶν Ἀλεξίδαμον—γενέσθαι μνηστῆρα τῆς Ἀνταίου θυγατρὸς· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Ἀλκῆϊς, ὥς φησι Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμειρεύς· ἔτερος δὲ Βάρκη. *Irasa* was visited by the Greeks in the time of *Battus*: conf. Herodot. IV. 158. Steph. Byz. Ἰρασσα. And *Pisander* must have mentioned *Antaus* and *Alceïs* after the establishment of *Battus* at Cyrenë. But this may be reconciled with the date of Suidas for *Pisander*: conf. a. 647. For if we ascribe to him a period of 25 years, he might flourish B.C. 647—623; which would extend his time to the 9th year of *Battus* at Cyrenë.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>κεσίλαος [the 8th from <i>Battus I.</i> ὄγδοον μέρος Ἀρκεσίλαος Pindar. Pyth. IV. 65=115. victor Pyth. 31 B.C. 466, and Ol. 80 B.C. 460: Schol. ad IV. 1] δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κυρηναίων ἀπέβαλε τῶν Βαυτιαδῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτὶ διακόσια διαμείναντα. This period computed from the date of Eusebius would place the death of the last <i>Arcesilaüs</i> at B.C. 431, 35 years after his Pythian victory. That he was young in Pyth. 31 B.C. 466 is attested by Pindar Pyth. V. 109=146. The date of Solinus, B.C. 597, is refuted by Herodotus, Theophrastus, and the Scholiast: conf. a. 597. The first <i>Battus</i> reigned 40 years: conf. a. 591.</p>
630.	37, 3.	<p>The Milesians according to Strabo XVII. p. 801. are established in Egypt in the reigns of <i>Psammetichus</i> and <i>Cyaxares</i>:—τὸ Μιλησίων τεῖχος πλεύσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου τριάκοντα ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι κατὰ Κυαξάρη (οὗτος δὲ τῶν Μηδῶν) κατέσχον εἰς τὸ στόμα τὸ Βολβίτινον—χρόνῳ δ' ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Σαΐτικὸν νομὸν, καταναυμαχῆσαντες Ἰναρον, πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν. There is no need that we should with Larcher Herodot. tom. VIII. p. 360. and Wess. ad Herodot. II. 178. understand this <i>Inarus</i> to be the same person as <i>Inarus</i> the Libyan whom the Athenians assisted in B.C. 460. Naucratis is placed at B.C. 753 by Hieronymus: conf. a. 732. But Herodotus II. 154. appears to confirm Strabo: τοῖσι δὲ Ἰᾶσι καὶ τοῖσι Κασσι τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῶν ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος [B.C. 670] δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι.—πρῶτοι οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. Consequently Naucratis would be founded after B.C. 670. That it was already founded before B.C. 569 is proved by Herodotus II. 178.</p>
629.	37, 4.	<p>Foundation of Sinopë: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1387 Ol. 37. 4. <i>Sidon</i> [l. <i>Sinopë</i>]. Placed one year higher by Hieronymus: Anno 1386 <i>Sinopë condita</i>. <i>Lipara condita</i>. Sinopë was a Milesian colony: Xenoph. Anab. V. 9, 15. Σινωπεῖς οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παρλαγονικῇ Μιλησίων δ' ἄποικοι εἰσίν. Diod. XIV. 31. ἡ δὲ Σινώπη Μιλησίων μὲν ἦν ἄποικος. Strabo XII. p. 545. ἔκτισαν μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Μιλήσιοι. Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 127. Σινωπεῖς Μιλησίων ἄποικοι. And (according to Eusebius) had founded Trapezus 130 years before this date. Sinopë, then, must have had two epochs. Scymnus Fragm. 204—215. mentions three; one foundation in the fabulous times by <i>Autolycus</i>, also named Plutarch. Lucull. c. 23. Schol. Apollon. II. 955; a second by <i>Ambron</i> of <i>Miletus</i>, who was slain by the Cimmerians; a third by <i>Coüs</i> and <i>Critines</i>, also Milesians, during the occupation of Asia by the Cimmerians: Ἀλλ' ἡ Σινώπη ἐστ' ἐπώνυμος μιᾶς Ἀμαζόνων (ὣν πλησίον χῶρ' ἦν ποτε). Ἦν τὸ πρὶν ἄκουν εὐγενεῖς ὄντες Σύροι. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς λέγουσιν Ἕλλήνων ὅσοι Ἐπ' Ἀμαζόνων διέβησαν, Αὐτόλυκος τε καὶ Σὺν Δηλέωντι Φλόγεως [l. ex Plutarcho σὺν Δημόλεοντι Φλόγιος] ὄντες Θέτταλοι Ἐπεῖτα δ' Ἀμβρων τῷ γένει Μιλήσιος: Ὑπὸ Κιμμερίων οὗτος δ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι δοκεῖ. Μετὰ Κιμμερίους Κῶος πάλιν δὲ Κριτίνης, Οἱ γενόμενοι φυγάδες (ἐκ) τῶν Μιλησίων. Οὗτοι συνοικίζουσιν αὐτὴν ἡνίκα Ὁ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς κατέδραμε τὴν Ἀσίαν. The Cimmerians were now in Asia Minor. They first appeared there about a century before B.C. 776. An irruption is recorded in B.C. 782. Their last inroad was in B.C. 635: conf. a. 635. The settlement of <i>Ambron</i> may be placed at about B.C. 782, twenty-six years before the era assigned to Trapezus. It is probable that, although <i>Ambron</i> was slain, his settlement remained. The colony of <i>Coüs</i> and <i>Critines</i> we may</p>

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*Mimnermus* flourished: Suid. Μίμνερμος [l. Μίμνερμος] Λιγυρτιάδου Κολοφώνιος, ἢ Σμυρναῖος, ἢ Ἀ-  
 στυταλαιεύς, ἐλεγειοποιός. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς λζ' ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς προτερεύειν τῶν ζ' σοφῶν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτοῖς συγ-  
 χρονεῖν λέγουσιν. Both these accounts might be true. He might flourish in Ol. 37 and yet reach the  
 times of the ἑπτὰ σοφοί, a period of less than 45 years, B. C. 630—586. *Mimnermus* was mentioned  
 by *Hippocax*: Plutarch. Mus. p. 1134. A. καὶ ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος νόμος, καλούμενος Κραδίας, ὃν φησιν  
 Ἰππώναξ Μίμνερμον αὐλῆσαι.



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		<p>refer to the present date of Eusebius, six years after the Cimmerians had broken into Asia. The names of these settlers are preserved by Steph. Byz. <i>Σινώπη</i>—κτίσμα Μακρυτίου Κώου, ὡς φησι Φλέγων. Rightly restored by Raoul-Rochette tom. III. p. 330. from Scymnus, κτίσμα Κορίνου καὶ Κώου. By the corrupt text of Steph. Eustathius was misled ad Dionys. 772. as R. R. l. cit. also observes.</p> <p><i>Sadyattes</i> succeeds <i>Armys</i>: conf. a. 678.</p>
628.	Ol. 38. <i>Olyntheus Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. <i>Ol. 38. Additum est puerorum quintum: tunc autem in agone tantum exercebantur. Vicit Deutikidas Laco</i>. Δευτελίδας Scalig. p. 40. Pausan. V. 9, 1. πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κότινον Εὐτελίδα Λακεδαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἕλαιοις ἢ πεντάθλους εἰσέρχεσθαι παῖδας. Idem VI. 15, 4. Σπαρτιάτη δὲ Εὐτελίδῃ γεγόνασιν ἐν παισὶ νῖκαι δύο ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τριακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, πάλης, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πεντάθλου· πρῶτον γὰρ δὴ τότε οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὕστατον πενταθλήσαντες ἐσεκλήθησαν.</p> <p>Selinus founded by the people of Megara Hyblæa: Thucyd. VI. 4. ἔτισιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι [conf. a. 728], Πάμιλλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι· καὶ ἐκ Μεγάρων τῆς μητροπόλεως οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἐπελθὼν ξυγκατάκτισε. Placed 22 years too high by Diodorus: conf. a. 650.</p> <p>The Megarians send colonists to Byzantium: Lydus de Mag. Rom. III. 70. p. 280. τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦν καλοῦσι Ζεύξιππον ἀπὸ Ζευξίππου βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ὀγδόης ὀλυμπιάδος Μεγαρεῖς εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποικίσαντες πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὕτως ἐπωνόμασαν. As Byzantium was founded about 30 years before this date, and as the original colony was ascribed to <i>Byzas</i> (conf. a. 657), it seems probable that this expedition under <i>Zeuxippus</i> was a second colony. The Byzantine settlers subjected the natives, as the Spartans had the Helots: Athen. VI. p. 271. c. Φύλαρχος ἐν ἑκτῇ ἱστορίῳν καὶ Βυζαντίους φησὶν οὕτω Βιθυνῶν δεσπόσαι ὡς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν εἰλώτων.</p>
627.	38, 2.	<p>Lipara founded: Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1389 Ol. 38. 2. Lipara condita</i>. Placed by Hieronymus with Sinopë, <i>anno 1386</i>: conf. a. 629. Syncellus p. 213. C. confirms the Armenian copy, recording these notices in successive order:</p> <p><i>Σινώπη</i> ἐκτίσθη.  <i>Βάττος</i> Κυρήνην ἐπέκτισε.  <i>Κορινθίαν</i> Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐτυράνησεν.  <i>Λιπάρα</i> ἐκτίσθη.  <i>Ἐπίδαμνος</i>, ἡ νῦν καλουμένη <i>Δυβράχιον</i>, ἐκτίσθη.  <i>Προυσία</i> ἐκτίσθη.</p>
626.	38, 3.	<p>Euseb. Chron. <i>Anno 1390 Ol. 38. 3. Prusias condita</i>. In Hieronymus, <i>Anno 1388</i>. Syncellus differs from both: conf. c. 625.</p>
625.	38, 4.	<p>Epidamnus founded: Euseb. <i>Anno 1391 Ol. 38. 4. Epidamnus</i> [male <i>Epidaurus</i>] <i>quæ dicta est Dyrrhachium conditur</i>. Hieronymus, <i>Anno 1390</i>. Both the copies, however, place Epidamnus below <i>Prusias</i>. In Syncellus, Epidamnus is named the first: conf. a. 627.</p> <p><i>Periander</i> succeeds <i>Cypselus</i>: Laërt. I. 98. ἡκμαζε περί τὴν τριακοστὴν ὀγδόην ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἐτυράνησεν ἑτη τεσσαράκοντα. Suidas: <i>Περίαν-</i></p>

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*Aristoxenus of Selinus*, who is mentioned by *Epicharmus* as an early Iambic poet, is placed at B. C. 662 (conf. a.), thirty-four years before the foundation of Selinus. That he flourished before Selinus was founded may be admitted, if we understand him to have been born in another state (perhaps at Megara), to have been a colonist to Selinus, and afterwards (like *Epicharmus* himself) to have borne the appellation of the state in which he settled. But the date assigned to *Aristoxenus*, B. C. 662, is probably some years too high, and would be more likely to mark the time of his birth than the period of his ἀκμή.

*Arion* flourished in the reign of *Periander*: Herodot. I. 23. Περίανδρος ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς—ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὲ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δὲ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θάῤῥμα μέγιστον παραστήναι. Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἔοντα κιθαριζδὸν τῶν τότε ὄντων οὐδένης δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ. τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλώσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην· ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα, θελήσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι κ. τ. λ. Lu-



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>δρος Κυψέλλου Κορίνθιος, τῶν ζ' σοφῶν, γεγονὸς κατὰ τὴν λή' ὀλυμπιάδα. Aristot. Rep. V. 9, 22 = V. 12. ἡ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν—διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἕξ μῆνας· Κύψελος μὲν γὰρ ἐτυράννησεν ἔτη τριάκοντα, Περίανδρος δὲ τετταράκοντα [καὶ τέτταρα], Ψαμμήτιχος δ' ὁ Γορδίου τρία ἔτη. The amount of the whole period in Aristotle shews that καὶ τέτταρα are rightly expunged from the years of <i>Periander</i>, and that Aristotle assigned to this reign 40 years, agreeing with Laërtius. Eusebius gives 28 years to <i>Cypselus</i>: Arm. V. Anno 1358 Ol. 30. 3 [B. C. 658]. <i>Cypselus Corinthi tyrannus annis XXVIII</i>. Hieron. Anno 1357. Armen. M. Anno 1359 Ol. 30. 4. <i>Periander</i> succeeds (<i>Corinthis tyrannidem exercet Periander Cypseli</i>) in Hieronymus Anno 1389, but in both the Armenian versions anno 1387 Ol. 37. 4 [B. C. 629]. The respective dates correspond with the term of 28 years in the Milan copy, but not in the other two. Diodorus apud Euseb. p. 164. Syncellum p. 179. C. reckons 447 years between the return of the <i>Heraclidae</i> and the reign of <i>Cypselus</i>: τῆς καθόδου τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν ὕστερεϊ ἔτεσι μζ'. See above p. 129. m. And he placed the Return 328 years before Ol. 1. 1 July B. C. 776: Diod. I. 5. Hence we obtain 447—328 = 119 years below Ol. 1. 1, or Ol. 30. 4 commencing about July B. C. 657, for the first year of <i>Cypselus</i> according to Diodorus. But the termination of <i>Periander</i> in Ol. 48. 4 B. C. 585 (conf. a.) determines the commencement of <i>Cypselus</i>, 70 years before, to Ol. 31. 2 B. C. 655; two years below the date of Diodorus. <i>Cypselus</i> and <i>Periander</i> are both (from Eusebius) in Syncellus p. 213. Κύψελος—ἔτη κη'. —Κορινθίων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐτυράννησε.</p>
624.	Ol. 39. <i>Rhipsolcus Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146. <i>Ripsolavus</i> Armen. 'Ρίψολκος Scal. p. 40.	<p><i>Procles</i> tyrant of <i>Epidaurus</i> is contemporary with <i>Periander</i>, who married his daughter <i>Lysidē</i> or <i>Melissa</i>: Herodot. III. 50. Laërt. I. 94. After her death <i>Periander</i> made war upon <i>Procles</i>: ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα—καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδauρον εἶλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε Herodot. III. 52. <i>Procles</i> had married the daughter of <i>Aristocrates</i> of <i>Arcadia</i>: Laërt. I. 94. Λυσίδην—τὴν Προκλέους τοῦ Ἐπιδauρίου τυράννου καὶ Ἐρισθeneίας τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους παιδός, ἀδελφῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, θυγατέρα, οἱ σχέδον πάσης Ἀρκαδίας ἐπῆρξαν, ὥς φησιν Ἑρακλειδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀρχῆς. We may conjecture the age of <i>Procles</i> from the time of those with whom he was connected. In B. C. 625 his son-in-law <i>Periander</i> was 40 years of age (conf. a. 585), and his father-in-law <i>Aristocrates</i> had been dead 42 years: see above p. 92. v. The tyranny of <i>Procles</i> is asserted by Plutarch Pyth. Or. p. 403. C. D.</p>
623.	39, 2.	<p>Milesian war: Herodot. I. 17. 18. Ἀλυάττης—ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοις παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. —ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἑνδεκα.—τὰ μὲν νυν ἕξ ἔτεα τῶν ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἀρδύος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἤρχε, τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἱτιῶν τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσιν ἕξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττειω ἐπολέμεε. The 6th year coincided with the last year of <i>Sadyattes</i> B. C. 618; consequently the war began in B. C. 623, the 7th of <i>Sadyattes</i>.</p>
621.	39, 4.	

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cian. tom. II. p. 109. ὁ Περίανδρος ἔχαιρεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλάκις μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. ὁ δὲ πλουτήσας παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἐπεθύμησε πλεῦσας οἰκάδε ἐς τὴν Μήθυμναν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸν πλοῦτον. where (as Hemsterhus. ad loc. remarks) Lucian follows a different account from that of Herodotus. The narrative of Herodotus is repeated by Plutarch Sept. Sap. p. 161. Ovid Fast. II. 93—118. Dio tom. II. p. 101. Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου τὸν σοφὸν, ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρίων ἐγένετο, ὃς καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε καὶ ὠνόμασε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Suidas agrees with this date, placing *Arion* in Ol. 38, in which Olympiad *Periander* began to reign: Ἀρίων Μηθυμναῖος, λυρικός, Κυκλέως υἱός, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λη' Ὀλυμπιάδα. τινὲς δὲ καὶ μαθητὴν Ἀλκμᾶνος ἱστόρησαν αὐτόν. ἔγραψε δὲ ᾄσματα, προοίμια εἰς ἔπη β'. λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετὴς γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στῆσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. Eusebius places the incident of the dolphin at B. C. 610: conf. a. which is consistent with these accounts of the time of *Arion*. The date of Solinus is refuted by the time of *Periander*: conf. a. 664. *Arion* was later than *Terpander*: Proclus apud Phot. Cod. 239. p. 985. δοκεῖ Τέρπανδρος μὲν πρῶτος τελειῶσαι τὸν νόμον, ἡρώῳ μέτρῳ χρησάμενος· ἔπειτα Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος οὐκ ὀλίγα συναυξῆσαι, αὐτὸς καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ κιθαρωδὸς γενόμενος. The invention of the cyclian or dithyrambic chorus is ascribed to him by Hellanicus, by Aristotle, and Dicæarchus: Proclus Ibid. εὐρεθῆναι τὸν διθύραμβον Πίνδαρος ἐν Κορίνθῳ λέγει [Ol. XIII. 25]· τὸν δὲ ἀρχαίμενον τῆς ᾠδῆς Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀρίονά φησιν εἶναι· ὃς πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἤγαγε χορὸν. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403. Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Δικαίαρχος Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον (φασὶ τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς στῆσαι πρῶτον)· Δικαίαρχος μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων Ἑλλάνικος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κραναϊκοῖς. Hence Schol. Pindar. l. c. πρῶτος ἐν Κορίνθῳ διθύραμβος εἰσῆχθη, ὃς ἦν κύκλιος χορός· Ἀρίονος τοῦ Μηθυμναίου συστήσαντος αὐτόν. Idem Ibid. ἔστησε δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτος Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, εἴτα Λάσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεύς.

Legislation of *Draco*. Fixed to Ol. 39 by many testimonies: Tatian. p. 140. Δράκων δὲ περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην εὐρίσκεται γεγονώς. Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 309. B. Δράκων—περὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα γεγονώς εὐρίσκεται. Suid. Δράκων—γέγονε τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τοὺς ἑπτὰ σοφοὺς, ἢ μᾶλλον καὶ πρεσβύτερος. τῇ γοῦν λθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γηραιὸς ὢν. Placed at Ol. 40. 1 by Euseb. Chron. Armen. V. Anno 1396 Ol. 40. 1. *Draconem aiunt leges tulisse*. In Armen.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
620.	Ol. 40. <i>Olyntheus Laco</i> II. Euseb. p. 146.	<p>(The attempt of <i>Cylon</i> was in an Olympic year: Thucyd. I. 126. ὁ δὲ (Κύλων) παρὰ τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι [conf. a. 640].—οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεία ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ἢ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσι· τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἔπρασσον.—ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ἐπιέζοντο, καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν—ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεσχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. Pausanias VII. 25, 3. mentions the archons: αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς διέφθειραν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱκέτας τῶν Κύλωνι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατειληφόντων, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἀποκτείναντες ἐνομίσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐναγεῖς τῆς θεοῦ. One of them was <i>Megacles</i>: Plutarch. Sol. c. 12. ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάγοντες. Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 64. conjectures that the attempt of <i>Cylon</i> might occur in Ol. 42 B.C. 612, twenty-eight years after his Olympic victory. It was probably somewhat earlier than Ol. 42. This attempt according to Plutarch l. c. must have happened long before <i>Epimenides</i> came to Athens: τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες αἰεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἤδη εὗξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον—καὶ ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς λογομένους δίκην ὑποσχῆναι καὶ κριθῆναι.—εἰλῶσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες ἐξέβριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους. ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων, ἀπέβαλόν τε Νισαίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὐδύς.—οὕτω δὲ μετὰ πεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαίστιος. But <i>Epimenides</i> came before the legislation of <i>Solon</i>: conf. a. 596. We may therefore probably place the at-</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*M. Anno* 1395 *Ol.* 39. 4. In Hieronymus, *anno* 1393. Diodorus apud Ulpian. ad Demosth. Timocr. p. 480. ed. Par. names the interval between *Draco* and *Solon*: ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῶν τυράννων ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν χρόνων, ὁ δὲ Δράκων πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Διόδωρος. Tzetzes Chil. V. 350. μετὰ ἑπτὰ τοῦ Δράκοντος ἔτη δὲ νομογράφου γίνεται Σόλων Ἀττικοῖς δεύτερος νομογράφος. The legislation of *Solon* being in *Ol.* 46. 3 B. C. 594, 47 years would carry back *Draco* to *Ol.* 34. The number τεσσαράκοντα, then, is certainly wrong; but the number ἑπτὰ, being repeated by Tzetzes, is probably right. It appears from Tzetzes that the other number had escaped from the text of the author (perhaps Diodorus himself) whom he followed, which might lead those who found a deficiency to supply the erroneous number τεσσαράκοντα. But as *Draco* was in *Ol.* 39, the numbers might originally stand ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι; which would place *Draco* in *Ol.* 39. 4. precisely where he is placed by Eusebius: since the year 1396, commencing in autumn B. C. 621, included the greater part of that Olympic year. *Draco* is named by Syncellus p. 213. D. in this order:

Φάλαρις τυραννῶν κατελύθη.  
Δράκων κατὰ τινὰς ἐνομοθέτει.  
Ἀρίων ἐγνωρίζετο Μηθυμναῖος.

Agreeing with the order of these notices in Euseb. Armen. and in Hieronymus.

*Æsopus* the fabulist is named at *Ol.* 40 by Suidas Αἴσωπος.—τοῖς χρόνοις πρὸ Πυθαγόρου ὃς μεσοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἔγραψε τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ συμβάντα ἐν βιβλίοις β'. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 93. corrects the passage thus: ὃς μεσοῦσης τῆς μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔγραψε τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς κ. τ. λ. But *Æsop* flourished later, in *Ol.* 52: conf. a. 572. and the corrupt passage may be probably amended thus: τοῖς χρόνοις πρὸ Πυθαγόρου γεγονώς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἔγραψε κ. τ. λ. This would be consistent. Born in *Ol.* 40 cir. B. C. 619, flourished in *Ol.* 52, cir. B. C. 571. His death is placed at *Ol.* 54 B. C. 564, and might have occurred a little later: conf. a. 564.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
*		tempt of <i>Cylon</i> at an intermediate point, 20 years after his Olympic victory, and 24 years before the visit of <i>Epimenides</i> .)
617.	40, 4.	<i>Alyattes</i> succeeds <i>Sadyattes</i> : conf. a. 678. Seventh year of the Milesian war: conf. a. 623. In his reign the Cimmerians were finally expelled from Asia Minor: Herodot. I. 16. οὗτος—Κιμμερίους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε. They had captured Sardis about 18 years before the accession of <i>Alyattes</i> . From their first appearance in Asia Minor to their final expulsion were at least 260 years [cir. B. C. 876—616]: conf. a. 635. Eusebius places their first incursion in the reign of <i>Codrus</i> : anno 939 = B. C. 1078.
616.	Ol. 41. <i>Cleondas Thebanus</i> . Euseb. p. 146.	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146. Ol. 41. <i>Additus est puerorum pugilatus vicitque Philotas</i> (sic) <i>Sybaritanus</i>. Pausan. V. 8, 3. πρώτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάσι πύκτας ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιῖν τῶν ἐσελθόντων Συβαρίτης Φιλήτας.</p> <p><i>Neco</i> king of Egypt succeeds <i>Psammetichus</i>: Herodot. II. 157—161. Φαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πενήντην ἔτα [B. C. 670—617].—Φαμμήτιχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου.—μετὰ δὲ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας [B. C. 616—601], τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.—Ψάμμιος δὲ ἔξ ἔτα μούνον [B. C. 600—595] βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου, καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· ὃς μετὰ Φαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐαυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλῶν, ἐπ' ἔτα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας [B. C. 594—570]. Idem III. 10. Ἀμασιν οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης, ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἀμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτα [B. C. 569—526] ἀπέθανεν. The death of <i>Amasis</i> occurred six months before the conquest of Egypt: c. 14. Φαμμήνιτον βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ; which determines his death to the beginning of B. C. 525, and ascertains the dates of the preceding reigns: conf. a. 670. As all the years ascribed to these five reigns might not have been complete, we may place the accession of <i>Psammetichus</i> at the beginning of B. C. 669, and the accession of <i>Necos</i> at the close of B. C. 616.</p>
612.	Ol. 42. <i>Lycotus Laco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	<p>Peace with Miletus. Herodotus I. 19—22. relates the conclusion of the war, and the peace between <i>Alyattes</i> and <i>Thrasylbulus</i>: τῷ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει—ἧ τε διαλλαγῇ σφι ἐγένετο.—καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίου τε καὶ Θρασυβούλου πόλεμον Ἀλυάττη ὥδε ἔσχε. <i>Thrasylbulus</i>, at this time tyrant of Miletus, was the friend of <i>Periander</i>: Herodot. I. 20. Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἔοντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. conf. Aristot. Rep. V. 8, 7 = V. 10. This was the 14th year of <i>Periander</i>: conf. a. 625.</p> <p>Contemporary with <i>Periander</i> of Corinth was <i>Periander</i> of <i>Ambracia</i>: Laërt. I. 98. Σωτίων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Παμφίλη ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων δύο φασὶ Περιάνδρους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν τύραννον, τὸν δὲ σοφὸν καὶ Ἀμβρακιάστην [Ælian. V. H. XII. 35. δύο Πέριανδροι, ὁ μὲν σοφὸς ἦν ὁ δὲ τύραννος]. τοῦτο καὶ Νεάνθης φησὶν ὁ Κυζικηνός, ἀνεψιὸς τε εἶναι ἀλλήλοις. καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν τὸν Κορινθίου φησιν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, Πλάτων δὲ οὐ φησι [conf. Menag. ad I. 99]. Aristot. Rep. V. 3, 6 = V. 4. ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ Περιάνδρον συνεκβαλὼν τοῖς ἐπιθεμένοις ὁ δῆμος τὸν τύραννον εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιέστησε τὴν πολιτείαν. V. 8, 9 = V. 10. ἐπειβούλευσαν Περιάνδρῳ τῷ ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ τυράννῳ, κ. τ. λ. <i>Ambracia</i> had been planted in the reign of <i>Cypselus</i>: Strabo X. p. 452. Κορινθιοὶ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Κυψέλου καὶ Γαργά-</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>σου ταύτην τε κατέσχον τὴν ἀκτὴν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου προῆλθον· καὶ ἦ τε Ἀμβρακία συνελήσθη καὶ τὸ Ἀνακτόριον. Scymnus 454. — Ἀμβρακία Κορινθίων Ἀποικὸς ἐστίν· ὥκισεν δ' ὁ Κυψέλου Αὐτὴν πρότερον παῖς Γόργος— Strabo VII. p. 325. Ἀμβρακία Τόλγου τοῦ Κυψέλου κτίσμα. Antonin. Liber. c. 4. Τόργον δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Κυψέλου—λαὸν ἔποικον ἀγαγεῖν εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν ἐκ Κορίνθου. If Ambracia was planted by a younger brother of <i>Periander</i>, the colony could scarcely have been founded before B.C. 635, when <i>Periander</i> was 30 years of age. If a brother of <i>Cypselus</i> was the leader, it might have proceeded from Corinth earlier in the reign of <i>Cypselus</i>. The tyranny of <i>Periander</i> of <i>Ambracia</i> was probably not put down by the people till after the death of <i>Periander</i> of <i>Corinth</i> B.C. 585.</p>
611.	42, 2.	<p><i>Pittacus</i> overthrows the tyranny of <i>Melanchrus</i>: Laërt. I. 74. οὗτος μετὰ τῶν Ἀλκαίου γενομένου ἀδελφῶν Μέλαγχρον καθείλε τὸν τῆς Λέσβου τύραννον. This occurred in Ol. 42 according to Suidas: conf. a. 651. 3. Hence Laërt. I. 79. ἤκμαζε περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Cyrill. adv. Julian. p. 12. D. τεσσαρακοστῇ δευτέρᾳ Ὀλυμπιάδι Ἀλκμαίων καὶ Πιττακὸς ἐκ Μιτυλήνης οἱ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι Στησίχορος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐγνωρίζετο. Menag. ad Laërt. l. c. <i>Legendum</i> ὁ τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν, <i>et pro</i> Ἀλκμαίων Ἀλκαῖος. Although Ἀλκμαίων is often used for Ἀλκμάν, or rather is another form of the name (conf. Jacobs. Anthol. tom. X. p. 325. Harles. ad Fabric. tom. II. p. 89. Wernsdorf. ad Himer. p. 476. Welcker. ad Alcmān. p. 1. 2), yet the correction of Menagius is justified by Suidas v. Σαπφώ. κατὰ τὴν μβ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Πιττακός. In this place Ἀλκμαίων is an error for Ἀλκαῖος, as in Greg. Cor. p. 6. for Ἀλκαῖον one MS. has Ἀλκμαίωνα. The error, however, was probably older than the time of Cyril; and to this confusion of Ἀλκμαίων for Ἀλκαῖος may perhaps be traced the notice of Hieronymus in Euseb. Chron. Anno 1408 Ol. 42. 4=43. 1 Arm. <i>Alcman, ut quibusdam videtur, clarus habetur.</i> a notice which does not appear in the Armenian copy. The combat of <i>Pittacus</i> with <i>Phrynon</i> is assigned to Ol. 43, four or five years later than the overthrow of <i>Melanchrus</i>: conf. a. 606. <i>Pittacus</i> according to Suidas would be now about 40 years of age: conf. a. 651.</p>
610.	42, 3.	
609.	42, 4.	<p>Apollonia on the Euxine founded: Scymnus 730.</p> <p>— πόλις ἐστὶ σύνορος ἢ Ἀπολλωνία.  ταύτην δὲ πρότερον ἔτεσι πενήκοντά σου  κτίζουσι τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας τὴν πόλιν  εἰς ταύς τόπους ἐλθόντες οἱ Μιλήσιοι.  πλαίστας ἀποικίας γὰρ ἐξ Ἰουίας  ἔστειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν—</p> <p>Fifty years before B.C. 559: F. H. II. p. 2. Strabo VII. p. 319.</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Sappho*, *Alcaeus*, and *Stesichorus* flourished Ol. 42 : see col. 2. and F. H. II. p. 5. *Stesichorus* is named by Eusebius at B. C. 608 : Anno 1408 Ol. 43. 1. *Stesichorus poëta cognoscebatur*. In Hieronymus, Anno 1405, which expresses the present year. The date of Eusebius, Ol. 43, better agrees with the age of *Stesichorus*, if he was born in Ol. 37. *Alcaeus* is fixed to this period by the time of *Pittacus*. For *Sappho* conf. a. 595. *Sappho*, *Alcaeus*, and his brother *Antimenides*, are mentioned by Strabo XIII. p. 617. ἄνδρας δ' ἔσχεν (ἡ Μιτυλήνη) ἐνδόξους τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν Πιττακὸν, ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀλκαῖον, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντιμενίδα, ὃν φησιν Ἀλκαῖος Βαβυλωνίους συμμαχοῦντα τελέσαι μέγαν ἄθλον καὶ ἐκ πόνων αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι, κτείναντα ἄνδρα μαχάταν, ὥς φησι, βασιλῆων παλαιστὰν, ἀπολιπόντα μόνον ἄνιαν τ' ἀχέων ἀποπέμπαν. συνήκμασε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἡ Σαπφώ, θαυμαστόν τι χρεῖμα· οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν ἐν τῷ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ τῷ μνημονευμένῳ φανεῖσάν τινα γυναῖκα ἐνάμιλλον, οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν, ἐκείνη ποιήσεως χάριν. Hieronymus also names *Alcman* at Ol. 42 : see col. 2. But as *Alcman* flourished in the reign of *Ardys*, was older than *Stesichorus*, and accounted the preceptor of *Arion* (conf. a. 657), that notice appears to arise from error.

*Anaximander* born, sixty-three years before Ol. 58. 2 : see F. H. II. p. 7. Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 89.

*Arion* flourished : Euseb. Chron. Anno 1406 Ol. 42, 3. *Arion Methymnæus cognoscebatur, qui ad Tænarum a delphino delatus evasit incolumis*. Placed by Hieronymus 8 years higher, anno 1398. *Arion* is named by Syncellus : conf. a. 621. The escape of *Arion* from pirates, in a voyage to Corinth or to Methymnë, seems to have been a real transaction poetically ornamented with the incident of the dolphin.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>also ascribes this colony to the Milesians: 'Απολλωνία—ἄποικος Μιλησίων. And Ælian V. H. III. 17. καὶ 'Αναξίμανδρος δὲ ἡγήσατο τῆς εἰς 'Απολλωνίαν ἐκ Μιλήτου ἀποικίας. although this account that <i>Anaximander</i> led the colony is inconsistent with the time of its foundation. According to Steph. Byz. the Milesians were joined by adventurers from Rhodes: 'Απολλωνία—ἐν νήσῳ πρὸς τῇ Σαλμυδησσῷ, ἀποικία Μιλησίων καὶ 'Ροδίων.</p> <p><i>Josiah</i> king of Judah slain at Megiddo: 2 Kings XXIII. 29. Herodot. II. 159. Σύροισι περὶ ὃ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἴλε. This event, which is determined by Scripture to about May B. C. 609, would fall within the 7th year of <i>Neco</i>: conf. a. 616.</p>
608.	Ol. 43. <i>Cleon Epidaurius</i> . Euseb. p. 146.	<p><i>Panæti</i> becomes tyrant of Leontium: Euseb. Armen. V. Anno 1408 Ol. 43. 1. <i>Panæti</i> <i>primus</i> in Sicilia arripuit tyrannidem. Placed by Hieronymus five years higher, anno 1403; by Armen. M. anno 1407 Ol. 42. 4. Aristot. Rep. V. 10, 4 = V. 12. εἰς τυραννίδα μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐν Λεοντίνῳ εἰς τὴν Παναιτίου τυραννίδα, καὶ ἐν Γέλα εἰς τὴν Κλεάνδρου [B. C. 505], καὶ ἐν 'Ρηγίῳ εἰς τὴν 'Αναξιλάου [B. C. 494]. Idem V. 8, 4. Παναίτιος ἐν Λεοντίνῳ, καὶ Κύψελος ἐν Κορίνθῳ [B. C. 655], καὶ Πεισίστρατος 'Αθήνῃσι [B. C. 560], καὶ Διονύσιος ἐν Συρακούσαις [B. C. 406], ἐκ δημαγωγίας. From the order of these passages it would seem that <i>Panæti</i> had preceded <i>Cypselus</i>. If the date of the Armenian copy is the true date, <i>Panæti</i> became master of Leontium in the 123rd year of the city.</p> <p>Twenty-seventh year of the Scythian occupation of Asia: conf. a. 634.</p>
607.	43, 2.	<p>Last year of the Scythian dominion in Asia. They held Asia 28 years, and were expelled by <i>Cyaxares</i> before the capture of Nineveh: Herodot. I. 106. ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἤρχον τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι—καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῖνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι—κατεφόνευσαν. καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον εἴλον—καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης.</p>
606.	43, 3.	<p>Nineveh is captured by <i>Cyaxares</i> and the Babylonians. Nineveh was destroyed after the death of king <i>Josiah</i>: 2 Kings XXIII. 29. more than 100 years after the death of <i>Sennacherib</i>: Tobit. I. 21. II. 10. XIV. 2—11. and after the 28th year of <i>Cyaxares</i> was completed: Herodot. I. 106. These characters of time fix the event to B. C. 606. See Appendix, Assyrian Empire. Eusebius records two dates: Anno 1397 Ol. 40. 2 (Anno 1398 Hieron.). <i>Cyaxares Assyriis bellum intulit obsessamque Ninevam cepit</i>. Again, Anno 1408 Ol. 43. 1 (Hieron. Anno 1409). <i>Cyaxares Medus Ninum occidit</i>. An error of the Armenian translator for <i>subvertit</i> or <i>cepit Ninum</i>. The latter date of the two is not far from the truth.</p> <p>Combat of <i>Pittacus</i> and <i>Phrynon</i>: Euseb. Anno 1410 Ol. 43. 3. <i>Pittacus Mitylenæus unus e sapientibus septem Phrynonem Atheniensem Olympionicam singulari certamine interfecit</i>. Strabo XIII. p. 600. τὸ Σίγειον κατέσχον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι Φρύωνα τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην πέμψαντες, Λεσβίων ἐπιδικαζομένων σχεδὸν τι τῆς πάσης Τρωάδος· ὧν δὲ καὶ κτίσματά εἰσιν αἱ πλείους τῶν κατοικιῶν.—Πιττακὸς δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖος, εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν λε-</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Alcaeus* is mentioned in the war of the Athenians and Mytilenæans: Herodot. V. 94. 95. ἐπολέμεον ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλήϊου πόλιος ὁρμεώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου χρόνον ἐπὶ συχὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι—πολεμεόντων δὲ σφῶν, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγίγνετο ἐν τῇσι μάχῃσι· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής, συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικούντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ σφῶα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐτάρῳ. Μυτιληναῖους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο κατήλλαξε δὲ ἄδε· νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι. Strabo XIII. p. 600. Ἀλκαῖος φησὶν ὁ ποιητής ἐν τινι ἀγῶνι κακῶς φερόμενον ἑαυτὸν τὰ ὅπλα ρίψαντα φυγεῖν· λέγει δὲ πρὸς τινὰ κήρυκα, κελεύσας ἀγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ, “Ἀλκαῖος σῶος· ἄροι ἐνθα δ’ οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀληκτορὶν [Ἄρει· ἔντεα δ’ οὐκ αὐτοῦ· “τὰν ἀλέκτοριν Blomfield.] ἐς Γλαυκαποῦ ἱερὸν ἐκρέμασαν Ἀττικοί.” On this corrupt passage conf. Tzutck. ad Strab. tom. V. p. 341. Blomfield. *Fragm. Alcæi Mus. Crit.* tom. I. p. 138. According to Timæus *Periander* participated in this war: Strabo *Ibid.* Τίμαιον δὲ ψεύσασθαι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος, ἰστοροῦντα ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου Περίανδρον περιτειχίσαι τὸ Ἀχίλλειον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, βοηθοῦντα τοῖς περὶ Πιπτακόν· ἐπιτειχισθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Μιτυληναίων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῷ Σιγείῳ, οὐ μὴν ἐκ λίθων τοιούτων, οὐδ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ Περίανδρου. πῶς γὰρ ἂν αἰρεθῆναι διαιτητὴν τὸν προσπολεμοῦντα; But as the war lasted some time—συχὸν χρόνον—*Periander* might perhaps at one time have been a party and afterwards a mediator.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>γομένων, πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Φρύωνα στρατηγὸν διεπολέμει τῶς διατιθεῖς καὶ πάσχα κακῶς—ὕστερον δ' ἐκ μονομαχίας προσκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Φρύωνος, ἀλειτουργικὴν ἀναλαβὼν σκευὴν συνέδραμε—καὶ ἀνείλε [conf. Polyæn. I. 25. Plutarch. Mor. p. 858. A. B. Suid. Πιττακός. Fest. v. <i>Retiario</i>]. μένοντος δ' ἐτι τοῦ πολέμου, Περίανδρος δαιτητὴς αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ ἄμφοιν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον. Laërt. I. 74. περὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλεΐτιδος χώρας μαχομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων, ἐστρατήγει μὲν αὐτὸς [Pittacus] Ἀθηναίων δὲ Φρύων παγκρατιαστὴς ολυμπιονίκης. συνέθετο δὲ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν.—καὶ κτείνας ἀνεσώσατο τὸ χωρίον. ὕστερον μὲν τοί φησιν Ἀπολλόδαμος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς διαδικασθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Μιτυληναίους, ἀκούοντος τῆς δίκης Περίανδρου, ὃν καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσκρῖναι. τότε δ' οὖν τὸν Πιττακὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ. Herodotus V. 94. mentions this war and the mediation of <i>Periander</i>: see col. 3. The opinion of Laërtius that the combat was immediately followed by the election of <i>Pittacus</i> to the government is inconsistent with the time of <i>Phrynon</i>. His Olympic victory was in B. C. 636; the government of <i>Pittacus</i> in B. C. 589: an interval of more than 46 years. Isidorus Pelusiota V. 6. quoted by Menag. ad Laërt. still more confounds the time. But the date of Eusebius, 30 years after the Olympic victory of <i>Phrynon</i> and 16 before the government of <i>Pittacus</i>, is probable and consistent; nor is the tyranny mentioned by Plutarch p. 858. B. among the recompenses assigned to him for his success: τῶν δὲ Μιτυληναίων δωρεὰς αὐτῷ μεγάλας δίδόντων, ἀκοντίσας τὸ δόρυ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ χωρίον ἤξιωσεν ὅσον ἐπέσχευεν ἡ αἰχμή· καὶ καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Πιττάκιον. And his election to the supreme power was for a particular purpose and in another state of things: conf. a. 589.</p>
604.	Ol. 44. <i>Gelon Laco</i> . Euseb. p. 146.	
600.	Ol. 45. <i>Anticrates Epidaurius</i> . Euseb. p. 146.	<p><i>Psammis</i> succeeds <i>Neco</i>: conf. a. 616.  <i>Massilia</i> founded 120 years before the battle of <i>Salamis</i>: <i>Scymnus</i> 209.  —Μασσαλία δ' ἐστ' ἐχομένη,  πόλις μεγίστη, Φωκαῶν ἀποικία.  ἐν τῇ Λιγυστικῇ δὲ ταύτην ἔκτισαν  πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένης  ἔτεσι πρότερον, ὥς φασιν, ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.  Τίμαιος οὕτως ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὴν κτίσιν.</p> <p>From the beginning of Ol. 75. 1, the autumn of B.C. 480, 120 years will carry back the era of <i>Massilia</i> to Ol. 45. 1 the autumn of B.C. 600. Placed by Hieronymus nearly at the true date: <i>Anno</i> 1418 Ol. 45. 2=3 Armen. <i>Massilia condita</i>. In the Armenian copy <i>Anno</i> 1423 Ol. 46. 4, seven years too low. Cassiodorus places the foundation in the reign of <i>Priscus</i>: <i>Tarquinius Priscus regnavit annis</i> 37 [B. C. 616—579]. <i>Hujus temporibus Massilia condita est</i>. Solinus 2, 52. names Ol. 45: <i>Phocenses quondam fugati Persarum adventu Massiliam urbem Olympiade quadragesima quinta condiderunt</i>. Solinus has confounded two distinct settlements: Harpocr. Μασσαλία. Ἰσοκράτης μὲν φησιν ἐν Ἀρχιδάμῳ [p. 133. c] ὡς Φωκαεῖς φεύγοντες τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἡσποτοῖαν—εἰς Μασσαλίαν ἀπώκησαν. ὅτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἤδη ὑπὸ Φωκαίων ὤκιστο ἡ Μασσαλία καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν</p>

3. Poets, &c.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>πολιτεία δηλοῖ. Thucydides I. 13. refers to the original colony: Φωκαῖες Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων ναυμαχία. And Herodotus I. 163. marks their early colonies in the west: οἱ Φωκαῖες ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες. He also marks the period of their second migration I. 162. 165—167. after the conquest of Lydia by Cyrus B. C. 546: conf. a. 564. On the confusion of <i>Phocenses</i> and <i>Phocaenses</i> see Scalig. ad Euseb. p. 87. An occurrence at the original foundation of Massilia is related by Aristotle ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν πολιτείᾳ apud Athen. XIII. p. 576. a. and more fully and with some variation by Justin XLIII. 3. According to Justin, the leaders of the colony were <i>Simus</i> and <i>Protis</i>; according to Aristotle, <i>Euxenus</i> was one of the leaders, and <i>Protus</i> was son of <i>Euxenus</i>: καὶ ἔστι γένος ἐν Μασσαλία—μέχρι νῦν Πρωτιάδαι καλούμενον· Πρῶτος γὰρ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Εὐξένου. <i>Protus</i> is made the founder by Plutarch Solon. c. 2.</p>
599.	45, 2.	<p>Camarina founded 135 years after Syracuse: Thucyd. VI. 5. Καμάρινα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ὤκισθη ἔτεσιν ἐγγύτατα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν· οἰκισταὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτῇς Δάσκων καὶ Μενέκαλος. Placed by Hieronymus at this year: <i>Anno</i> 1417 <i>Ol.</i> 45. 1=2 Armen. <i>Perinthus condita. Camarina condita.</i> One year lower in the Armenian, which omits Perinthus: <i>Anno</i> 1418 <i>Ol.</i> 45. 3. <i>Camarina urbs condita.</i> The scholiast on Pindar agrees in the era of Camarina: F. H. II. p. 266. Syncellus p. 238. D. names both Camarina and Perinthus: conf. a. 588. 3.</p> <p>Camarina was destroyed 46 years after its foundation: Scymnus 294.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Συρακόσιοι δὲ τὴν Καμάριναν λεγομένην αὐτοὶ δὲ ταύτην ἦραν ἐκ βάθρων πάλιν πρὸς ἑξ ἔτη καὶ τετταράκοντ' ὤκισμένην.</p> <p>It was accordingly destroyed in B. C. 553 <i>Ol.</i> 56. 4. Confirmed by Schol. Pindar. <i>Ol.</i> V. 16. ἐπικρατησάντων τῶν Συρακουσίων πορβεῖται τῇ νῦν Ὀλυμπιάδι· εἴτα ἐν τῇ πέ' Ὀλυμπιάδι—ἀνακτίζεται. It was first restored by <i>Hippocrates</i> and then by <i>Gelon</i>: Thucyd. VI. 5. ἀναστάτων Καμαριναίων γενομένων πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων δι' ἀπόστασιν, χρόνῳ Ἱπποκράτης ὕστερον Γέλως τύραννος [cir. <i>Ol.</i> 71]—κατῴκισε Καμάριναν [conf. Herodot. VII. 154]. καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη τὸ τρίτον κατῴκισθη ὑπὸ Γέλωνος. <i>Gelon</i> died in <i>Ol.</i> 75. 3: F. H. II. p. 30. If therefore the account of Thucydides is accurate, we must correct the numbers in the Scholiast, and for πέ' substitute σέ'. Diodorus ascribes the restoration of Camarina to the Geloans <i>Ol.</i> 79. 4 B. C. 461: XI. 76. But Thucydides is confirmed by Timæus apud Schol. Pindar. <i>Ol.</i> V. 19. who names <i>Gelon</i>.</p>
597.	45, 4.	<p>[Cyrenë founded according to Solinus 27, 44. <i>Cyrenas Battus Lacedæmonius Olympiade quinta et quadragesima, rege Marcio res Romanas tenente, anno post Trojum captum quingentesimo octogesimo sexto condidit.</i> B. C. 1183—586=B. C. 597=<i>Ol.</i> 45. 3. But this date is refuted by Theophrastus, who places the foundation before B. C. 611, and by the Scholiast, who assigns 200 years to the dynasty. But these would end according to Solinus at B. C. 397, 69 years after the Pythian victory of the last <i>Arceilaüs</i>: conf. a. 631. Moreover the second</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.



B. C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<i>Battus</i> was contemporary with <i>Apries</i> : conf. a. 591. But he began to reign in the 57th year of the era, and <i>Solinus</i> would place him at B. C. 541, 28 years after the death of <i>Apries</i> .]
596.	Ol. 46. <i>Chrysomachus Iaco</i> . Euseb. Chron. I. p. 146.	Africanus apud Euseb. p. 146 Ol. 46. <i>Polymestor Milesius puerorum stadium. Hic in pascuis degens lepores cursu adsequebatur.</i>
595.	46, 2.	<p>Birth of <i>Cræsus</i>: F. H. II. p. 6.</p> <p>The Cirrhæan or sacred war lasted ten years according to Callisthenes, and in the tenth year Cirrha was taken: F. H. II. p. 195. 196. The Scholiasts on Pindar give the following particulars: Proleg. Pyth. Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς—περιεγένετο αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν Σιμωνίδου Δελφοῖς δὲ Γυλίδᾳ· οἱ μὲν οὖν Κιρραῖοι εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην τῷ Παρνασσῷ Κίρριν, ὅρος οὕτω καλούμενον, ἀπέφυγον, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ περιλειφθέντες ἐτύγχανον. καταλιπὼν δὲ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐνίους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν μετὰ Ἰππίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπολοίπους χειρώσασθαι, ἄρχετο ἀνακτησόμενος τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ δὴ τοῦτον χρηματίτην μόνον ἔθετο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἐξαετῇ καταγωνισαμένων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰππίου τοὺς ὑπολειμμένους τῶν Κιρραίων, ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Δαμασίου ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Διοδώρου, ὕστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθεντο κατορθώσαντες.</p> <p>Alius: τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς σὺν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι τοὺς Κιρραίους καταπολεμήσας—ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς μὲν Γυλίδᾳ Ἀθήνησι δὲ Σίμωνος. καὶ νικήσας ἔθετο χρηματίτην ἀγῶνα—ἔθετο δὲ ἀγῶνα κιθαρωδικόν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσέθηκε δὲ αὐλήτην καὶ αὐλῳδόν. καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀμφικτυῶν στρατεύματος ἀναχωρήσαντος ὀλίγοι περιελίφθησαν, ὥστε τὴν Κίρριν διαπυρρῆσαι· ἤγειτο δὲ τῶν περιλειφθέντων Ἰππίας ὁ Θεσσαλός· καὶ ἔτει ἕκτῳ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Κίρρας ἄλῃσιν ἀνεκέρυξαν τῷ θεῷ τὸν στεφανίτην ἐπὶ Διοδώρου μὲν ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς Ἀθήνησι δὲ Δαμάσιδος. ἀντίκειται δὲ ἐκ μεσημβρίας τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Παρνασοῦ Κιρραῖον πεδῖον καὶ ὅρος ὁ Κίρριν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ μέσος ὁ Πλεῖστος ὀνομαζόμενος ρέγεται ποταμός. If the tenth year in the account of Cal-</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Epimenides* came to Athens, according to Suidas, Ol. 44: 'Επιμενίδης—οὗτος ἐκάθηρε τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῦ Κυλωνίου ἄγους κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα. According to Laërtius I. 110. in Ol. 46: 'Αθηναίοις λοιμῶν κατ-ερχομένοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ πεμπουσὶ ναῦν τε καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου εἰς Κεῖτην κα-λοῦντες τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν Ὀλυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔκτῃ ἐκάθηρεν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν. According to Marianus Scotus apud Corsin. F. A. tom. III. p. 72. in Ol. 43. 4. These dates would place his coming between B. C. 605 and 596. *Epimenides* was at Athens before the legislation of *Solon*: Plutarch. *Solon*. c. 12. ἐλθὼν καὶ τῷ Σόλῳ χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσυπειργάσατο καὶ προωδοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐστατεῖς ἐποίησε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις, κ. τ. λ. Whence the dates of Eusebius are erroneous. The Armenian copy, however, rightly preserves the relative order of the two facts: Armen. V. Anno 1423 Ol. 46. 4. *Epimenides Athenas destruxit*. Anno 1425 Ol. 47. 2. *Solon leges ferebat*. A metachronism of three years in the legislation, and consequently of at least three years in *Epimenides*. Hieronymus places the legislation at the right date, but *Epimenides* three years below it: Anno 1422 *Solon—sua jura constituit*. Anno 1425 *Epimenides Athenas emundavit*. The order of the Armenian copy, when the dates are rectified, will confirm the date of Laërtius. The true era of *Solon* being at Ol. 46. 3 anno 1422, we may fix *Epimenides* to Ol. 46. 1 anno 1420. which will consist with the account of Plutarch. If *Epimenides* was born about B. C. 659, where Suidas places him, and was γηραιὸς when he visited Athens, the present year, when he would be 63 years of age, would better agree with that account than the earlier dates which make him 54 or 55. The visit of *Epimenides* is acknowledged by Cicero Leg. II. 11.

*Chilon* flourished before the birth of *Pisistratus*: Herodot. I. 59. Ἴπποκράτῃ ἔοντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεω-ρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα—Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν συνεβούλευεν Ἴπποκράτῃ κ. τ. λ.—οὕκων ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλιν τὸν Ἴπποκράτῃ· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρα-τον. We may perhaps refer this to Ol. 46, 69 years before the death of *Pisistratus*, and 40 years before *Chilon* was ephor at Sparta (F. H. II. p. 3); which would suppose *Pisistratus* to have lived about 68 years.

*Sappho* and *Alcæus* are placed here by Eusebius: Anno 1421 Ol. 46. 2. *Sappho atque Alcæus poëta cognoscebantur*. In Hieronymus, Anno 1413, eight years above the present date. *Sappho* according to other testimonies flourished B. C. 611—592, a period including both the dates of the two copies of Eusebius. Contemporary with *Sappho* was *Damophylæ*: Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. I. 30. ὅ τι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί; ἡ δὲ Σαπφοῖ τε ὀμιλῆσαι λέγεται, καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους οὓς εἰς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι ξυνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον.—καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη· καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὀμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά τὰ δὲ ὕμνους. And *Erinna*: Eustath. ad Iliad. β'. p. 327. Ἥρινα Λεσβία μὲν ἦν, ἡ Ῥοδία, ἡ Τεία, ἡ Τηλία ἐκ Τήλου νησιδίου ἐγγίζοντος τῇ Κνίδι. ποιήτρια δὲ ἦν, καὶ ἔγραψε ποίημα ἡλακάτην Αἰολίδι γλώσσῃ καὶ Δωρίδι ἐν ἑπεί τριακοσίοις. ἦν δὲ ἑταῖρα Σαπφοῦς, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε παρθένος. οἱ δὲ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἐνάμιλλοι τοῖς Ὀμήρου. ἀπῆλθε δὲ ἑνεακαιδεκέτης. To the same effect Suidas v. Ἥρινα. Eustathius adds: δῆλωσις δὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο.

Λέσβιον Ἥρινης τὸδε κηρίον ἀδύ τι, μικρόν,  
ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐκ μουσέων κινάμενον μέλιτι.  
οἱ δὲ τριηκόσιοι ταύτης στίχοι ἴσοι Ὀμήρῳ,  
τῆς καὶ παρθενικῆς ἑνεακαιδεκέτους.  
ἡ καὶ ἐπ' ἡλακάτῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ ἡ καὶ ἐφ' ἰσθμῷ  
ἐστίκει μουσέων λάτρει ἐφαπτομένη.  
Σαπφῶ δ' Ἥρινης ὅσων μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,  
Ἥρινα Σαπφοῦς τόσων ἐν ἐξαμέτροις.

Conf. Asclepiad. Ep. 35. Anthol. tom. I. p. 152. Leon. Tar. Ep. 81. tom. I. p. 175. Antip. Sidon. Ep. 47. tom. II. p. 19. A later *Erinna* flourished in B. C. 354: Euseb. Chron. Anno 1662 Ol.



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		listhenes terminated at the first success of <i>Eurylochus</i> in B. C. 591, the war began in B. C. 600. But as the war was continued for five years longer, during which operations were carried on by <i>Hippias</i> , it is probable that the period of Callisthenes included these, and extended to the termination of the war in the archonship of <i>Damasias</i> B. C. 586; which would place the beginning at B. C. 595. In this war <i>Clisthenes</i> commanded the forces of Sicyon and <i>Alcæon</i> the Athenians: F. H. II. p. 196. <i>Philombrotus</i> Athenian archon: F. H. II. p. 298.
594.	46, 3.	<i>Solon</i> Athenian archon: F. H. II. p. 298.
593.	46, 4.	<i>Dropides</i> archon at Athens: F. H. II. p. 298.
592.	Ol. 47. <i>Eurycles</i> Laco. Euseb. p. 147.	(Odessus was founded by the Milesians within the reign of <i>Astyages</i> [B. C. 594—560]: Scymnus fragm. 1. — 'Οδησσὸν οἱ Μιλήσιοι Κτίζουσιν 'Αστυάγης δ' ἤρξε Μηδίας. It is ascribed to Miletus by Strabo VII. p. 319. 'Οδησσὸς Μιλησίων ἄποικος.)
591.	47, 2.	Cirrho taken by the Amphietyons under <i>Eurylochus</i> in the archonship of <i>Simonides</i> or <i>Simon</i> : conf. ann. 595. 586. <i>Battus I.</i> is succeeded by <i>Arcesilaüs I.</i> Herodot. IV. 159. ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττεώ τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζῆς, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα [B. C. 631—592: conf. a. 631], καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ 'Αρκεσίλειω ἄρξαντος ἑκατάδεκα ἔτεα [B. C. 591—576], οἶκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔοντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττεω τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἑλλήνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλείην συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην.—συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλήν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες—πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς 'Απρίη τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. <i>Battus II.</i> began to reign B. C. 575, in the 6th or 7th year before the death of <i>Apries</i> .
589.	47, 4.	<i>Pittacus</i> governs Mytilenë for ten years: conf. a. 569. 3. His government is described by Aristotle Rep. III. 9, 5=III. 14. ἕτερον δὲ (εἶδος μοναρχίας), ὅπερ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν αἰσυμνήτας. ἔστι δὲ τοῦδ' ὡς ἀπλῶς εἶπεν αἰρετὴ τυραννίς.—ἤρχον δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν ὠρισμένων χρόνων ἢ πράξεων, ὅον εἴλοντο ποτε Μυτιληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν προεστήκεισαν Ἀντιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' Ἀλκαῖος ὅτι τύραννον εἴλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν· ἐπιτιμᾷ γὰρ ὅτι “ τὸν κακοπάτριδα Πιττακὸν πόλεως τᾶς “ ἀχόλῳ καὶ βαρυθαίμονος ἐστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες [ἐπαινεύντες “ <i>Gaisf.</i> ] ἀολλέες.” Conf. Dionys. Ant. V. p. 1023. Strabo XIII. p. 617. ἐτυραννήθη ἡ πόλις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους ὑπὸ πλειόνων διὰ τὰς διχοστασίας· καὶ τὰ στασιωτικὰ καλούμενα τοῦ Ἀλκαίου ποιήματα περὶ τούτων ἔστιν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τυράννοις καὶ ὁ Πιττακὸς ἐγένετο. Ἀλκαῖος μὲν οὖν ὁμοίως ἐλοιδόρειτο καὶ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, Μυρσίλῳ καὶ Μεγαλαγύρῳ καὶ τοῖς Κλεαυανκτίδαις, καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν, οὐδ' αὐτὸς καθαρεύων τῶν τοιούτων νεωτερισμῶν. Πιττακὸς δ' εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν δυναστειῶν κατάλυσιν ἐχρήσατο τῇ μοναρχίᾳ καὶ αὐτός· καταλύσας δὲ ἀπέδωκε τὴν αὐτονομίαν τῇ πόλει. Two passages of

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106. 3. *Erinna femina poëtria cognoscebatur*. In Hieron. two years lower: Anno 1664. Who celebrated *Myron*: Plin. H. N. XXXIV. 8. *Myronem* — *fecisse et cicada monumentum ac locusta carminibus suis Erinna significat*. And *Myron* flourished after Ol. 87: Plin. Ibid. Perhaps this later *Erinna* was of Tenos: Steph. Byz. Τήνος. πόλις Λακωνική—ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἡρίννα Τηνία ποιήτρια. According to Pliny the later *Erinna* was the author of many poems: *carmina*—which agrees with the preceding authorities that the author of the ἡλακάτη, who lived only 19 years, was the *Erinna* of *Suppho*.

Legislation of *Solon*: F. H. II. p. 298. For the date of Eusebius conf. a. 596. The legislation is at the right date in Hieronymus. In the Armenian, three years too low.

*Anacharsis* comes to Athens in Ol. 47: Laërt. I. 101: 'Ανάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης Γνούρου μὲν ἦν υἱὸς ἀδελφὸς δὲ Καδοῦδα τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως, μητρὸς δὲ Ἑλληνίδος—λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Σωσικράτης ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἐβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐκράτους. Ἑρμιππος δὲ πρὸς τὴν Σόλωνος οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενον τῶν θεραπόντων τινὶ κελεῦσαι μνηῦσαι ὅτι παρεῖη Ἀνάχαρσις. Ol. 47. 2 is occupied by another archon: conf. a. 591. *Eucrates* might belong to Ol. 47. 1 or 47. 3. If to the present year, then *Critias I.* in Mar. Par. No. 37. must have occurred before B. C. 595. See F. H. II. p. 3.

Eusebius Arm. V. Anno 1427 Ol. 47. 4. *His temporibus certantibus in agone dabatur tragos (qui est hircus) unde aiunt tragædos nuncupari*. In Armen. M. Anno 1428 Ol. 48. 1. In Hieron. Anno 1426. Syncellus p. 238. D. has the following notices:

Καμάρινα πόλις ἐκτίσθη.

Πέρινθος ἐκτίσθη.

ἡ τῶν Κορινθίων κατελύθη μοναρχία κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους.

τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις παρ' Ἑλλήσι τράγος ἐδίδοτο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τραγικοὶ ἐκλήθησαν.

In the versions of Eusebius the order of the two last particulars is reversed, and in the Armenian *Perinthus* is omitted: conf. a. 599. 2.

*Alcæus* the poet is in exile, and opposed to the government of *Pittacus*: see col. 2. The expressions of *Alcæus* quoted by Aristotle are also noticed by Plutarch Amat. p. 763. E. νομοθετῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀθρόαι φωναί, “ μέγ' ἐπαινεόντες,” ὥσπερ ἔφη τὸν Πιττακὸν Ἀλκαῖος αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς Μιτυληναίους τύραννον. Xylander, not adverting to the passage of Aristotle, reads οὐχ ὥσπερ. whence perhaps Menagius ad Laërt. I. 75. misrepresents the meaning of Plutarch: *Alcæus apud Plutarchum in Amatorio negat Mitylenæos Pittaco tyrannidem ultro detulisse*.



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		<p><i>Alcaeus</i> against <i>Myrsilus</i> are preserved by Heraclides Alleg. Hom. p. 13—15. and another by Athenæus X. p. 430. c. νῦν χρή μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πρὸς βίαν Πίνειν, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μυρσίλος. <i>Melanchrus</i> is mentioned apud Hephæst. p. 80.</p>
588.	<p>Ol. 48. <i>Glycon Crotoniates</i>. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 147. <i>Glaucias</i> Pausan. X. 7, 3.</p>	<p>Africanus apud Euseb. p. 147. Ol. 48. <i>Pythagoras Samius despectus in puerorum pugilatu, et tanquam femina traductus, mox procedens viros omnes egregie superavit</i>. προβάς εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἅπαντας ἐξῆς ἐνίκησε Scalig. p. 40. Laërt. VIII. 47. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι—τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πукτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τετταρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος—ἐκριβῆναι τε ἐκ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ χλευασθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ νικῆσαι. Placed by Syncellus p. 239. B. three Olympiads too low: Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος ὀλυμπίασιν ἐκκριθεὶς παιδῶν πυγμὴν ὡς ἀπαλὸς προσβάς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐνίκα κατὰ τὴν νᾶ ὀλυμπιάδα.</p> <p><i>Damophon</i> son of <i>Pantaleon</i> is king of Pisa: Pausan. VI. 22, 2. ὀγδὴ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοιαν μὲν τινα παρέσχεν Ἑλείοις νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλευεῖν, ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὅπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἰκάδε ἀπράκτους ἐπεισε δεήσεσσι τε καὶ ὀρκοῖς. <i>Pantaleon</i> celebrated Ol. 34: conf. a. 644. 56 years before this date; and had been engaged in the second Messenian war, which ended 80 years before this date. And yet another son of <i>Pantaleon</i>, according to Pausanias Ibid., reigned after <i>Damophon</i>: Πύρρου τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος, Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἔπανεῖλοντο Ἑλείοις. συναπέστησαν δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Ἑλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκιλλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιόικων Δυσπόντιοι. The 48th Olympiad would be towards the end of the reign of <i>Damophon</i>. The war of <i>Pyrrhus</i> may be placed in Ol. 52: conf. a. 572. In that war the Eleans were successful: Pausan. V. 10, 2. Πίσαν οἱ Ἑλεῖοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιόικων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθέλων. Idem V. 6, 3. ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Πισαίων πρὸς Ἑλείους ἐπικούροί τε Πισαῖων οἱ Σκιλλούντιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Ἑλείοις ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ· καὶ σφᾶς οἱ Ἑλεῖοι τούτων εἵνεκα ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους. Idem VI. 22, 4. Πισαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἑλείων γενέσθαι.</p>
586.	48, 3.	<p>The conquest of the Cirrhæans is completed and the Pythian games are celebrated: conf. a. 595. The <i>Pythia</i> are computed in Schol. Pindar. from the second games Ol. 49. 3; and Hieronymus places the first <i>Pythia</i> at the same date: Anno 1435 Ol. 49. 3=4 Armen. <i>Isthmia post Melicerten et Pythia primum acta</i>. In the Armenian copy, Anno 1436 Ol. 50. 1. The second <i>Pythia</i>, which are called the first by Eusebius and the Scholiast, in reality coincided with the close of the Eusebian year 1434, about August or September B. C. 582. Syncellus p. 239. A. has transcribed this notice: Pausanias and the Parian Marble compute the <i>Pythia</i> from these games in Ol. 48. 3 B. C. 586; whence we may with Mr. Boeckh set aside the authority of the Scholiast and Eusebius, and number the <i>Pythia</i> from hence: see F. H. III. p. 614.</p> <p>The Parian Marble in these times generally anticipates a year: F. H. II. p. X. But in N°. 39 <i>Damasias</i> is at the right date. He was archon at the time of the <i>Pythia</i>; therefore in a third Olympic year; and he is assigned to a third Olympic year by the Marble. But <i>Damasias</i> being at the right year, it may be inferred that <i>Simon</i> in</p>

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*Sacadas* of *Argos* gained the prize in music in the three first *Pythia* B. C. 586, 582, 578 : Pausan. X. 7, 3. τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδόης, ἣν Γλαυκίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε, ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἄθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτυόνες κιθαρωδίας μὲν, καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν ἀνηγορεύθησαν δὲ νικῶντες Κεφαλλήν τε ὁ Λάμπου κιθαρωδία, καὶ αὐλωδὸς Ἀρκὰς Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλοῖς· ἀνείλετο δὲ ὁ Σακάδας οὗτος καὶ ἄλλας δύο τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτης Πυθιάδας. Idem VI. 14, 4. Σακάδας μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τεθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων οὐκ ὄντα πω στεφανίτην καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ στεφανίτας δύο ἐνίκησε. Πυθόκριτος δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος τὰς ἐφεξῆς τούτων Πυθιάδας ἔξ [Pyth. 4—9. B.C. 574—554], μόνος δὴ οὗτος αὐλητής. *Sacadas* is named by Plutarch Mus. p. 1134. A. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Σακάδας Ἀργεῖος ποιητὴς μελῶν τε καὶ ἐλεγείων μεμελοποιημένων· ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὰ Πύθια τρεῖς νενικηκώς ἀναγέγραπται· τούτου καὶ Πίνδαρος μνημονεύει. The songs of *Sacadas* were sung by the Messenians upon their restoration in B. C. 369 : Pausan. IV. 27, 4. τὰ τε Σακάδα καὶ Προνομίου μέλη τότε δὴ προήχθη μάλιστα ἐς ἄμιλλαν.

The seven wise men are referred to the archonship of *Damasias* by Demetrius apud Laërt. I. 22. Θάλης—πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἐπτά σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ. Placed by Africanus apud Euseb. p. 147. at Ol. 50 : Ol. 50. *Septem sapientes nominati sunt*. And by the Armenian copy of Eusebius : Anno 1439 Ol. 50. 4. *Septem sapientes appellati sunt*. three years after his date for the *Pythia*. Hieronymus places both facts together : Anno 1435. *Hoc tempore septem sapientes appellati*. *Isthmia*—et



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>the preceding epoch is also at the right year, because the interval between them, five years, in the Marble according to Chandler's edition, is confirmed by the Scholiasts on Pindar, who place <i>Damasias</i> in the sixth year after <i>Simonides</i> or <i>Simon</i>; an interval twice expressed, μετὰ χρόνον ἑξαετῇ in one scholiast, and ἑκτω ἔτει in another. During these five years <i>Hippias</i> had been left to complete the war: conf. a. 595.</p> <p><i>Damasias I.</i> archon at Athens: F. H. II. p. 195. conf. a. 595.</p>
585.	48, 4.	<p>Death of <i>Periander</i>: Laërt. I. 95. ἥδη ἐν γῆρᾳ καθεστὼς μετεπέμπετο αὐτὸν [his son <i>Lycophron</i>] ὅπως παραλάβῃ τὴν τυραννίδα· ὃν φθάσαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι διεχρήσαντο [conf. Herodot. III. 50—53]. ὅθεν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπεμψε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἀλυάττην ἐπ' ἑκτομῇ· προσσχοῦσης δὲ τῆς νεῶς Σάμῳ, ἰκετεύσαντες τὴν Ἥραν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων διεσώθησαν [Herodot. III. 48. 49]. καὶ ὃς ἀθυμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἥδη γεγονὼς ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. Σωσικράτης δὲ φησι πρότερον Κροίσου τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐνὶ πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. The death of <i>Periander</i>, then, is placed in Ol. 48. 4, forty years (perhaps forty years current) before the overthrow of <i>Cræsus</i>. Eusebius p. 331. nearly agrees in the date of <i>Sosicrates</i>: Anno 1430 Ol. 48. 3. <i>Corinthiorum dominatio finem habuit</i>. This notice (which is also marked in Syncellus: conf. a. 589. 3) does not refer, as Maio ad loc. supposes, to the <i>dominatio annuorum principum</i>, which had ceased long before, but to the death of <i>Periander</i>, as Scaliger observes ad Euseb. p. 89. The date, however, of Hieronymus, anno 1429, is two years, and that of the Armenian copy one year, above the date of Laërtius.</p> <p>The Armenian copy makes the reign of <i>Periander</i> 43 years, from 1387 to 1430. Hieronymus 40, from 1389 to 1429. The true period, given by Laërtius and by the sum of the whole period in Aristotle, was 40 years: conf. a. 625.</p>
584.	Ol. 49. <i>Lycinus Crotoniates</i> . Euseb. p. 147.	
582.	49, 3.	<p><i>Clisthenes</i> of <i>Sicyon</i> is victor in the second <i>Pythia</i>: Pausan. X. 7, 3. δευτέρα δὲ Πυθιάδι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο· καὶ αὐλωδῖαν τε κατέλυσαν—προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἱππῖων δρόμον· ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι Κλεισθίνης ὁ Σικυνῶνιος τυραννίσας. The Parian Marble, however, and the Scholiast on Pindar record that the στεφανίτης ἀγὼν was instituted at the first <i>Pythia</i> in B. C. 586. See F. H. II. p. 195. III. p. 614.</p> <p><i>Agrigentum</i> is founded according to Thucydides VI. 4. 108 years</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Pythia primum acta.* Syncellus p. 239. A.

Ἰσθμια καὶ Πύθια πρῶτως ἤχθη μετὰ Μελικέρτην.  
οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν.

But the name of the archon and the coincidence of the Pythian games, to which even in Eusebius this mention of the wise men is contiguous, determines this notice to Ol. 48. 3 B. C. 586; when, according to Demetrius, the wise men were recorded to have flourished. They are enumerated by Plato Protag. p. 343. a. Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πιττακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύσων ὁ Χηνεὺς, καὶ ἑβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων. Four of these were universally acknowledged: Laërt. I. 41. Δικαίταρχος δὲ τέσσαρας ὁμολογημένους ἡμῖν παραδίδωσι, Θαλῆν, Βιάντα, Πιττακόν, Σόλωνα. *Periander*, whom Plato excludes, is admitted by some: Laërt. I. 41. 108. Pausan. I. 23, 1. The list is given in Clemens Strom. I. p. 299. Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 25. Laërt. I. 41. 42. According to some they were only five: Plutarch. de ei c. 3. p. 385. E. αὐτοὺς μὲν εἶναι πέντε, Χίλωνα καὶ Θαλῆν καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Βιάντα καὶ Πιττακόν. At this date *Thales* was about 52 years of age; *Pittacus* in the fifth year of his reign at Mytilenë; *Solon* had been archon eight years before; *Periander* is still living æt. 79: conf. a. 585. *Chilon* was already known ten years before this period: conf. a. 596; and was an old man in B. C. 572: conf. a.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>after Gela, in the 153rd year after Syracuse, and the 18th after Camarina, giving B. C. 582 Ol. 49. 3 for the era. The dates obtained from Pindar and his scholiast agree with the date of Thucydides: see F. H. II. p. 265. 266. where at p. 266. l. 5. for "later than Agrigentum" read "before Agrigentum." Thucydides adds, Γελῶνι Ἀκράγαντα ὤκισαν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκράγαντος ποταμοῦ ὀνομάσαντες, οἰκιστὰς δὲ ποιήσαντες Ἀριστόνουν καὶ Πυστίλον, νόμιμα δὲ τὰ Γελῶν δόντες.</p>
581.	49, 4.	<p>The dynasty of the <i>Cypselidæ</i> ended: Aristot. Rep. V. 9, 22. διετέλεσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἕξ μῆνας. The period began in Ol. 31. 2: conf. a. 625. It would terminate at the close of Ol. 49. 3 in the fourth year current of <i>Psammetichus</i>. Strabo VIII. p. 378. observes, Κύψελος—ἐτυράνησε, καὶ μέχρι τριγονίας ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ συνέμεινε. According to this account <i>Psammetichus</i> was the grandson of <i>Cypselus</i>; and <i>Gordias</i> in Aristotle (conf. a. 625) is no other than <i>Gorgias</i>—Γοργίας ὁ Περιάνδρου ἀδελφός—in Plutarch Sap. Conv. p. 160. C. The oracle, however, in Herodotus V. 92—αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παῖδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες—seems to limit their rule to two generations. Wesseling ad Herodot. V. 92. endeavours to reconcile Strabo with the oracle. The oracle might be reconciled with the facts, if, rejecting Strabo, we suppose <i>Gordias</i> in Aristotle to be <i>Torgus</i> the brother of <i>Cypselus</i> in Antonin. Lib. conf. a. 612. an opinion to which Mr. Muller inclines Dor. tom. II. p. 160. k. But it is more probable that the oracle was fabricated at the close of the reign of <i>Periander</i>, after the death of his son <i>Lycophron</i> (Herodot. III. 53. Laërt. I. 95) and before the succession of his nephew <i>Psammetichus</i>. <i>Gorgias</i> in Plutarch is supposed by Wytttenbach ad Plutarch. p. 160. C. and Schneider ad Aristot. Rep. V. 3, 6. 9, 22. to be the person called Γόγγος in Scymnus, Τόλγος and Γάργασος in Strabo (conf. a. 612). But as <i>Torgus</i> or <i>Gorgus</i> settled at Ambracia in the reign of <i>Cypselus</i>, and <i>Gorgias</i> in Plutarch was at Corinth in the reign of <i>Periander</i>, it is probable (if Plutarch is to be trusted for this circumstance) that these were different persons, both brothers of <i>Periander</i>.</p> <p>After the overthrow of the <i>Cypselidæ</i> the Corinthians endeavoured to erase the name of <i>Cypselus</i> from the offerings at Delphi and at Pisa: Plutarch Pyth. Or. c. 13. p. 400. E.</p>
580.	Ol. 50. <i>Epiteldas Laco</i> . Euseb. p. 147. Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 634. Diod. V. 9.	<p>The <i>Hellandicæ</i> are augmented to two. Till this time one had presided: Pausan. V. 9, 4. Ἰφίτος τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς μόνος, καὶ μετὰ Ἰεῖτον ἐτίθεσαν ὡσαύτως οἱ ἀπὸ Ὀξύλου. πεντηκοστῇ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἀνδράσι δύο ἕξ ἀπάντων λαχοῦσιν Ἡλείων ἐπετράπη ποιῆσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπὸ ἐκείνου διέμεινε τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν β'. Harpocr. Ἑλλανοδί-και.—Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἡλείων πολιτείᾳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φησιν ἕνα καταστήσαι τοὺς Ἡλείους Ἑλλανοδίκην, χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος, δύο· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ἑνέα. Ἀριστοῦχος δ' ὁ Ἡλείος φησι τοὺς τελευταίους τιθέντας τὸν ἀγῶνα Ἑλλανοδί-κας εἶναι δέκα, ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕνα. At this period, when the <i>Hellandicæ</i> were augmented to two, the Piseans, according to Africanus, still shared in the direction of the games: conf. a. 660.</p>
579.	50, 2.	<p>Lipara founded: Diod. V. 9. Κνίδιοί τινες καὶ Ῥόδιοι δυσαρεστήσαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλείων ἔγνωσαν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν. διόπερ προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Πένταθλον τὸν Κνίδιον—κατὰ τὴν πεντη-</p>

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Pittacus* resigns the government of Mytilenë: conf. a. 569. He is called king of Mytilenë by Clemens Al. Pæd. III. p. 242. C. μικροῦ δεῖν ἔλαθέν με εἰπεῖν ὁ Πιττακὸς ἐκείνος ὅτι ἦλθεν [ἤλεθεν Klotz.] ὁ Μιτυληναίων βασιλεὺς ἐνεργῶ γυμνασίῳ χρώμενος. An anecdote derived from Clearchus: conf. Laërt. I. 81.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>κοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδας ὁ Λάκων, οἱ δ' οὖν περὶ τὸν Πένταθλον—κατέλαβον Ἐγεσταίους καὶ Σελινουντίους διαπολεμοῦντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους· πεισθέντες δὲ τοῖς Σελινουντίοις συμμαχεῖν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πένταθλος. διόπερ οἱ περιλειφθέντες, ἐπειδὴ κατεπολεμήθησαν οἱ Σελινούντιοι, διέγνωσαν ἀπιέναι πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου. ἐλόμενοι δ' ἡγεμόνας τοὺς οἰκείους τοῦ Πεντάθλου, Γόργον καὶ Θέστορα καὶ Ἐπιθερσίδη, ἀπέπλεον διὰ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. προσπλευσάντων δ' αὐτῶν τῇ Λιπάρᾳ—ἐπέστησαν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατοικῆσαι τὴν Λιπάραν. Strabo VI. p. 275. νῆσοι—εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, μεγίστη δὲ ἡ Λιπάρᾳ Κνιδίων ἄποικος. Scymnus 263. Μία δ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν Δωρικὴν ἀποικίαν Ἐχουσα, Λιπάρᾳ δ' ὄνομα, συγγενὴς Κνίδου. The account of Antiochus apud Pausan. X. 11, 3. varies from that of Diodorus: οἱ Λιπαράιοι Κνιδίων μὲν ἦσαν ἄποικοι, τῆς δὲ ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι φασὶν ἄνδρα Κνίδιον· ὄνομα δὲ εἶναί οἱ Πένταθλον Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ξενοφάνους Συρακούσιος ἐν τῇ Σικελιώτιδι συγγραφῇ φησί. λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Παχύνῳ—κτίσαντες πόλιν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκπίπτουσιν ὑπὸ Ἐλύμων καὶ Φοινίκων πολέμῳ πεισθέντες, τὰς νήσους δὲ ἔσχον ἐρήμους ἔτι ἢ ἀναστήσαντες τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας.—τούτων Λιπάραν μὲν κτίσαντες πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν. According to both accounts some space intervened between the setting forth from Cnidus and the settlement at Lipara.</p>
577.	50, 4.	<p>Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 634. ἐνιαυτῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδης Λάκων, ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεστρατίδου.</p>
576.	Ol. 51. <i>Eratosthenes Crotoniates</i> . Euseb. p. 147.	
575.	51, 2.	<p>Diodorus apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 168. <i>Maris imperium tenuerunt 12<sup>o</sup> Phocenses annis 44.</i> Euseb. Chron. II. <i>Anno 1441 Ol. 51. 2. Duodecimo loco maris imperium tenuerunt Phocenses annis 44.</i> Syncellus p. 239. A. marks this notice at the same date: ἰβ' Φωκεῖς ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη μδ'. Omitted in Hieronymus. <i>Phocenses</i> and <i>Φωκεῖς</i> are an error for <i>Phocæenses</i> and <i>Φωκαεῖς</i>, common to many other writers: conf. a. 600. Dindorf therefore unnecessarily restores <i>Φωκαεῖς</i> in the text of Syncellus, since this was probably the mistake of Syncellus himself. These dates would give B. C. 575—532 for the naval dominion of the Phocæans; a period including their settlement in Corsica about B. C. 564, and extending beyond their emigration from Ionia. It will include their second settlement at Corsica of five years and their naval contest with the Carthaginians described Herodot. I. 166. and probably the last of the 44 years, B. C. 532, marks the date of their foundation of Hyela on the coast of Ænotria: conf. Herodot. I. 167. The Phocæans are followed in Eusebius by the Samian dominion in B. C. 529: Euseb. p. 169. <i>13<sup>o</sup> Samii annis . . . Idem Anno 1487 Ol. 62. 4. Decimo tertio loco maris imperium Samii tenuerunt.</i> This occurred in the time of Polycrates.  <i>Battus</i> οὐδαίμων succeeds <i>Arkesilæus</i> I. conf. a. 591. Herodotus mentions the three following kings: IV. 160. τούτου τοῦ Βάττεω γίνεται παῖς Ἀρκεσίλειος. 161. διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιλείην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλὸς ἰών. Then followed IV. 162. Ἀρκεσίλειος ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερεσίμης, the sixth king (conf. Wess. ad Herodot. IV. 162), who</p>

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B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		about B. C. 524 submitted to <i>Cambyses</i> : IV. 165. οὗτος ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσί- λεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο.
574.	51, 3.	
572.	Ol. 52. <i>Agis Eleus. Ales</i> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 147. * Ἄγις Scal. p. 40.	The war of Pisa and Elis in the reign of <i>Pyrrhus</i> ended in the sub- jection of the Pisæans: conf. a. 588. Pausan. VI. 22, 2. Πισαῖοι ἐφειλ- κύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοι τε Ἡλείοις καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἡλείων. They assisted at the games of Ol. 52 according to Africanus: conf. a. 660. We may accordingly place the war conducted by <i>Pyrrhus</i> after midsummer B. C. 572, in the middle of Ol. 52, about 74 years after <i>Pantaleon</i> in B. C. 644 had celebrated the 34th Olympiad, and more than 100 years after the be- ginning of the reign of <i>Pantaleon</i> , according to the dates of Pausanias for the second Messenian war, in which <i>Pantaleon</i> participated. On this interval see Appendix c. 2.
570.	52, 3.	Accession of <i>Phalaris</i> according to Eusebius: Anno 1446 Ol. 52. 3. <i>Phalaris Agrigentinus annis 16 tyrannidem tenuit</i> . Placed also in Suidas at Ol. 52. These dates would give B. C. 570—555 inclusive for the reign of <i>Phalaris</i> . Hieronymus places him six years lower, anno 1452; giving B. C. 564—549 for the 16 years. See F. H. II. p. 4. Diodorus Vatican. p. 25. contributes to refute the early date Ol. 31—38 for <i>Phalaris</i> , whom he places in the time of <i>Cræsus</i> and names after <i>Æsopus</i> and the ἐπτά σοφοί. <i>Aristomenes</i> archon at Athens: conf. a. 569. 3.
569.	52, 4.	<i>Amasis</i> succeeds <i>Apries</i> : conf. a. 616. Diodorus I. 68. gives 22 years to <i>Apries</i> : μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον ὕστερον τέτταρσι γενεαῖς Ἀπρίης ἐβασί- λευσεν ἔτη δυὶ πλείω τῶν εἴκοσι. And 55 to <i>Amasis</i> : βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς πενήκοντα κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον καθ' ὃν χρόνον Καμβύσης ὁ τῶν Περ- σῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Καμαριναῖος. As this pe- riod terminates in B. C. 526, it would place the accession of <i>Apries</i> at B. C. 602 and of <i>Amasis</i> at B. C. 580.

## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Pythocritus* victor at the fourth Pythian games. The first of his six Pythian prizes: conf. a. 586.

*Æsopus* flourished: Laërt. I. 72. ἦν δὲ (ὁ Χεῖλων) γέρον περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε Αἰσωπος ὁ λογοποιὸς ἤκμαζε. conf. §. 69. Suidas: Αἰσωπος Σάμιος ἢ Σαρδιανός· Εὐγείταν δὲ Μεσημβριανὸν εἶπεν· ἄλλοι Κοτυαέα Φρύγα. ἐγένετο δὲ λογοποιός,—διέτριψε δὲ παρὰ Κροίσῳ φιλούμενος, τοῖς χρόνοις πρὸ Πυθαγόρου. Herodot. II. 134. κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις.—δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ [Αἰσωπον τὸν ὁμόδουλον αὐτῆς Plutarch. Pyth. Or. p. 401. A]—Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος· ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην, ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου, τοῦ Σκαμανδρυνύμου παιδὸς ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφoῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. *Amasis* began to reign B. C. 569; *Sappho* flourished before B. C. 592. Her brother, who reached the reign of *Amasis*, must have been considerably younger. Plutarch Solon. c. 28. places *Æsopus* with *Solon* at the court of *Cræsus*: ὁ λογοποιὸς Αἰσωπος, ἐτύγγχανε γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεῖς γεγωνὸς μετὰπεμπτos ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τιμώμενος, ἤχθεσθη τῷ Σόλωνι μηδεμιᾶς τυχόντι φιλάνθρωπίας κ. τ. λ. The time of *Cræsus* and *Amasis* agrees with the date assigned by Laërtius, Ol. 52. For the passage of Suidas which refers *Æsopus* to Ol. 40, conf. a. 620. Diodorus Vatican. p. 24, concurs in the account of Laërtius and Plutarch: Αἰσωπος κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους συνήκμαζε τοῖς ἑπτὰ σοφοῖς, καὶ εἶπεν ὡς οὐκ οἶδασιν οὗτοι ὁμιλεῖν δυνάστη· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἥκιστα δεῖν ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα συμβιοῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις· αὐτὸς δὲ πεπλάσμενως ἔλεγε, τὴν μὲν γὰρ νίκην ἀρετῇ καὶ οὐ πολυπληθὶα χειρῶν περιγίνεσθαι. Heraclides περὶ πολιτ. p. 211. Αἰσωπος ὁ λογοποιὸς εὐδοκίμει τότε. ἦν δὲ Θράξ τὸ γένος, ἡλευθερώθη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰδμονος τοῦ κωφοῦ, ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον Ξάνθου δούλος. He had before named *Pherecydes* of *Syrus*, who was born cir. B. C. 600 (F. H. II. p. 9), and with whom *Æsopus* is made to be contemporary; which will also agree with this period.

Death of *Pittacus* ten years after his abdication: Laërt. I. 75. τὸν Πιττακὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμησαν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεχειρίσαν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ δέκα ἔτη κατασχὼν καὶ εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὸ πολίτευμα κατέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ δέκα ἐπεβίω ἄλλα. §. 79. ἤκμαζε μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν δευτέραν Ὀλυμπιάδα· ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐπὶ Ἀριστομένους τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ἑβδομήκοντα, ἤδη γηραιός. He lived 100 years according to Lucian Macrobian. c. 18. Σόλων δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πιττακός, οἵτινες τῶν κληθέντων ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ἐγένοντο, ἑκατὸν ἕκαστος ἔζησεν ἔτη. The numbers of Suidas make him past 80. conf. a. 651. whence in Laërtius we may perhaps substitute with Meursius apud Menag. ad loc. βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔτη ὀγδοήκοντα. Proclus ad Hesiod. Opp. 717. connects *Pittacus* with *Amasis*: ὡς Πιττακὸν φασὶ πέμψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀμάσιδος ἱερεῖον κ. τ. λ. Repeated by Tzetzes Ibid. *Pittacus*, who died in Ol. 52. 3, might survive the accession of *Amasis*, who began to reign, according to Herodotus, in the middle of that Olympic year. Perhaps, however, Proclus has ascribed to *Pittacus* what belonged to another. The communications of *Pittacus* with *Cræsus*, described in Laërt. I. 75. 77. 81. are also perhaps doubtful, since at the death of *Pittacus* *Cræsus* was only 25 years of age. Herodotus I. 27., who mentions *Pittacus* and *Cræsus*, admits that some accounts ascribed the fact to *Bias*: οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πιρηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεῖς, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον.





## 3. POETS, &amp;c.

*Eugamon* flourished: Eusebius Armen. V. Anno 1450 Ol. 53. 3. *Eugamon Cyrenæus qui Telegoniam composuit agnoscebatur*. Placed in Armen. M. Anno 1449. In Hieronymus, anno 1451. Acknowledged by Syncellus p. 239. B. who has these notices in the following order:

1. Νέμεα πρῶτον ἤχθη ἀγὼν ὑπ' Ἀργείων μετὰ τὸν ἐπ' Ἀρχαμόρω.
2. Αἰσωπος μυθοποιὸς ἐγνωρίζετο, ὃς ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἀπώλετο.
3. ὁ τῶν Παναθηναίων γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν ἤχθη.
4. Εὐγάμων Κυρηνάιος ὁ τὴν Τηλεγονίαν ποιήσας ἐγνωρίζετο.
- (5.) Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐκκριθεὶς παίδων κ. τ. λ. ὁλ. να' [conf. a. 588].
- (6.) Ἀρρίχιων Φιγαλεὺς τὸ τρίτον νικῶν παγκράτιον [Ol. 54].
7. Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων ἐτυράννησε.

In the Armenian copy and Hieronymus in this order: 1. 4. 3. 2. 7.

*Eugamon* is mentioned by Clemens Strom. VI. p. 628. B. τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν, καθάπερ Εὐγάμων ὁ Κυρηνάιος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον. Repeated by Eusebius Præp. X. p. 462. D. The poems ascribed to *Musæus* were forged after the time of *Eugamon*: Pausan. I. 22, 7. δοκεῖν δέ μοι, πεποιήκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος, καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δημήτερα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις. Clem. Strom. I. p. 332. D. τοὺς μὲν ἀναφερομένους εἰς Μουσαίον χρησμοὺς Ὀνομακρίτου εἶναι λέγουσι. And this passage on the *Thesproti* might have been borrowed from *Eugamon*.

The death of *Æsopus* is placed here by Eusebius: Anno 1452 Ol. 54. 1. *Æsopus fabulator a Delphis peremptus est*. By Hieronymus, anno 1453. Suidas agrees in Ol. 54: Αἰσωπος—ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπολέσθαι, ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατακρημνισθέντα ἀπὸ τῶν Φαιδριάδων καλουμένων πετρῶν κατὰ τὴν νδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. οἰκέτην δὲ γενέσθαι Ξάνθου τοῦ Λυδοῦ. A mistake for *Xanthus* of *Samos*. Syncellus marks *Æsopus* at a different point: conf. a. 566. If the fable written after the usurpation of *Pisistratus*, which Phædrus I. 2. ascribes to *Æsop*, was really composed by *Æsop*, we must with Larcher Herodot. tom. VII. p. 540. reject this date for his death, and admit that he survived Ol. 55. 1 B. C. 560. It may be doubted, however, whether all the fables ascribed to *Æsop* in the time of Phædrus were really his composition. The death of *Æsop* through the Delphians is noticed by Herodotus II. 134. and by Plutarch S. N. V. p. 556. F. ἐνταῦθα δῆπουθεν λέγεται ἔλθεῖν Αἰσωπον ἔχοντα παρὰ Κροίσου χρυσίον, ὅπως τε θύσῃται τῷ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ Δελφῶν ἐκάστῳ διανεῖμῃ μνᾶς τέσσαρας· ὀργῆς δὲ τινος, ὡς εἴοικε, καὶ διαφορᾶς αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Σάρδεις—οἱ δὲ συνθέντες αἰτίαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱεροσυλίας ἀπέκτειναν ὥσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης ἣν Ἰάμπειαν καλοῦσι. Upon *Æsopus* see Fabricius and Harles B. G. tom. I. p. 618. 619. We may remark, however, 1. that Syncellus p. 239. supplies no means for determining the date of *Æsop*'s death: conf. a. 566. 2. that Plutarch VII. Sap. p. 150. A., where he describes *Æsopus* as coming from *Cræsus* to *Periander*, neglects historical precision, as Plato had done in his dialogues. At the time of the death of *Periander*, *Cræsus* was only ten years of age: conf. a. 585. F. H. II. p. 6.



B.C.	1. OLYMPIC VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>ροντες την των Περσῶν ὕβριν· ἄφ' οὗ καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται· “Ἀβδηρα καλὴ Τηΐων ἀποικία.” Scymnus 670. —Τηίοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν Συνάρκισαν φυγόντες ὑπὸ τὰ Περσικά. The date of Strabo is consistent. <i>Anacreon</i> flourished B.C. 559—525 (F. H. II. p. 3. 15); the Teians withdrew in B.C. 543. They returned, however, afterwards to their own country: Strabo Ibid. πάλιν δ' ἐπανήλθον τινες αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ὕστερον. <i>Timesias</i> the original founder of Abdera—Τιμησίας ὁ Κλαζομένιος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, τῷ δὲ πάντα πράσσειν δι' ἑαυτοῦ φθονούμενος—is described by Plutarch Mor. p. 812. A.</p>
563.	54, 2.	<p>The Phocæans found Amisus four years before the foundation of Heraclea, according to Scymnus fragm. 181.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—Ἀμισὸς ἐν τῇ Λευκοσύρῳ γῇ κειμένη, τῶν Φωκαῶν ἀποικία, τέσσαρσι πρότερον ἔτεσιν οἰκισθεῖσα * τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἑλαβ' Ἰωνικὴν κτίσιν.</p> <p>Strabo XII. p. 547. makes no mention of the Phocæans: Ἀμισὸς πόλις ἀξιόλογος—φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν Θεόπομπος πρῶτους Μιλησίου κτίσαι, εἴτα Καππαδόκων ἄρχοντα· τρίτον δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηνοκλέους καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐοικισθεῖσαν Πειραιᾶ μετονομασθῆναι.</p>
560.	Ol. 55. <i>Hippostratus II.</i> Euseb. p. 147.	Comias archon at Athens: F. H. II. p. 2.
559.	55, 2.	<p>Heraclea on the Euxine founded: Scymnus fragm. 230.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—Ἡράκλεια Βοιωτῶν κτίσις καὶ Μεγαρέων· ἐντὸς δὲ ταύτην Κυνάεων κτίζουσιν ὀρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καθ' οὗς χρόνους ἐκράτησε Κύρος Μηδίας.</p> <p>Xenoph. Anab. V. 10, 1. Ἡράκλειαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον, οὔσαν ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ. Schol. Apollon. II. 746. Ἡρακλεῶται Μεγαρέων ἀποικοὶ καὶ Βοιωτῶν. Pausan. V. 26, 6. ἡ δὲ Ἡράκλεια πεπόλισται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀπωκίσθη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμού. Diod. XIV. 31. Ἡράκλειαν Μεγαρέων ἀποικον. Arrian. Peripl. Eux. p. 125. Ἡράκλειαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Δωρικὴν, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον. Strabo, however, XII. p. 542. ascribes this colony to Miletus: τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνούσι ἰδρῦσθαί φασι, Μιλησίων κτίσμα· πρῶτοι τὴν Ἡράκλειαν κτίσαντες Μιλήσιοι τοὺς Μαριανδυνοὺς εἰλωτεύειν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς προκατέχοντας τὸν τόπον. On these native slaves compare Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 62. On the error of Strabo conf. Palmer. Exerc. p. 333. Wess. ad Diod. XIV. 31. Strabo adds, ἡ Ἡράκλεια—ἦν αὐτόνομος· εἴτα ἐτυραννήθη χρόνους τινάς· εἴτ' ἡλευθέρωσεν ἑαυτὴν πάλιν· ὕστερον δ' ἐβασιλεύθη, γενομένη ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. For the period of the tyranny see F. H. III. p. 21.</p>

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3939		2	775	.....	Æschylus Athenian archon.....	
3940		3	774	.....	Pandesia. Metapontum	
3941		4	773	.....		
3942		2. 1	772	Antimachus		
3943		2	771	.....		
3944		3	770	.....		
3945		4	769	.....		
3946		3. 1	768	Androclus		Cinæthon
3947		2	767	.....		
3948		3	766	.....		
3949		4	765	.....	Æschylus Athenian archon.....	
3950		4. 1	764	Polychares ..	Polychares of Messenia	
3951		2	763	.....		
3952		3	762	.....		
3953		4	761	.....		
3954		5. 1	760	Æschines		Eumelus. Arctinus
3955		2	759	.....	[Cyrenë]	
3956		3	758	.....	Telestes of Corinth	
3957		4	757	.....	Æschylus Athenian archon	
3958		6. 1	756	CEbotas ....	[Trapezus. Cyzicus]	
3959		2	755	.....	Æschylus Athenian archon	Antimachus of Teos
3960		3	754	.....	Alcmæon Athenian archon	
3961		4	753	.....	[Rome founded: <i>Varro</i> ].....	
3962		7. 1	752	Daicles.....	Charops 1st decennial archon	
3963		2	751	.....	[Rome founded: <i>Cato</i> ]	[Thaletas]
3964		3	750	.....	Milesian colonies.....	
3965		4	749	.....		
3966		8. 1	748	Anticles ....	Phidon of Argos	
3967	1	2	747	.....	[Rome founded: <i>Fab.</i> ] N.E. Feb. 27	Eumelus
3968	2	3	746	.....	Automenes of Corinth	
3969	3	4	745	.....	1st annual prytanis at Corinth	
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4076	110	3	116	638			
4077	111	4	117	637	.....	Battus	
4078	112	36. 1	118	636	Phrynon . . . .	Phrynon of Athens	
4079	113	2	119	635	.....	The Cimmerians take Sardis	
4080	114	3	120	634	.....	Death of Phraortes	
4081	115	4	121	633	.....	Istrus. Tomi	
4082	116	37. 1	122	632	Euryclidas . .	3rd year of the Scythians in Asia	Stesichorus born
4083	117	2	123	631	.....	Battus founds Cyrenë.....	Pisander
4084	118	3	124	630	.....	Milesians in Egypt.....	Mimnermus
4085	119	4	125	629	.....	Sinopë	
4086	120	38. 1	126	628	Olyntheus . . .	Selinus. Byzantium . . . . .	Aristoxenus
4087	121	2	127	627	.....	Lipara	
4088	122	3	128	626	.....	Prusias	
4089	123	4	129	625	.....	Epidamnus. Periander . . . . .	Arion
4090	124	39. 1	130	624	Rhipsolcus . .	Procles of Epidaurus	
4091	125	2	131	623	.....	Milesian war	
4092	126	3	132	622			
4093	127	4	133	621	.....		Draco
4094	128	40. 1	134	620	Olyntheus II. .	(Attempt of Cylon) . . . . .	Æsopus
4095	129	2	135	619			
4096	130	3	136	618			
4097	131	4	137	617	.....	Alyattes	
4098	132	41. 1	138	616	Cleondas . . . .	Neco succeeds Psammetichus	
4099	133	2	139	615			
4100	134	3	140	614			
4101	135	4	141	613			
4102	136	42. 1	142	612	Lycotas . . . .	Periander of Ambracia	
4103	137	2	143	611	.....	Pittacus . . . . .	Sappho. Alcæus. Stesichorus
4104	138	3	144	610	.....		Anaximander born. Arion fl.
4105	139	4	145	609	.....	Apollonia on the Euxine	



Jul. P.	N.E.	Olymp.	U.C.	B.C.	1. OL. VICTORS.	2. EVENTS.	3. POETS, &c.
4106	140	43. 1	146	608	Cleon .....	Panætiæ of Leontium	Alcæus
4107	141	2	147	607	.....	Scythians expelled from Asia	
4108	142	3	148	606	.....	Capture of Nineveh .....	
4109	143	4	149	605	.....		
4110	144	44. 1	150	604	Gelon		
4111	145	2	151	603			
4112	146	3	152	602			
4113	147	4	153	601			
4114	148	45. 1	154	600	Anticrates ...	Psammis. Massilia	
4115	149	2	155	599	.....	Camarina	
4116	150	3	156	598			
4117	151	4	157	597	.....	[Cyrenæ]	
4118	152	46. 1	158	596	Chrysomachus		Epimenides. Chilon
4119	153	2	159	595	.....	Philombrotus arch. Cirrhæan war	Sappho. Alcæus. Damoph. E-
4120	154	3	160	594	.....	Solon archon .....	Solon [rinna]
4121	155	4	161	593	.....	Dropides archon	
4122	156	47. 1	162	592	Eurycles ....	(Eucrates archon.) Odessus ....	Anacharsis
4123	157	2	163	591	.....	Simonides archon. Arcesilaus I.	
4124	158	3	164	590			
4125	159	4	165	589	.....	Pittacus .....	Tragædi. Alcæus
4126	160	48. 1	166	588	Glycon .....	Damophon king of Pisa	
4127	161	2	167	587			
4128	162	3	168	586	.....	Damasias archon. Pythia .....	Sacadas. Septem sapientes
4129	163	4	169	585	.....	Death of Periander	
4130	164	49. 1	170	584	Lycinus		
4131	165	2	171	583			
4132	166	3	172	582	.....	Clisthenes. Agrigentum	
4133	167	4	173	581	.....	Cypselidæ ended	
4134	168	50. 1	174	580	Epiteldas ...	Two Hellanodicæ	
4135	169	2	175	579	.....	Lipara .....	Pittacus
4136	170	3	176	578			
4137	171	4	177	577	.....	Archestratides archon	
4138	172	51. 1	178	576	Eratosthenes		
4139	173	2	179	575	.....	Naval empire of the Phocæans	
4140	174	3	180	574	.....		Pythocritus
4141	175	4	181	573			
4142	176	52. 1	182	572	Agis .....	War of Pisa and Elis .....	Æsopus
4143	177	2	183	571			
4144	178	3	184	570	.....	Aristomenes archon. Phalaris	
4145	179	4	185	569	.....	Amasis king of Egypt.....	Pittacus ob.
4146	180	53. 1	186	568	Agnon		
4147	181	2	187	567			
4148	182	3	188	566	.....	Hippoclidæ archon. Panathenæa	Eugamon
4149	183	4	189	565			
4150	184	54. 1	190	564	Hippostratus	Alalia .....	Æsopus ob.
4151	185	2	191	563	.....	Amisus	
4152	186	3	192	562			
4153	187	4	193	561			
4154	188	55. 1	194	560	Hippostrat. II.	Comias archon	
4155	189	2	195	559	.....	Hernaclea on the Euxine	

## APPENDIX.





# I.

## PHIDON.

IT is remarked in the Tables at B. C. 748 that two dates are assigned to *Phidon*. He is placed by some in the time of *Lycurgus*, and by others at the eighth Olympiad B. C. 748. The testimonies to the earlier date are to the following effect. The Parian Marble<sup>a</sup>: ἀφ' οὗ Φ...δων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐδήμευσ...ε...νεσκεύασε, καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν, ἐνδεκατὸς ὦν ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους, ἔτη ΙΗΙΗΔΔΔΙ βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηνῶν...ους. This date, B. C. 895, when reduced to the dates of Eratosthenes, will give B. C. 869, coinciding with the times of *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus*<sup>b</sup>. Syncellus<sup>c</sup>: Κάρανος Μακεδόνων α' ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λ'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος διψά'. πρὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτεσιν ιη'.—Φεῖδων Ἀργους κρατῶν ἀδελφὸς Κάρανου τοῦ α' βασιλέως Μακεδόνων μέτρα καὶ στάθμια πρώτος ἐφεῦρεν, ὡς τινες.—<sup>d</sup>Κάρανος ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἀδελφὸς ὦν Φεῖδωνος ἐνὸς τῶν ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους καταγόντων τὸ γένος καὶ τῆς Ἀργείας βασιλεύοντος—δύναμιν ἤθροισε παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὅλης Πελοποννήσου, μεθ' ἧς τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μακεδονίαν τόποις ἐπιστρατεύσας—τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἔλαβε χώραν.—οὗτος ὁ Κάρανος ἀπὸ μὲν Ἑρακλέους ια' ἦν ἀπὸ δὲ Τημένου—ἑβδομος. γενεαλογοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως, ὡς φησιν ὁ Διόδωρος καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὦν εἰς καὶ Θεόπομπος. Κάρανος Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀριστοδαμίδα τοῦ Μέρποπος τοῦ Θεοστίου τοῦ Κισσίου τοῦ Τημένου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεαδάτου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἑρακλέους. ἔνιοι δὲ ἄλλως, φησὶ, γενεαλογοῦσι, φάσκοντες εἶναι Κάρανον Ποιάντος τοῦ Κροίσου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδα τοῦ Δεβάλλου τοῦ Λαχάρου τοῦ Τημένου. In one of these lists *Caranus* and *Phidon* are the seventh from *Temenus*; in the other the eighth. Satyrus<sup>e</sup> computes five generations between *Temenus* and *Caranus*: Τήμενον, τοῦ δὲ Κεῖσον, τοῦ δὲ Μάρωνα, τοῦ δὲ Θεστιον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀκοον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστομίδα, τοῦ δὲ Κάρανον. *Maron* in Satyrus (whom Syncellus omits<sup>f</sup>) is probably the same person as *Medon* in Pausanias<sup>g</sup>: Τημένω—Κεῖσος πρεσβύτατος ὦν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ—τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προήγαγον, ὡς Μήδωνι τῷ Κεῖσου<sup>h</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειψθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας μόνον. And the descent, from the combined accounts of Diodorus and Satyrus, will be this:

5. *Temenus*, the fifth from *Hercules*.
6. *Cisus*.
7. *Maron* or *Medon*.
8. *Thestius*.
9. *Merops* or *Acoüs*.
10. *Aristodamidas*.
11. *Caranus* and *Phidon*.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. 31 (30).

<sup>b</sup> *Phidon* according to the Marble (Ep. 25. 31) was 945—631=314 years below the fall of Troy. But this according to the chronology of Eratosthenes will give B. C. 1183—314=B. C. 869 for the time of *Phidon*. The Marble refers these two epochs to B. C. 1209. 895.

<sup>c</sup> P. 198. C.

<sup>d</sup> P. 262. A.

<sup>e</sup> Apud Theophil. ad Autolyc. II. 7. p. 298.

<sup>f</sup> Wesseling ad Diod. tom. IV. p. 292. observes that in Syncellus Κάρανος Φεῖδωνος means *Phidonis frater*. In this case, to make the number of generations complete, we must with Wesseling suppose *Maron* to have been omitted by Syncellus or by a transcriber.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. II. 19, 2.

<sup>h</sup> Μήδωνι τῷ Κεῖσου, the correction of Musgrave, is now adopted by every judicious editor; by Facius, Siebelis, and Bekker.



The reign of *Caranus* is placed by Eusebius<sup>i</sup> 36 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* and 369 after the fall of Troy. These accounts, then, place *Phidon* about 55 years lower than the date of the Marble, but agree with the Marble in making him the eleventh from *Hercules*.

The lower epoch for *Phidon* is given by Ephorus and Pausanias. The passage of Ephorus<sup>k</sup>, referred to in the Tables, is as follows: Φεῖδωνα τὸν Ἀργεῖον δέκατον μὲν ὄντα ἀπὸ Τημένου δυνάμει δ' ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτόν, ἀφ' ἧς τήν τε λῆξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη· καὶ μέτρα ἐξεῦρε τὰ Φειδώνεια καλούμενα, καὶ σταθμούς, καὶ νόμισμα κεχαραγμένον τό τε ἄλλο καὶ τὸ ἀργυροῦν<sup>l</sup>· πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἰρεθείσαις πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοῦν τίθεναι αὐτόν οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἔθηκε· τούτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακόν· καὶ δὴ βιασάμενον ἐπελθόντα θῆναι αὐτόν, οὔτε τῶν Ἡλείων ἐχόντων ὅπλα ὥστε καλύειν, διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην—οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε Ἡλείους ἀναγράφαι τὴν θέσιν ταύτην· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα κτήσασθαι διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀρξαμένους ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· συμπράττειν δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴτε φθονήσαντας τῇ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην εὐτυχίᾳ εἴτε καὶ συνεργοὺς ἔξιν νομίσαντας πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα, ἀφηρημένον αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἣν ἐκεῖνοι προεκέκτηντο· καὶ δὴ καὶ συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα. The testimonies of Ephorus and Pausanias<sup>m</sup> establish that the Olympiad which *Phidon* celebrated (which according to Pausanias was the eighth) was omitted in the Elean register. But, as no Olympiads were registered before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, it is manifest that this eighth Olympiad was Ol. 8 B. C. 748. And this eighth Olympiad was in the time of *Archias*, who was the tenth from *Temenus*. Pausanias therefore agrees with Ephorus, who made *Phidon* the tenth from *Temenus*. Again, the Lacedæmonians had already acquired the lead in Peloponnesus: προεκέκτητο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. But this had not yet occurred in the time of *Lycurgus*.

The lower date for *Phidon* is farther confirmed by a narrative which connects him with the times of *Archias*. *Phidon* was contemporary with *Melissus*, and *Melissus* was contemporary with *Archias*<sup>n</sup>: Βακχιάδαι—ἐξεβλήθησαν ἐκ Κορίνθου διὰ τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία ἐστὶν ἡδε. Μέλισσος εὐεργετήσας τοὺς Κορινθίους (μέλλοντας γὰρ ὑπὸ Φεῖδωνος τοῦ τῶν Ἀργείων βασιλέως δια-

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. Chron. Anno 835 *Ilium captum*. Anno 1204 *Caranus*. Anno 1240 *Olymp. I.* The numbers in Syncellus, 771 κ', are evidently corrupt, and inconsistent with his other dates.

<sup>k</sup> Strabo VIII. p. 358.

<sup>l</sup> The inventions of *Phidon* are noticed in the following testimonies: Strabo VIII. p. 376. "Εφωρος ἐν Λιγύῃ ἀργυρον πρῶτον κοπήναι φησιν ὑπὸ Φεῖδωνος. Plin. H. N. VII. 56. *Mensuras et pondera Phidon Argivus (invenit)*. Pollux X. 179. φεῖδων τι ἀργεῖον διακρίν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτρων ἀνομασμένον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀργείῳ πολιτεία Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει. Idem IX. 83. τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νομίματι λόγον ἐπιζητεῖν, εἴτε Φεῖδων πρῶτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἔγραψε νόμισμα—εἶτε Λυδῶν, κ. τ. λ. Etymol. βεβήλσκος. πάντων πρῶτος Φεῖδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἔκοιεν ἐν Λιγύῃ. Idem Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα. ἐπειδὴ Φεῖδων ὁ Ἀργεῖος βασιλεὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ χρηρὴς τοῦ Ἀργεῖος πρῶτος ἔκοιεν χρυσὸν νόμισμα. Herodot. VI. 127. Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργεῖου τυράννου παῖς Λεωκίδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίῳσι καὶ ἰβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνιστάς αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε, τούτου τε δὴ παῖς. Where Mr. Mul-

ler Dor. vol. II. p. 113. f. supposes that Herodotus has confounded *Phidon II.* with *Phidon I.* But as it is not probable that Herodotus should have placed so remarkable a person as *Phidon I.* two centuries below his real time, it is more likely, as Palmerius and Wesseling have conjectured, that the text is mutilated: conf. Wess. et Schweigh. ad loc. *Phidon* is also mentioned Schol. Pindar. Ol. XIII. 27. Φεῖδων ὁ πρῶτος κόψας Κορινθίους τὸ μέτρον Ἀργεῖος ἦν. Ibid. XIII. 20. Φεῖδων τις ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος εἶρε μέτρα καὶ στάθμια. where the Argive is confounded with an ancient Corinthian legislator of the name mentioned by Aristotle Rep. II. 3, 7=II. 6. Φεῖδων ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὃν νομοθέτης τῶν ἀρχαιστάτων, τοὺς οἴκους ἴσους φήθη δεῖν διαμένειν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν, κ. τ. λ. The Argive *Phidon* invented weights and measures, and probably the Argive *Phidon* prescribed their use to the Corinthians, whom he held in subjection.

<sup>m</sup> The testimony of Pausanias is in the Tables at B. C. 748. 644.

<sup>n</sup> Schol. Apollon. IV. 1212.

φθάρῃναι ἐρρύσατο) τιμῆς ἡξιώθη παρ' αὐτοῖς. καί ποτε οἱ Βακχιάδαι νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ τούτου ἐβούλοντο ἀποσπᾶν τὸν παῖδα Ἀκταίωνα κ.τ.λ. The account of Plutarch<sup>o</sup> places the birth of *Melissus* within the reign of *Phidon*: Φεῖδων τις τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀρχῇ, τὴν Ἀργείων πόλιν τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεμονεύειν τῶν λοιπῶν βουλόμενος, πρῶτον ἐπεβούλευσε Κορινθίους<sup>o</sup> πέμψας γὰρ ἤτει παρ' αὐτῶν νεανίας χιλίους τοὺς ἀκμῇ διαφέροντας καὶ ἀνδρείας<sup>o</sup> οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι τοὺς χιλίους, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδείξαντες Δέξανδρον. ἐν νῶ δ' ἔχων ὁ Φεῖδων ἐπιθέσθαι τούτοις—τὴν πράξιν ἀνέθετο τῶν ἐταίρων τισίν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀβρων ἐν αὐτοῖς<sup>o</sup> οὗτος δὲ ξένος ὦν τοῦ Δεξάνδρου ἔφρασεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν.—Φεῖδων δὲ ἀνευρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο τὸν προδόντα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐζήτει. δεισας δ' ὁ Ἀβρων φεύγει εἰς Κόρινθον, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐν Μελίσσῳ κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Κορινθίων χώρας<sup>o</sup> ἔνθα καὶ παῖδα γεννήσας Μελίσσον προσηγόρευσεν—τούτου δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου υἱὸς Ἀκταίων γίνεται. The fate of *Actaon*, which led to the foundation of Syracuse, has been already told<sup>p</sup>. Now according to this narrative of Plutarch the settlement of *Habron* in the Corinthian territory may have been 45 years before the death of *Actaon* his grandson; and the attempt of *Phidon* upon Corinth in the beginning of his reign might be 47 or 48 years before the foundation of Syracuse in B. C. 734. We may assume that he reigned 40 years B. C. 783—744; that he presided at the eighth Olympiad in the 36th year of his reign: and that he was put down by the Lacedæmonians three or four years afterwards. By this arrangement *Phidon*, the tenth from *Temenus*, might be about 40 years older than *Archias*, who was also the tenth from *Temenus*; a difference in age which is justified by similar cases where the facts are known. But the higher date of the Marble for *Phidon* is quite inconsistent with the time of *Melissus*; since according to that higher date the attempt upon Corinth in the beginning of the reign of *Phidon* would have been made 140 years before Syracuse was founded by *Archias*, with whom *Melissus* was contemporary<sup>q</sup>. And if the 8th Olympiad, at which *Phidon* presided, is placed at B. C. 856<sup>r</sup>, this again would leave 122 years between the time of *Phidon* and the foundation of Syracuse.

It appears from Aristotle<sup>s</sup> that *Phidon* was already king, and made himself absolute: πᾶσιν ὑπέρχε τοῖς τρόποις τούτοις τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ῥαδίως—διὰ τὸ δύναμιν προϋπάρχειν τοῖς μὲν βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ τὴν τῆς τιμῆς, οἷον Φεῖδων μὲν περὶ Ἄργος καὶ ἕτεροι τύραννοι κατέστησαν βασιλείας ὑπαρχούσης, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Φάλαγρις ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν. This passage, however, does not determine the time of *Phidon*. For kings may be traced at Argos to a late period. There was a king of Argos in the second Messenian war, B. C. 669<sup>t</sup>; and *Lacydes* or *Lacedes* reigned in the time of *Clisthenes* of Sicyon. His son *Meltas* was deposed by the people<sup>v</sup>. But the office

<sup>o</sup> Plutarch. Amat. Narr. c. 2. p. 772. 773.

<sup>p</sup> See the Tables B. C. 734.

<sup>q</sup> The numbers of the Parian Marble place the ἀκμῇ of *Phidon* at the year 631, and the foundation of Syracuse at the year 493, according to the supplement of the editors founded on the 21st of *Æschylus*. An interval of 138 years.

<sup>r</sup> Computed from the Olympiad of *Iphitus* in B. C. 884 according to Eratosthenes, the 8th will fall within B. C. 856; where *Phidon* is placed by Larcher Herodot. tom. VII. p. 591.

<sup>s</sup> Aristot. Rep. V. 8, 4=V. 10.

<sup>t</sup> See the Tables B. C. 669.

<sup>v</sup> Among the kings of Argos *Eratus* reigned in the time of *Nicander* king of Sparta: Pausan. II. 36, 5. Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικάνδρου—

ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ἐσβαλόντων στρατιᾷ συνεσέβαλόν σφισιν οἱ Ἀσινᾶιοι.—ὥς δὲ ὁ στόλος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίνην οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Ἐρατος, which would place *Eratus* at about B. C. 800; whence the conjecture of Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 113. f. is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of *Phidon*. *Leocedes* is one of the suitors of *Agaristē* in Herodotus VI. 127. already quoted. Plutarch. Mor. p. 89. E. Λακύνην τὸν Ἀργείων βασιλέα κόμης τινὸς διάθεσις καὶ βάδισμα τρυφερότερον εἰς μαλακίαν διέβαλε. Pausan. II. 19, 2. Μέλταν τὸν Λακίδου τὸν ἀπόγονον Μήδωνος τὸ παράπαν ἔπαυσεν ἀρχῆς καταγνοῦς ὁ δῆμος. Wyttenbach ad Plutarch. l. c. supposes *Phidon* the father of *Lacydes* to be *Medon* of Pausanias, and brings down *Medon* to the time



of king was afterwards conferred upon *Ægon*<sup>w</sup>. And in B. C. 480 a king of Argos is mentioned by Herodotus<sup>x</sup>. We may suppose that these kings had no great authority, and that they were only nominally kings, while the real power was in the hands of the people. In the Epistles, however, ascribed to Plato<sup>y</sup> tyrants are mentioned at Argos in the time of *Lycurgus*: Λυκούργος ἰδὼν τὸ τῶν οἰκείων γένος ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ Μέσσην ἐκ βασιλείων εἰς τυράννων δύναμιν ἀφικομένους καὶ διαφθείραντας ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑκατέρους ἑκατέραν. We might suspect that the author followed the higher epoch, which placed *Phidon* in those times.

It is no objection to the lower date that some early authorities refer *Phidon* to a higher; for two dates are assigned to others, who may nevertheless be determined to their true era. Thus *Daicles* is referred by Phlegon to the time of *Iphitus*, 27 Olympiads or 108 years before his true era, which was in the 7th registered Olympiad<sup>z</sup>. *Thaletas* had two dates. He was placed by some accounts before *Homer*, or in the time of *Lycurgus*; but his true time was two centuries later than *Lycurgus*<sup>a</sup>. *Terpander* was assigned by high authorities to a remote period; but other accounts place him at the 30th Olympiad<sup>b</sup>.

## II.

### MESSENIAN WARS.

THE first Messenian war is fixed by Pausanias to B. C. 743—723; and the commencement of the war in B. C. 743 is consistent with the time of *Polychares*, who was victor at Olympia in B. C. 764<sup>c</sup>. The interval of rest is fixed by Pausanias at the 39th year current;

of *Clisthenes*: Quæ hoc loco notatur mollities convenire videtur in *Leocedem Phidonis Argivorum regis filium, quem Herodotus numerat in procis Agarista, quem Lacidem appellat Pausanias, ejus filium Mellam Medonis nepotem ultimum Argivorum regem perhibens; ubi Mήδωνος nomen pro Φείδωνος ex errore librarii venisse videtur, indeque temere ab hodiernis quibusdam in stemmate illius stirpis positum*. But in that passage of Pausanias, as now amended, *Medon* is the son of *Cisus* in the third generation from *Temenus*; and this emendation is confirmed by the expression τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδωνος. *Meltas* is not the grandson but the descendant of *Medon*, and many generations came between them. The rest of Wytttenbach's interpretation, which brings down *Meltas* to the time of *Pisistratus*, is far superior to that of Clavier des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 94. who carries back *Meltas* to the fifth generation after *Temenus*, arranging the descent in this order: 1. *Temenus*. 2. *Cisus*. 3. *Medon*. 4. *Lacydes*. 5. *Meltas*. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 113. concurs with Wytttenbach in understanding Λακκήδης in Herodotus, Λακίδης in Plutarch, and Λακίδης in Pausanias, to be the same person.

<sup>w</sup> Plutarch. Mor. p. 340. C. ἐξέλιπεν Ἀργείοις ποτὲ τὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεύεσθαι πάτριον ἦν αὐτοῖς. ζητοῦσι δὲ καὶ διαπυνθανομένοις ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτὸν δεῖξαι· καὶ μετ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας αὐτὸς ὑπερφανεῖς καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγωνος οἰκίαν ἐκάθισε, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡρέθη Αἴγων. Idem Pyth. Or. p. 396. C. χρησμοῦ τινος ἐμμέτρου λεχθέντος οἶμαι περὶ τῆς Αἴγωνος τοῦ Ἀργείου βασιλείας. Wytttenbach, in commenting on the former passage, appears to have forgotten the latter. *Ægon*, as Muller supposes, probably was elected after the time of *Meltas*.

<sup>x</sup> Herodot. VII. 149. καὶ δὴ λέγειν (τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀγγέλλας) σφὶ μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλῆας Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα·—μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον εἶναι κολύειν οὐδέν.

<sup>y</sup> Epist. Platon. VIII. p. 354. b.

<sup>z</sup> See p. 141. and the Tables B. C. 752.

<sup>a</sup> See the Tables B. C. 750. 665. 644.

<sup>b</sup> See the Tables B. C. 676. 644.

<sup>c</sup> See the Tables B. C. 764. The injuries received by *Polychares* were the immediate cause of the first war: Pausan. IV. 4, 4—5, 3. But a cause of quarrel between the two nations had already occurred before in an affray at the temple of *Diana Limnatis*, in which *Teleclus* king of Sparta was slain. The Messenians and the Spar-

and he collects from Tyrtæus that the second war was carried on by the grandsons of those who were engaged in the first<sup>b</sup>. Other accounts, however, placed 80 years between the two wars. Justin<sup>c</sup>: *Messenii expugnantur. Dein cum per annos octoginta gravia servitutis verbera—perpassi essent,—bellum instaurant*<sup>d</sup>. Eusebius agrees with Pausanias in the beginning of the first war<sup>e</sup>. His dates for the second are these: *Anno 1382 Ol. 36. 3. Messene deficit a Lacedæmoniiis. Anno 1384 Ol. 37. 1. Timæus Atheniensis cognoscebatur.* Hieronymus with some variation: *Anno 1379 Messena a societate Lacedæmoniorum discedit. Anno 1383 Myrthæus Atheniensis poëta agnoscitur.* Syncellus<sup>f</sup>: Μυρταῖος Ἀθηναῖος ποιητῆς ἐγνωρίζετο. whence we may collect that the name *Tyrtæus* had been already corrupted in the copies of Eusebius before the time of Syncellus. These notices go beyond the interval of Justin, and give a space of 90 years between the two wars<sup>g</sup>. Suidas follows the lower date for the second war: Τυρταῖος Ἀρχιμυβρότου Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος, ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ αὐλητῆς· ὃν λόγος τοῖς μέλεσι χρησάμενον παροτρύνει Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ πολέμουντας Μεσσηνίοις ταύτῃ ἐπικρατεστέρους ποιῆσαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιάτατος· σύγχρονος τοῖς ἑπτὰ κληθεῖσι σοφοῖς, ἢ καὶ παλαιότερος. ἤκμαζε γοῦν κατὰ τὴν λ᾽ Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Valesius<sup>h</sup> adapts Tyrtæus to this lower date: *Eam sententiam prope est ut veriorē putem. Nam Tyrtæus tertia ætate post primum bellum rebellasse Messenios innuit his versibus: ἀμφ' αὐτὴν κ. τ. λ. tres autem ætates seu γενεαὶ octoginta plus minus annos conficiunt.* And Grævius<sup>i</sup>: *A Justino stat Eusebius; quod confirmat Tyrtæi ætas.—Ipse enim Tyrtæus cecinit se tertia γενεᾷ seu ætate post primum bellum missum esse ad Lacedæmonios; γενεὰ vero erat triginta annorum, ut tres γενεαὶ sint 90 anni.* Clavier<sup>k</sup> also adopts the longer interval: *Cet intervalle [the interval of Pausanias] est trop court; car Tyrtée dit que cette seconde guerre fut fuite par les petits-enfans de ceux qui se trouvoient à la première. Ce qui suppose un intervalle de 60 ans au moins; aussi crois-je que Justin ne se trompe pas de*

tans gave different accounts of this transaction: Pausan. IV. 4, 2. Strabo VI. p. 257. indicates that there were two parties among the Messenians: κτίσμα ἐστὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον Χαλκιδέων.—ἦσαν δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ οἱ Μεσσηνίων φυγάδες τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, καταστασιασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων δοῦναι δίκας ὑπὲρ τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν παρθένων τῆς ἐν Λίμναις γενομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· ὧς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰβιάσαντο πεμφθείσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερουργίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας ἀπέκτειναν. παραχωρήσαντες οὖν εἰς Μάκιστον οἱ φυγάδες πέμπουσιν εἰς θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ἐκέλευσε στέλλεσθαι μετὰ Χαλκιδέων εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον—οὐ γὰρ ἀπολωλέναι αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ σῶσθαι, μέλλοντάς γε δὴ μὴ συναφανισθῆσεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι ἀλωσομένη μικρὸν ἕστερον ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπήκουσαν. Heracleides περὶ πολιτειῶν p. 214. Ῥήγιον ἦκισαν Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἀπ' Εὐρίπου διὰ λιμὸν ἀναστάντες· παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τοὺς Μεσσηνίους τοὺς ἐν Μάκιστρῳ τυχόντας διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν Σπαρτιάδων παρθένων. According to these passages Rhegium was founded soon after the death of Teleclus, and a few years before the beginning of the first Messenian war.

<sup>b</sup> Pausan. IV. 15, 1. ἀπέστησαν ἔπει τριακοστῇ καὶ ἐνάτῃ μετὰ Ἰθώμης ἄλῳσιν.—ἐν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνι οἱ τινες τηριαῦτα ἔτυχον βασιλεύοντες Τυρταῖος μὲν τὰ δόματα οὐκ ἔγραψε.—Τυρταῖον δὲ καὶ οὐ λέγοντα ὅμως εἰρηκέναι τις αἶν ἐν τῇδε ἡρώτῳ, ἐλεγεῖα γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρότε-

ρὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πόλεμον [see the Tables B. C. 723].—ὅηλα οὖν ἐστὶν ὡς ἕστερον τρίτῃ γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τόνδε ἐπολέμησαν.

<sup>c</sup> Justin III. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Rollin Hist. Ancienne tom. III. p. 34. treating of the Messenian wars quotes this passage of Justin, and substitutes *complures* for *octoginta*: *Cum per complures annos gravia servitutis verbera, &c.* He had adopted the dates of Pausanias, and, wishing to use the passage of Justin, kept out of view the controversy respecting the date of the second war.

<sup>e</sup> See the Tables B. C. 743.

<sup>f</sup> Syncell. p. 213. C.

<sup>g</sup> B. C. 724—634. Hieronymus indeed places the termination of the first war *anno 1285 Ol. 12. 1=2 Armen.* But he had himself at the year 1273 ascribed to that war a duration of twenty years: *Lacedæmonii contra Messenios vicennale bellum habebant*; which places the termination at the year 1292, or B. C. 725. In the Armenian copy neither the term *vicennale* nor the notice of its termination occurs.

<sup>h</sup> Apud Wess. ad Diod. tom. IV. p. 294.

<sup>i</sup> Ad Justin. III. 5.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. des Prem. Temps tom. II. p. 233.



*beaucoup en mettant cette guerre 80 ans après la première.* Valesius and Grævius have misrepresented the meaning of Tyrtæus. The poet does not say that three generations intervened between the two wars. The three generations included both wars, together with the interval which divided them: ἐμάχοντο πατέρων ἡμετέρων πατέρες. One generation, then, and not three, came between, as Pausanias has rightly explained it.

1. The first generation conducted the first war.
2. The second rested from war [38 years].
3. The third generation carried on the second war<sup>1</sup>.

*Pantaleon* king of *Pisa* was engaged in the second war<sup>m</sup>, whose son *Pyrrhus* was still living in B. C. 572. Strabo does not absolutely determine in what year of the war *Pantaleon* became an ally of the Messenians. Probably after the battle at the boar's grave, in which the Eleans succoured them<sup>n</sup>; and in that case not before the sixth year of the war B. C. 680, according to the dates of Pausanias. But if *Pantaleon* participated in the campaign of B. C. 680, and if we place his accession in that year at the age of 23 or 24 years, and the death of *Pyrrhus* in B. C. 570 after the war with the Eleans which occurred in the 52nd Olympiad<sup>o</sup>, this will suppose an interval of 110 years for the successive reigns of *Pantaleon* and his two sons, *Damophon* and *Pyrrhus*; and of 133 or 134 years from the birth of the father to the death of the youngest son. It is very possible that *Pyrrhus*, although called the son of *Pantaleon* in the account which had descended to Pausanias, was in reality his grandson. The interval, however, may be justified by similar intervals in times of authentic history. *Archidamus* and his two sons, *Agis* and *Agésilæus*, reigned successively 108 years; and the space from the birth of *Archidamus* to the death of *Agésilæus* might be 138 or 140 years<sup>p</sup>. The three successive reigns of *Attalus I.* and his two sons, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, occupied 103 years; and from the birth of *Attalus* the father to the death of *Attalus II.* were 131 years<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias concludes that *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* carried on the first war, that their successors *Eurycrates* and *Zeuxidamus* abstained from war, and that it was renewed in the next reigns of *Anaxander* and *Anaxidamus*. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 166. who admits "that the "grandfathers were engaged in the first war " and the grandchildren in the second," without reason affirms that Pausanias is contrary to Tyrtæus in stating the interval at 39 years.

<sup>m</sup> See the Tables at B. C. 672.

<sup>n</sup> Strabo names the Eleans among the allies of *Messenia*. But in VIII. p. 355. he calls the Eleans allies of *Lacedæmon*: συνέπραξαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων συμμαχήσαντι αὐτοῖς, τάναντία τῶν Νέστορος ἀπογόνου καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμπολεμησάντων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσούτων γε συνέπραξαν ὥστε τὴν χῆραν ἀπασσὼ τὴν μάχην Μεσσήνης Ἥλειαν ῥηθῆναι, καὶ διαμῖναι μέχρι καὶ νῦν. Phavorinus v. Λιγίας, referred to by Mr. Muller vol. I. p. 171., also attests the same thing: πρὶς δὲ τοῖς ἱστορεῖται καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν Πισάται τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐπεμύλανε. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις αὐτοὶ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων συνεμάχοντο, καθελόντες ἑστέροι αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρέσχον τὴν τοῦ ἀγῶνος

ἀρχὴν τοῖς Ἥλείοις, οἱ κατὰ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς Λάκωνσι συνεμάχοντο. Pausanias IV. 15, 4., enumerating the allies of the Messenians at the battle of the boar's grave, names the Eleans but omits the *Pisatæ*: παρεσκεύαζοντο ὡς μάχην συνάψοντες ἐπὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Κάπρῳ σήματι. Μεσσηνίοις μὲν οὖν Ἥλείοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἀργεῶς ἀφίκετο καὶ Σικυῶνος βοήθεια. —Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἦλθον Κορίνθιοι συμμαχήσαντες καὶ Λεπρεατῶν τινὲς κατὰ ἕχθος τὸ Ἥλειων. It is probable, then, that the *Pisatæ* were not allies of Messenia till the Eleans ceased to be so; that the Eleans assisted in the beginning of the war; that the *Pisatæ*, becoming independent under *Pantaleon* in Ol. 26, joined the Messenians, and that the Eleans then transferred themselves to the Lacedæmonian party.

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables B. C. 644. 583. 572.

<sup>p</sup> They reigned B. C. 469—361. See F. H. II. p. 205. The birth of *Archidamus* we may place at B. C. 499 or 500.

<sup>q</sup> They reigned from B. C. 241 to 138. *Attalus I.* being 72 at his death in B. C. 197 was born B. C. 269; *Attalus II.* died in B. C. 138: F. H. III. p. 401—408.

Again, from the birth of *L. Seneca* to the death of his youngest son *Seneca* the philosopher were at least 126 years<sup>r</sup>. The extent, then, of the interval from *Pantaleon* to *Pyrrhus*, even if *Pyrrhus* were the son and not the grandson, is no objection to the date which Pausanias assigns for the second war. I incline, however, to place his accession to the war a few years later than B. C. 680. The *Pisatæ* would not be named as parties in the war till after they had become independent. But according to Strabo compared with Africanus they acquired independence in Ol. 26<sup>s</sup>; they celebrated Ol. 28, and assisted in the presidency in Ol. 30—52 inclusive. The commencement of their independence, according to Strabo, was after Ol. 26, July B. C. 676, and before Ol. 27, July B. C. 672. It is probable, then, that *Pantaleon* began to reign and that the *Pisatæ* participated in the war within that period, about B. C. 674; which would reduce the duration of the three reigns to 104 years. In this case, if they became allies of the Messenians before the siege of Ira (which the terms of Strabo render probable), Pausanias has placed the whole war about six years too high; and the dates may be reduced to B. C. 679—662; which is quite consistent with the account of Tyrtæus<sup>t</sup>.

Pausanias in one place calls the interval from the close of the second war to the restoration of the Messenians by *Epaminondas* almost 300 years; in another, 287 years<sup>v</sup>: κατῆλθον ἐς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ καὶ οὐλομένην καὶ διακοσίους ἔτεσιν ὕστερον μετὰ Εἰράς ἄλωσιν.—Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ ἐκτὸς Πελοποννήσου τριακόσια ἔτη μάλιστα ἤλυντο. As the dates of Pausanias himself, Ol. 28. 1—102. 3, give 297 years for the interval (excluding both extremes), we may with Palmerius<sup>w</sup> and Perizonius<sup>x</sup> substitute ἐπὶ καὶ ἐνεμήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. Other ancient writers give vague accounts of the period of subjection. Isocrates<sup>y</sup> calls it 400 years: ἡμεῖς τοίνυν Μεσσηνὴν εἰλομεν πρὶν Πέρσας λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ

<sup>r</sup> From B. C. 61 to A. D. 65: F. H. III. p. 257.

<sup>s</sup> See the Tables B. C. 668. 660.

<sup>t</sup> Corsini F. A. tom. III. p. 45. supposes that the passage of Strabo VIII. p. 355. quoted in note n. fixes the termination of the war to B. C. 668 with Pausanias: *Olymp. 28 non ab Eleis sed a Pisæis celebrata est. Itaque quum Strabo subdat "post ultimam Messeniorum destructionem" Olympiorum decus ad Eleos iterum Lacedæmoniis opem ferentibus rediisse, appareatque Olymp. 29 Eleos præfuisse, perspicue certoque colligitur Messeniorum destructionem in Ol. 28 certissime collocandam esse.* But, as we learn from Africanus (whom Corsini p. 47. unreasonably calls in question), the Pisæans presided again in Ol. 30 and in twenty-two following Olympiads; so that this account of Strabo cannot refer to Ol. 29. Clavier tom. II. p. 238. from the mention of *Pantaleon* brings down the beginning of the war below the date of Pausanias: *Comme ce prince fit célébrer les jeux Olympiques en Olymp. 34, malgré les Eléens, il est évident que Pausanias a trop reculé cette guerre.* And Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 171. for the same reason places it at B. C. 644. In vol. II. p. 520. quoting Justin, he places the second war at Ol. 35. 3 B. C. 638. which would make the interval according to his own dates 86 years instead of 80. But it does

not follow that *Pantaleon* engaged in the Messenian war precisely at the year in which he assumed the presidency of the games, especially when we know that the Pisæans were independent 30 years before. And the testimony of Tyrtæus, that only one generation intervened between the two wars, will not admit that a longer space than 44 or 45 years at the most should be placed between them. Strabo already quoted in note n., and Phavorinus p. 134. who says "that the Lacedæmonians deprived the Pisatans of this privilege for siding with Messenia and gave it to the Eleans who took their part," Mr. Muller I. p. 171. understands to imply "that Sparta rejected the claims of *Pantaleon* to the ἀγωνοθεσία after Ol. 34." But from the notices in Africanus it is manifest that the description given by Strabo of the ascendancy acquired by the Eleans did not come to pass till after the time of *Pyrrhus*, and after the 52nd Olympiad. The words of Strabo, then, are to be understood in a wider and more general sense, not precisely marking the close of the second war, but referring to a later period.

<sup>v</sup> Pausan. IV. 27. 5.

<sup>w</sup> Palmer. Exercit. p. 390.

<sup>x</sup> Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. XIII. 42.

<sup>y</sup> Archidam. p. 121. a.



πρὶν οἰκισθῆναι τινὰς τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἑλληνίδων. καὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων τῷ μὲν βαρβάρῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς πατρώαν οὖσαν ἀποδιδόασιν, ὃς οὐκ αὖ διακόσια ἔτη κατέσχηκε τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἡμᾶς δὲ Μεσσήνην ἀποστεροῦσιν, οἱ πλέον ἢ διπλάσιον χρόνον ἢ τοσοῦτον τυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες αὐτὴν· καὶ Θεσπιδᾶς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιᾶς ἐχθρὸς καὶ πρῶν ἀναστᾶτους πεποιήκασιν, ταύτην δὲ διὰ τετρακοσίων<sup>z</sup> ἔτων μέλλουσι κατοικίξιν. Dinarchus<sup>a</sup> agrees with Isocrates: Μεσσήνην τετρακοσιοστῷ ἔτει κατ᾽ώρισαν. Reckoned upwards from B. C. 369, the 400 years would carry us to B. C. 769, twenty-six years before the first war began. Orosius<sup>b</sup> places the commencement of the first war at B. C. 772. Lycurgus<sup>c</sup> calls the space 500 years: Μεσσήνην πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνοικισθεῖσαν. which would ascend to the time of *Lycurgus*. Plutarch<sup>d</sup>, on the contrary, computes 230 years: τοὺς Θηβαίους Ἐπαμινώνδας ἠνάγκασεν—οἰκῆσαι Μεσσήνην δι' ἑτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίων<sup>e</sup>. This number = B. C. 599<sup>f</sup> would place the subjection of Messenia twenty years below the conclusion of the second war according to the dates of Eusebius. The number in Plutarch may probably be corrupt: the general statements of Isocrates, Dinarchus, and Lycurgus, afford no assistance in fixing the date of the second war.

The date of Pausanias is confirmed by the account which is given of *Aristomenes*, who is said after his settlement at Rhodes to have meditated a visit to *Ardys* king of Lydia and *Phraortes* king of Media<sup>g</sup>. *Ardys* reigned B. C. 678—630; *Phraortes* B. C. 656—635.

<sup>z</sup> Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 167. r. supposes Isocrates to reckon "only 300 years." But the word *τριακοσίων* in Isocrates, which contradicted his own statement of "twice two hundred years," has been corrected by Bekker from a MS.

<sup>a</sup> In Demosth. p. 99, 29.

<sup>b</sup> Oros. I. 21. *Anno vicesimo ante urbem conditam Lacedæmonii contra Messenios propter spretas virgines suas—per annos viginti indefesso furore bellantes.*

<sup>c</sup> In Leocratem p. 155, 42.

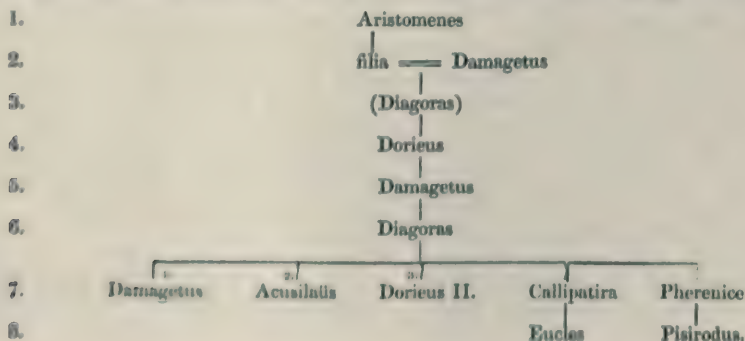
<sup>d</sup> Apophthegm. p. 194. B.

<sup>e</sup> Ælian V. H. XIII. 42. has the same numbers.

<sup>f</sup> Mr. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 167. r. understands Plutarch to mean "230 years before the death of *Leonidas*; i. e. B. C. 711 Ol. 17. 2." But there is no question concerning any fact except the restoration by *Epaminondas* in B. C. 369.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. IV. 24, 1. Ἀριστομένης δὲ ὡς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέπατο τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν στελλομένων, τὰς θυγατέρας τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ Ἀγνα-

γόραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, τὴν μὲν Θάρυκι ἐς Φιγαλίαν, Δαμοθοῖδᾳ δὲ Λεπρέατῃ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ Θεσπιδόμῳ τὰς θυγατέρας συνήκισεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρήτο τῇ θεῇ—Δαμαγῆτῳ δὲ Ῥοδίῳ βασιλεύοντι ἐν Ἰαλυσῷ, τότε δὲ ἦκοντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ ἐρωτῶντι ὁπόθεν ἀγαγέσθαι χρὴ γυναῖκα, ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία θυγατέρα ἀνδρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ ἀρίστου λαβεῖν. ὃ δὲ (ἦν γὰρ καὶ τρίτῃ τῇ Ἀριστομένει θυγατρὶ) γαμῆε ταύτην.—Ἀριστομένης δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἔς τε Σάρδεϊς ἐνενόει παρὰ Ἀρδὺν τὸν Γύγου καὶ ἐς Ἐκβάτανα τὰ Μηδικὰ ἀναβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Φραόρτην· ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρότερον τούτων συνέπεσεν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ νοσήσαντι. From this marriage descended the Olympic victors the *Diagoridæ*: Pausan. Ibid. γεγονότας ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγῆτου τοῦ Δαριεῶς τοῦ Δαμαγῆτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένηος θυγατρὸς. Idem VI. 7, 1. γένος δὲ ὁ Διαγόρας· τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μεσσήνιος πρὸς γυναῖκων ἦν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστομένηος γηγόνει θυγατρὸς. The *Diagoridæ* are described in Pausan. VI. 7. V. 6, 5. Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. Ælian. V. H. X. 1. Cic. Tusc. I. 46. The descent may be thus arranged from Pausanias and Schol. Pindar.:



These periods of their reigns are consistent with the termination of the war at B. C. 668, or six years lower, at B. C. 662. But if the second war had not commenced till B. C. 644 or 634, *Aristomenes* could not have settled at Rhodes till after these two kings had ceased to reign.

The duration of the second war is not clearly ascertained. The dates of Pausanias do not agree with his detail, as Corsini<sup>h</sup> has observed. His dates, Ol. 23. 4—28. 1 = B. C. 685—668, give 17 years, but his narrative only describes 14 years.

1. The battle at Deræ: ἔτει πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν IV. 15.

2. The battle ἐπὶ τῷ κάπρου σήματι, ἐνιαυτῷ ὕστερον Ibid.

3. The battle of the trenches τρίτῳ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου IV. 17.

4—14. Siege of Ira eleven years: ἀντήρκεσαν μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάφρῳ συμφορὰν ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν Ibid.

In Pausanias only two battles are related before the battle of the trenches. But Justin<sup>i</sup> speaks of three: *Tyrtæus tribus præliis fusos eo usque desperationis Spartanos adduxit ut ad supplementum exercitus servos suos manumitterent.* And Orosius<sup>k</sup>: *Lacedæmonii Tyrtæum poetam Atheniensem ducem prælio legunt; qui tribus conflictibus fusi amissum exercitum vocata in libertatem servorum manu suppleverunt.* The battle of the trenches, which gave the victory to the Lacedæmonians, is attested by Polybius<sup>l</sup> and by Tyrtæus him-

*Diagoras* was victor—πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος νίκην Paus. VI. 7, 1—in Ol. 79 B. C. 464, near 200 years after the marriage of his ancestor with the daughter of *Aristomenes*; whence we may suspect with Clavier tom. II. p. 261. 1. that one generation in the pedigree in Paus. IV. 24. is wanting. Palmerius Exerc. p. 389. transcribes the passage thus: γεγονότας ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένης θυγατρὸς. overlooking the intermediate names; and remarks, γεγονότας intelligo ἀπογόνους, vel desunt quædam personæ in genealogia. But if Palmerius overlooked two names in transcribing the passage, it is not unlikely that a transcriber of the text should omit one, either a second *Diagoras* or a third *Damagetus*; and the descent in Pausanias might originally be this: γεγονότας ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου. The youngest son of *Diagoras*, *Dorieus II.*, who was thrice victor in the *pancratium*—Δωριεύς δὲ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισὶ Pausan. VI. 7, 1. inaccurately called πύκτης by the Scholiast—and who is mentioned by Aristotle Rhet. I. 2. p. 1357. a., gained his first victory in Ol. 87 B. C. 432, 32 years after the victory of his father, and was put to death by the Lacedæmonians in B. C. 406: F. H. II. p. 64. *Damagetus* the elder brother—Δαμάγητος δὲ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Schol. Pindar.—had been victor before Ol. 87: πρότερον ἔτι τοῦ Δωριέως ἐκράτησε καὶ Δαμάγητος τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον Pausan. VI. 7, 1. on the same day as *Acusilaüs* (Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν λαβὼν πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον Pausan. I. c.):

conf. Cic. Tusc. I. 46. The Scholiast adds that their victory was on the same day as the victory of *Diagoras* himself: κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν νικήσαντας τοὺς παῖδας κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τῷ πατρί. which is improbable, and refuted by the silence of Pausanias, Cicero, and Pindar. The last victory was that of *Pisirodus*, whose mother was present at the Olympic games. He is the son of *Callipatira* in the Scholiast and in Pausan. V. 6. but the son of *Pherenicë* in Pausan. VI. 7. and in *Ælian*. Pausanias V. 6. admits that there were two accounts: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερενίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιπάτειραν καλοῦσιν.

<sup>h</sup> F. A. tom. III. p. 37.

<sup>i</sup> III. 5.

<sup>k</sup> I. 21.

<sup>l</sup> Polyb. IV. 33. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστομένην καιροῖς, καθάπερ καὶ Καλισθένης φησὶ, γράψαντες τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο

πάντας ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκῃ βασιλῆϊ,  
εὔρε δὲ Μεσσήνη σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην  
ῥηϊδίως. χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπιόρκον.  
χαῖρε, Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίην.

ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐσπερήθησαν, οἰονεὶ περὶ δευτέρας πατρίδος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμενοι σάξειν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τοῦτ' ἀνέθεσαν τὸ ἐπιγράμμα· καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως ἐποίουν οὐ γὰρ μόνον αὐτοῖς Ἀρκαῖδες ἐποδεξάμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἐκπτώσιν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκ τὸν Ἀριστομένειον πόλεμον ὁμειστοὺς ἐποίησαντο καὶ πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐψηφίσαντο ταῖς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ διδόναι τῶν Μεσσηνίων. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἀναζητήσαντες τὴν Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ βασιλείως προδοσίαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ καλουμένῃ περὶ



self<sup>m</sup>. According to Pausanias<sup>n</sup> the death of *Aristocrates* occurred eleven years after the battle of the trenches. But Plutarch<sup>o</sup> assigns a much longer interval: τί γὰρ Μεσσηνίους ὄφελος τοῖς προανααιρεῖσι τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας; ὃς προδούς τὴν ἐπὶ τάφρῳ μάχην καὶ λαθὼν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ πάντα ταῦτα βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων ὕστερον ἔδωκε δίκην φαραθείς. οἱ δὲ οὐκετ' ἦσαν. which would make the duration of the siege of Ira twenty years. Suidas also names twenty years: Τυρταῖος. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄμωσαν ἢ Μεσσήνην αἰρήσειν ἢ αὐτοὶ τεθνήξεσθαι. χρεῖσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβεῖν, λαμβάνουσι Τυρταῖον τὸν ποιητὴν, χωλὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτοὺς παρακαλῶν εἶλε τῷ κ' ἔτει τὴν Μεσσήνην. But as eleven years current for the siege<sup>p</sup> are much more probable, the period in Suidas, and perhaps in Plutarch, might arise from a confusion of the first war (which really lasted till the twentieth year) with the second. If the war lasted seventeen years according to Pausanias, his own account will place the battle of the trenches in the sixth year instead of the third; and a longer space than he has assigned must be given to the success of the Messenians before the arrival of *Tyrtæus*, which appears justified by the accounts of Orosius and Justin. Arranging the events by the dates of Pausanias, we may refer the battle of the trenches to the campaign of B. C. 679, the commencement of the siege to the beginning of 678, the capture of Ira in the eleventh year to the autumn of B. C. 668. That battle had been preceded by five campaigns, and was in the sixth year of the war, if the war commenced, as Pausanias affirms, in the autumn of B. C. 685.

Theopompus<sup>q</sup> places the capture of Messene in the time of the philosopher *Pherecydes*: Φερεκύδης—τοῦτόν φησι Θεόπομπος ἀνιόντα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐς Μεσσήνην τῷ Ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμβουλευῶσαι μετοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, καὶ τὸν μὴ πεισθῆναι, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἐαλωκέναι. As *Pherecydes* flourished within B. C. 600—544, this would be irreconcilable with every account of the Messenian

τάφρῳ, αὐτὸν τ' ἀνέβλῃ καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἠφράνισαν. Callisthenes apud Polyb. affirms that the race of *Aristocrates* was extinguished; and Pausanias VIII. 5, 8. to the same effect: αὐτῇ ἢ ἀδικία καὶ τῇ γένει τῇ ἀπὸ Κυφέλου παντὶ παρέσχεον αἰτίαν παιθῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς. And yet *Aristocrates* left a son who possessed authority in Arcadia, and a daughter who was married to *Procles* of Epidaurus. See the Tables B. C. 624. That there were kings in Arcadia after *Aristocrates* appears from Polyænus I. 8. Ἄλως βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, Τέγαν περιβόωντων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν ἀκμῇ, κατὰ κορυφῆς ἔπειμαρ τῶν πλεονέκων κ. τ. λ.—οἱ δὲ κατὰ κορυφῆς ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν διέφθειραν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζωγράφοντες ἔδωσαν. καὶ τὸ λόγιον ἐτελείησεν [conf. Herodot. I. 66]. δῶσω τι Τεγῆν ποσσίσκοτον ὀρχήσασθαι. In the war of Tegea with *Charilæus*, *Polymestor* was king, as we know from Pausanias. See above p. 92. v. Although therefore Polyænus quotes the oracle which was referred by others to that war, yet we must reconcile his account with Pausanias by supposing *Alnus* to be king of Tegea in that later war which was carried on in the time of *Leon* and *Agesicles*: F. H. II. p. 417. e. which would place *Alnus* about a century after the death of *Aristocrates* II. A king of Orchomenus is mentioned 130 years later than *Alnus* by the Pseudo-Plutarch

Parallel. Min. p. 313. B. ἐν τῇ Πελοποννησιακῇ πολέμῳ Πεισίστρατος Ὀρχομένιος. But according to Wytenbach that writer is of no authority. Neither *Alnus* nor this Orchomenian king are said to be of the race of *Cypselus*.

<sup>m</sup> Eustrat. ad Aristot. Eth. Nicom. III. 8, 5. tom. II. p. 102. Zell. καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν τάφρων καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων παρατάττοντες: τοῦτο περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγοιτ' ἂν. τοιαύτην γὰρ τινα μάχην, ὅτε πρὸς Μεσσηνίους ἐμαχέσαντο, ἐπολέμουν, ἧς καὶ Τυρταῖος μνημονεύει.

<sup>n</sup> Pausan. IV. 22. It happened immediately after the capture of Ira: παραντίκα τε τὴν κατάληψιν ἐτυυθάνοντο τῆς Εἰράς κ. τ. λ.

<sup>o</sup> De S. N. V. p. 548. F.

<sup>p</sup> Pausan. IV. 17, 6. ἐνὶ τε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμυνόμενοι. τὸν δὲ χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας γενέσθαι τοσούτου δηλοῖ καὶ τὰδε ὑπὸ Ῥιανῷ πεποιημένα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους:

εὖρεος ἀργεννοῦ περὶ πτήχας ἐστρατώντο  
χειματὰ τε ποίας τε δύο καὶ εἴκοσι πάσας.

Although he quotes no other authority for the duration of the siege than Rhianus, yet the expression καὶ τὰδε implies that he had other authorities. The eleven years are afterwards called eleven years current: IV. 20, 1. ἐνδεκάτη δὲ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας τὴν τε Εἰρὰν ἐπέπρατο ἄλῳνα καὶ ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι Μεσσηνίους.

<sup>q</sup> Lært. I. 116.

wars. But we learn from Porphyry that Theopompus has inaccurately ascribed to *Pherecydes* and *Messene* what in reality belonged to *Pythagoras* and *Sybaris*<sup>r</sup>.

The Messenians were not finally subdued in the war of *Aristomenes*, which ended according to Pausanias in B. C. 668. They made a third effort<sup>s</sup> about the time of the battle of Marathon. Plato<sup>t</sup>: Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπό τε τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δὴ τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς, οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγομένον, ὅστεροι δ' οὖν ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. Pausanias<sup>v</sup>: 'Ριανὸς δ' ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς ἔπεισι Λεωτυχίδην βασιλέα ἐπὶ τοῦδε εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου [the war of *Aristomenes*]. 'Ριανῶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδαμῶς κατὰ γε τοῦτο συνήσομαι.—Λεωτυχίδης δὲ μετὰ Δημάρατον βασιλεύσας φαίνεται τὸν 'Αρίστωνος.—<sup>w</sup>'Αναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστειλεν [B. C. 667] ἐς 'Ιταλίαν καλῶν· ὁ δὲ 'Αναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν 'Ρηγίου τέταρτος δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν 'Αλκιδαμίδου· μετώκησε δὲ 'Αλκιδαμίδας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς 'Ρήγιον μετὰ τὴν 'Αριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευταίην καὶ 'Ιθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ 'Αναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο, ἐλθούσιν τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῶ κ. τ. λ.—προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως 'Αναξίλας διεβίβασεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς.—ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, κ. τ. λ. Pausanias has partly discerned the error of Rhianus, and yet has fallen into a similar mistake himself. Each has confounded the third Messenian war with the second. Rhianus has brought down *Aristomenes* to the reign of *Leotychides*; Pausanias has carried back *Anaxilaüs* to the time of *Aristomenes*. But the true time of the third war, as marked by Plato, in reality coincided with the reigns of *Leotychides* and of *Anaxilaüs*. The battle of Marathon occurred in the second year of *Leotychides* at Sparta and the fifth of *Anaxilaüs* at Rhegium<sup>x</sup>. The fourth war<sup>y</sup>, which would be called the third by those who omit the war of B. C. 490, has been described in the Tables at B. C. 464. 455<sup>z</sup>.

## III.

## KINGS OF MEDIA.

THE chronology of the Median kings as stated by Herodotus has given rise to much speculation. Wesseling<sup>a</sup> gives the conjectures proposed by various critics, together with his own, principally to adapt the total period, which is computed at 156 years, to the amount of the four Median reigns, which are only 150 years. According to Conringius the supernumerary six years are to be understood as an *interregnum* preceding the election of *Deioces*.

<sup>r</sup> Porphyry, apud Euseb. Præp. X. p. 464. D.—465. B. ταῦτα τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος περὶ Πυθαγόρου ἱστορηκότος πάντα ὑφείλετο Θεόπομπος.—τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἕτερον δ' ὄνομα μετενόησε· Φερεκύδην γὰρ τὸν Σύριον πεποίηκε ταῦτα προλέγοντα. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτω τῷ ὀνόματι ἀποκρίπτει τὴν κλοπὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπων μεταθέσει.—τὴν γὰρ—Συβάρεως ἔλωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνης μετατέθεικεν· ἵνα δὲ τι δοκῇ λέγειν περὶ τὸν, καὶ τοῦ ξένου προτέθεικε τὸ ὄνομα, Περὶ λαὸν αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι λέγων.

<sup>s</sup> Called by Strabo τρίτον πόλεμον. See the Tables B. C. 672.

<sup>t</sup> Plato Leg. III. p. 698.

<sup>v</sup> IV. 15, 1.

<sup>w</sup> Idem IV. 23, 5.

<sup>x</sup> For the time of *Anaxilaüs* see F. H. II. p. 32. Barthelémy Anacharsis tom. IV. p. 473. has seen the coincidence of the date in Plato with the time of *Anaxilaüs*.

<sup>y</sup> Called τέταρτον πόλεμον in Strabo VIII. p. 362.

<sup>z</sup> F. H. II. p. 40. 46.

<sup>a</sup> Ad Herodot. I. 130.



Harduin alters the 28 years of the Scythian dominion to 22. Vignoles enlarges the reign of *Deioces* from 53 years to 59. Bouherius corrects the years of *Phraortes* from 22 to 28. Kalinsky reckons the whole period 128 years instead of 156, and deducts 22 years from the 53 of *Deioces*. Valckenaer reasons in this manner: "The Medes governed Asia 128 years, *excepting* those (παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον) of the Scythian dominion: therefore they governed it 100 years." And these 100 years he obtains by computing them from the second year of *Phraortes*, and by making *Cyaxares* reign 68 years and *Astyages* 39. Wesseling himself justly disapproves of the conjecture of Valckenaer, and appears from the same interpretation of παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον to arrive at a contrary conclusion. Jackson<sup>b</sup> supposes *τριήκοντα* in Herodotus to be an interpolation, and reads ἔτεα [τριήκοντα καὶ] ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέοντα or 98 years, expressing the period of the three last reigns excluding *Deioces*. Lastly, Hales<sup>c</sup>, to give space for *Cyaxares II.*, whom he introduces on the authority of Xenophon and Daniel, reduces the reign of *Deioces* to 40 years, for which he attempts to find authority in Ctesias; and supposes before the election of *Deioces* an *interregnum*, which he determines to be of seven years, because<sup>d</sup> that space "was sufficient to afford a fair trial of his judicial talents."

The result of so many conjectures is, that not one of the numbers in Herodotus has escaped unaltered, as will appear in the following summary:

	y.	
Scythian Empire .....	28	Herodot. I. 106. IV. 1. 22 Harduin.
<i>Deioces</i> .....	53	I. 102. .... 59 Vign. 31 Kalinsk. 40 Hales.
<i>Phraortes</i> .....	22	Ib. .... 28 Bouher.
<i>Cyaxares</i> .....	40	I. 106. .... (68 <sup>e</sup> Valcken.)
<i>Astyages</i> .....	35	I. 130. .... 39 Valcken.
Median Empire .....	128	Ibid. .... 98 Jackson.

But the numbers of Herodotus are unaltered and genuine, as appears from Diodorus<sup>f</sup>: κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἡρέθη βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Μήδων Κυαξάρης<sup>g</sup>, καὶ Ἡρόδοτος. The whole series of reigns in Herodotus is this:

	y.	
<i>Deioces</i> .....	53	
<i>Phraortes</i> .....	22	
<i>Cyaxares</i> .....	40	
<i>Astyages</i> .....	35	
		—150
<i>Cyrus</i> .....	29	m.
<i>Cambyses</i> .....	7. 5	
<i>Smerdis</i> .....	0. 7	
<i>Darius</i> .....	36	
		—73
		223

<sup>b</sup> Chronological Antiquities vol. I. p. 422.

<sup>c</sup> Ancient Chronology vol. III. p. 85.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 88.

<sup>e</sup> These, however, he obtains, not by altering the text, but by interpreting *τισσεράκοντα ἔτεα τὴν ταῖν, Σελῖαι ἤρξαν* to mean 40 + 28 = 68.

<sup>f</sup> II. 32.

<sup>g</sup> An error for *Δηϊόκης*. Diodorus had observed I. c. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν—φησὶν Ἀσσυρίους ἔτη πεντακόσια πρότερον τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρξάντας ἐπὶ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι ἵππειτα βασιλεία μὲν μηδὲνα γενίσθαι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσαντα τῶν ἔλων ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεάς, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθ'

The last year of *Darius* ended according to Herodotus in Ol. 73. 3 B. C. 48 $\frac{5}{8}$ <sup>h</sup>. The first year of *Cyrus* will accordingly be in his computation Ol. 55. 2 B. C. 55 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and the beginning of the period  $48\frac{5}{8} + 223 =$  B. C. 70 $\frac{2}{3}$  will be Ol. 17. 4 according to Herodotus, who gives only 29 years to *Cyrus*, but according to the general concurrence of testimonies, which assign to *Cyrus* 30 years and place his accession in Ol. 55. 1, the commencement of the period, as stated in the Tables, will be at Ol. 17. 3, one year higher than this computation.

Diodorus obtained his date for the beginning of the Median empire according to Herodotus by collecting the amount of the numbers which he supplied in detail<sup>i</sup>; and as Diodorus himself fixed the accession of *Cyrus* at Ol. 55. 1<sup>j</sup>, he computed the four Median reigns at 151 years, and obtained Ol. 17. 2 for their beginning, an excess of only one year above the numbers in Herodotus.

But not only is the date supplied by the present text consistent with the account of Diodorus, it is also consistent with the true period of the Median independence. For we may collect from Scripture that the Medes did not become independent till after the death of *Sennacherib*; and accordingly Josephus<sup>k</sup>, having related the death of this king and the miraculous recovery of *Hezekiah* from sickness, adds, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι. But the death of *Sennacherib*, as will be shewn hereafter<sup>l</sup>, is determined to the beginning of B. C. 711. The Median revolt, then, did not occur before B. C. 711; which refutes Conringius, who raises it to B. C. 715; and Valckenaer, who raises it to B. C. 741: and is conclusive against all innovations of the text of Herodotus which would suppose an interregnum of an additional 6 years exclusive of and prior to the 53 years ascribed to *Deioces*. The date, then, B. C. 7 $\frac{10}{8}$ <sup>o</sup> or Ol. 17. 3, is the true date, and the numbers as they now stand are genuine.

Herodotus<sup>m</sup> indeed implies an interval of some space between the revolt of the Medes and the election of *Deioces* to be king. But these ἀννὶ ἀβασίλευτοι could not have been prior to the 53 years of *Deioces*, since the revolt is limited by Scripture to B. C. 711. Dr. Hales<sup>n</sup>, adopting this idea of an interregnum, the duration of which was six years, imagines this interregnum to have commenced at the revolt, and dates the 53 years of *Deioces* six years lower, and so all the succeeding reigns. But the series of reigns from *Deioces* to *Xerxes*, 223 years, is fixed and determined at both extremes. The first term of the series could not have been earlier than B. C. 711; the last could not have been later than B. C. 485. But

ἐαυτὰς ταπτομένας διοικεῖσθαι δημοκρατικῶς· τὸ δὲ τελευταίων, πολλῶν ἐτῶν διελθόντων, αἰρεθῆναι βασιλεία παρὰ τοῖς Μήδοις ἀνδρὰ δικαιοσύνη διάφορον, ὄνομα Κναξάρην, κ. τ. λ. The term πεντακόσια is in round numbers for εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια Herodot. I. 95. Κναξάρης is evidently an error of Diodorus. The cause of his misrepresentation of Herodotus in the period of Median independence is not obscure. Diodorus had derived his notion from Ctesias that the Median revolt preceded the reign of *Astyages* 282 years (as will be shewn hereafter), and, finding only 115 years in Herodotus, he endeavoured to reconcile the two by imagining many generations (or 167 years) before a king was appointed. Eusebius Chron. II. anno 1197 in the same manner accounts for the interval between *Arbaces* and *Deioces*.

<sup>h</sup> See F. H. II. p. 247. Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 387.

<sup>i</sup> As Wesseling has remarked ad Diod. II. 32. tom. II. p. 436.

<sup>j</sup> See F. H. II. p. 2. <sup>k</sup> Joseph. Ant. X. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Appendix c. 4. <sup>m</sup> I. 96.

<sup>n</sup> Vol. III. p. 85. "Herodotus has not expressly given the length of the interregnum, but he has furnished the data. He reckons the Scythian dominion in Media 28 years and the whole length of the Median dynasty 128 years more, or 156 in all. But the reigns of the four kings amount to 150 years; which being subtracted from 156 years leave 6 years for the interregnum." Conringius had before adopted the same opinion. See Wess. ad Herodot. I. 130.



the interpretation of Hales would bring down the accession of *Cyrus* to B. C. 554°, and of *Xerxes* to B. C. 480, contrary to the tenour of history. The interregnum, then, was included in the 53 years of *Deioces*, and was counted to his reign; nor can we supply an additional six years by supposing an interregnum exclusive of the four reigns.

A plain and natural interpretation, agreeing in the outline with Kalinsky, but without alteration of the historian's numbers, will probably solve the difficulty. The term of 156 years, which has caused so much embarrassment, is not expressed in Herodotus. He affirms that the Median dominion lasted 128 years. These 128 years terminated at the defeat of *Astyages* B. C. 559. They commenced, then,  $559 + 128 =$  B. C. 687 in the 23rd year of the independence of the Medes. He therefore considered the period to begin after the regal government was settled; perhaps after the *ἔτη ἀβασίλευτοι* had expired; and to include the last 31 years of the government of *Deioces*. The term *παρῆξ* we may interpret with Valckenaer. The Median empire lasted 128 years B. C. 687—560, excluding from the account a period of 28 years B. C. 634—607 within that interval, during which years the Scythians occupied Asia. The 53 years, then, of *Deioces* are divided into two portions, 22 years of his government before he was appointed king and 31 years of his reign after the kingdom was established.

This period of 22 years is confirmed by a comparison of Ctesias with Herodotus. Dr. Hales P, giving a comparative view of the Median chronology of Ctesias and Herodotus, out of which he forms his own, speaks of the interregnum as stated by Ctesias at 22 years. He observes that Ctesias interpolates four Median kings, *Arbaces*, *Mandauces*, *Sosarmus*, and *Articas*, as reigning 108 years B. C. 821—713; that in the ensuing Median dynasty, however, he nearly agrees with Herodotus, and has given correctly the length of the dynasty, 159 years. Hales then subjoins the respective lists; that of Ctesias is thus stated:

	y.	B.C.
1. <i>Arbianes</i> and interregnum .....	22	710
2. <i>Artæus</i> .....	40	688
3. <i>Artynes</i> .....	22	648
4. <i>Astybaras</i> .....	40	626
5. <i>Astyigas</i> .....	(35)	586

He remarks that the sameness of the persons may be fairly collected from the sameness of their reigns. Hence *Phraortes*, and *Artynes*, &c. and the last, *Astyages* and *Astiagas*, are evidently the same. He proceeds to supply the 35 years which are wanting in Ctesias, and observes that the only variation in the times between Herodotus and Ctesias lies in the interregnum and the first reign; and he reduces the excessive reign of *Deioces* from 53 in Herodotus to 40 in Ctesias.

This representation is far from accurate. *Astyages* is identified with *Astiagas* by Diodorus himself<sup>q</sup>; and, although there is no similarity in the account of Ctesias between the two preceding reigns and the two predecessors of *Astyages* except in the number of years ascribed to them by each historian, yet from hence we may identify *Astybaras* with *Cyaxares* and *Artynes* with *Phraortes*. For the rest, the account of Ctesias is as follows<sup>r</sup>: *φησὶν οὖν μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας Μήδους προστῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας, Ἀρβάκου βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Σαρδανά-*

° See his representation of the chronology of Herodotus in vol. III. p. 85.

P Ancient Chronology vol. III. p. 84—86.

q II. 34.

r Apud Diod. II. 32—34.

παλον καταπολεμήσαντος.—τούτου δ' ἄρξαντος ἔτη δυσι λείποντα τῶν τριάκοντα, διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν υἱὸν Μανδαύκην, ὃν ἄρξει τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτη πενήκοντα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη βασιλεῦσαι Σώσαρμον πενήκοντα δὲ Ἀρτύκαν, δύο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Ἀρβιάνην, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ Ἀρταῖον. Ctesias then relates some unsuccessful wars of *Artæus* with the Cadusians, and subjoins, τῶν δὲ Μήδων βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ τὴν Ἀρταίου τελευτὴν Ἀρτόνην μὲν ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι Ἀστιβάραν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα κ. τ. λ. The Median dynasty, then, of Ctesias is this:

	y.
1. <i>Arbaces</i> .....	28
2. <i>Mandaucas</i> .....	50
3. <i>Sosarmus</i> .....	30
4. <i>Artycas</i> .....	50
	—158
5. <i>Arbianes</i> .....	22
6. <i>Artæus</i> .....	40
7. <i>Artynes</i> .....	22
8. <i>Astybaras</i> .....	40
	—124
9. <i>Aspadas</i> .....	—

This account gives 282 years down to the accession of *Astyages*; and B. C. 594 + 282 = B. C. 876. The sum therefore of the first four reigns in Ctesias is 158 years instead of 108, and they raise the date of the Median revolt to B. C. 876 instead of B. C. 821. If we supply 35 years for *Astyages*, the whole Median period according to Ctesias will be 317 years; called in round numbers 300 years by Agathias<sup>s</sup>: ἔτη δὲ καὶ (Μήδων) ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ διανυσάντων οὐ μείον ἢ τριακόσια, Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀστυάγην καταπολεμήσας ἐπὶ Πέρσας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετήγαγε. The numbers which Hales ascribes to the first four reigns were in reality derived from Syncellus by Jackson<sup>t</sup>, who is quoted by Hales. And Syncellus in the Median reigns follows Eusebius; the two lists being these:

	EUSEBIUS <sup>v</sup> .	SYNCELLUS <sup>w</sup> .
1. <i>Varbaces</i> .....	28	28
2. <i>Mandauces</i> .....	20	20
3. <i>Sosarmus</i> .....	30	30
4. <i>Artycas</i> .....	30	30
	—108	—108
5. <i>Deioces</i> .....	54	54
6. <i>Phraortes</i> .....	24	
7. <i>Cyaxares</i> .....	32	
8. <i>Asdahages</i> .....	38	
	—146	

The first four kings, who reigned 108 years in Eusebius, but 158 in Ctesias, if they existed at all, governed Media during the empire of the Assyrians, as we know from Scripture. In the four last reigns Eusebius agrees with Herodotus in the names and nearly in the total

<sup>s</sup> II. 25.

<sup>t</sup> Chronological Antiquities vol. I. p. 253.

<sup>v</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 46. *Medorum reges*.

1. *Varbaces annis 28, &c.*—*Cyrus dejecto Asdahage Medorum imperium extinxit, quod quidem annis [298] viguerat. Nonnulli tamen alios re-*

*ges Medorum in codicibus scribunt.* The numbers 298 are corrupt. His list in lib. II. p. 257. differs from this both in the names and the total amount. His account of the Median kings in his Tables varies from both the others in the following manner:



amount of years, though he varies in the years of each particular reign. Ctesias inserts a ninth reign, to which he assigns 22 years; and gives the numbers of Herodotus  $22 + 40 = 62$  years to the two predecessors of *Astyages*. That interpolated reign in Ctesias, which is made to precede *Deioces*<sup>x</sup>, precisely agrees with the term of 22 years obtained for the interregnum in Herodotus.

The acquisition of Media by *Cyrus* is represented as a forcible seizure not only by Herodotus<sup>y</sup>, but by Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Anaximenes, Dinon, Ctesias<sup>z</sup>, Amyntas<sup>a</sup>; and

P. 257. *Medorum reges orsi ab anno 1196 desierunt Ol. 58* [55].

1. <i>Varbaces</i> .....	28
2. <i>Sosarmus</i> .....	30
3. <i>Mamycus</i> .....	40
4. <i>Cardaces</i> .....	13
<hr/>	
5. <i>Deioces</i> .....	54
6. <i>Phraortes</i> .....	24
7. <i>Cyaxares</i> .....	32
8. <i>Asdahages</i> .....	38
<hr/>	
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Eusebius every where strikes out a ninth Median reign; but at p. 257. he omits *Mandaucēs*, at p. 46. he omits *Cardaces*. Both are in Moses Chorenensis I. 21. who has all the nine reigns. In the Tables Eusebius, as already observed, endeavours to reconcile Ctesias with Herodotus by reckoning a period without kings between *Arbaces* and *Deioces*. In the whole period he strikes off 61 or 58 or 56 years from the amount of Ctesias; whose 317 years are 256 in Euseb. p. 46. but 259 in p. 257. and 261 in the Tables.

<sup>w</sup> Syncellus p. 197. D. Μῆδων α' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρβάκης ὁ καταλίσας τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ἐτὶ κη'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος λχς' [= B. C. 825]. β'. Μανδαύκης ἐτὶ κ'. — γ'. Σώσαρμος ἐτὶ λ'. — δ'. Ἀρτίκας ἐτὶ λ'. ε'. Δηίκοις ἐτὶ νδ' — τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἦν ἔτος λβ'πδ' [= B. C. 717].

<sup>x</sup> Moses Chorenensis I. 21. quoted by Maio ad Euseb. p. 47. has the nine reigns of Ctesias, but the names *Deioces* and *Cyaxares* with Herodotus. Before *Deioces* he inserts *Cardiceas*, who is *Cardaces* in the list of Eusebius p. 257. and *Arbanius* in Ctesias. His list is as follows:

*Varhaces*  
*Mandaucēs*  
*Sosarmus*  
*Artucas*  
*Cardiceas*  
*Deioces*  
*Artynes*  
*Cyaxares*  
*Astyages*.

Lib. II. p. 315—332.

Anno

1197 [B. C. 819] *Arbaces Medus Assyriorum imperio destructo regnum in Medos transtulit; et interim sine principibus res agebatur usque ad Deiocem regem Medorum.*

1309 *Deioces* .....

1363 *Phraortes* .....

1387 *Cyaxares* .....

1419 *Asdahages* .....

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1457 Ol. 55. 2. [B. C. 559] *Cyrus dejecto Asdahage Medorum imperium delevit.*

<sup>y</sup> I. 126—130.

<sup>z</sup> Plato Leg. III. p. 694. Πέρσαι ὅτε μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἤγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλευθεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων δεσπότες. Idem Menex. p. 239. Κύρος ἐλευθερώσας Πέρσας τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολίτας τῇ αὐτοῦ φρονήματι ἅμα καὶ τοὺς δεσπότες Μήδους ἐδουλώσατο καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου ἤρξε. Aristot. Rep. V. 8 = 10. ἅπαντες εὐεργετήσαντες ἢ δυνάμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη εὐεργετεῖν ἐτίγχανον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης (τῆς βασιλείας), οἱ μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον κωλύσαντες δουλεῖν, ὥσπερ Κόδρος, οἱ δ' ἐλευθερώσαντες, ὥσπερ Κύρος. — τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἐπιτίθενται διὰ καταφρόνησιν — οἷον Κύρος Ἀστυάγην καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρονῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξηργηκέναι αὐτὸν δὲ τρυφᾶν. Isocrates Evag. p. 195. e. Κύρον τὸν Μήδους μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσας δὲ κτησάμενον καὶ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῇ Περσῶν στρατοπέδῳ τὸ Μῆδων ἐνίκησεν κ. τ. λ. Steph. Byz. Πασσαργάδας. — Ἀναξιμένην ἐν μεταλλαγῇ βασιλείῳ ὅτῳ γράφοντα "Τὰς δὲ Πασσαργάδας "ἐκτίσεν ὁ Κύρος ἐφ' οὗ τόπου παραταξάμενος Ἀστυάγην "ἐνίκησεν." Athen. XIV. p. 633. d. φησὶ Δείνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς. τὴν γοῦν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἴσσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προείδοντο οἱ ἄθεο. "Ὅτε γὰρ (φησὶν) ἠγάσαστο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀπο- "δημίαν ὁ Κύρος," κ. τ. λ. Ctesias apud Diod. II. 34. τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσπάδαν διαδέξασθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀστυάγην καλούμενον· τούτου δ' ὑπὸ Κύρου καταπολημθέντος μεταπεσεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πέρσας.

<sup>a</sup> Athen. XII. p. 529. f. Ἀμύντας ἐν τρίτῳ σταθμῶν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ φησὶν εἶναι χῶμα ἐνὶ ἡλίδι, ὅπερ κατασπάσας Κύρου ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀναχαννύντα τῇ πόλει κ. τ. λ.

the same is intimated by Xenophon himself<sup>b</sup>. Strabo (following Anaximenes), Cephalion, Justin<sup>c</sup>, agree with Herodotus that *Astyages* was conquered in war. Plutarch and Polyænus<sup>d</sup> have preserved an account to the same purpose. According to Dinon *Cyrus* began to reign at the age of 40, reigned 30 years, and died at the age of 70<sup>e</sup>. Herodotus followed other accounts, and reckoned *Cyrus* younger at his accession and his death; for he places the birth of *Cyrus* within the reign of *Astyages*<sup>f</sup>; and he relates that *Harpagus* after the fall of Sardis commanded in Ionia<sup>g</sup>. But if *Harpagus* had a son older than *Cyrus*<sup>h</sup>, it is not likely that *Cyrus* should have been nearly sixty years of age when *Harpagus* was in the command of an army<sup>i</sup>.

#### IV.

### ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

THE Assyrian chronology of Ctesias according to Diodorus<sup>a</sup> is as follows. *Ninus* the first king was succeeded by *Semiramis*, and she by *Ninyas*; who was followed by thirty kings, of whom *Sardanapalus* was the last. These 33 reigns occupied 1306 years, which ended, as we have seen<sup>b</sup>, at B. C. 876; giving 876 + 1306 = B. C. 2182 for the commencement of this empire; or 1000 years before the Trojan war, which produces the same date<sup>c</sup>: μετὰ τὸν ταύτης θάνατον Νίνυας ὁ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος υἱὸς παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤρχεν εἰρηνικῶς κ. τ. λ.—στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ σατράπας καὶ διοικητάς—καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἀποδείξας—τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, παῖς παρὰ πατρός διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐπὶ γενεὰς τριάκοντα ἐβασίλευσαν μέχρι Σαρδαναπάλου. ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονία μετέπεσεν εἰς Μήδους, ἔτη διαμείνασα πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ἔτι δὲ ἔξ<sup>d</sup> καθάπερ φησὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ δευ-

<sup>b</sup> Xenoph. Anab. III. 4, 7. Λάρισσα. φκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι.—ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μῆδων ἐλάμβανον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἦλλον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε μέχρις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξέλιπον, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. Ibid. §. 10. 11. Μέσπιλα. Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε φκουν.—ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγετο Μῆδία γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίῃ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo XVI. p. 730. τοὺς δὲ Πασαργάδας ἐτίμησε Κύρος ὅτι τὴν ὑστάτην μάχην ἐνίκησεν Ἀστυάγην ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μῆδον, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μετένεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν· καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ βασιλεῖον κατεσκεύασε τῆς νίκης μνημεῖον. Compare Anaximenes quoted in note z. Cephalion apud Euseb. p. 47. is quoted above in note v. Justin I. 5. 6. follows Herodotus.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. Virt. Mul. p. 246. Α. Πέρσας Ἀστυάγου βασιλέως καὶ Μῆδων ἀποστήσας Κύρος ἡττήθη μάχῃ κ. τ. λ. Polyæn. VII. 45. Πέρσαι Μῆδοις παρετάσσοντο. Περσῶν Κύρος ἡγήετο. Κύρου σατράπης Οἰβάρης ἦρξε φυγῆς κ. τ. λ.

<sup>e</sup> Cicero Div. I. 23. See F. H. II. p. 12.

<sup>f</sup> I. 108.

<sup>g</sup> I. 162.

<sup>h</sup> Conf. Herodot. I. 114—119.

<sup>i</sup> Xenophon. Cyrop. I. 2. also relates that *Cyrus* was born after *Astyages* began to reign. But in the narrative of Xenophon, where historical facts are mingled with romance, the true chronology of the reign of *Astyages* is not observed. *Cyaxares II.* is placed between the death of *Astyages* and the reign of *Cyrus*, and *Cambyzes* the father of *Cyrus* still reigns in Persia in Xenophon's account VIII. 5. after the capture of Babylon.

<sup>a</sup> Diod. II. 1—31. The Assyrian and Median affairs occupied the first six books of the history of Ctesias: Phot. Cod. 72. p. 108. ἐν μὲν τοῖς πρώτοις γ' τὰ τε Ἀσσυρία διαλαμβάνει καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν. At the end of his 23rd book he closed his history with a list of reigns: Phot. Ibid. p. 133. κατὰλογος βασιλέων ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμειος μέχρι Ἀρτοξέρξου. ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ τέλος.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 261.

<sup>c</sup> Diod. II. 21. 22.

<sup>d</sup> In Diodorus ἔτι δ' ἐξήκοντα. In Syncellus p. 359. C. ἔτη ατς'. οὕτω γὰρ λέγοντι Κτησία καὶ Διόδω-



τέρη βίβλῳ. τὰ δ' ὀνόματα πάντων τῶν βασιλείων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐτῶν ὧν ἕκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν οὐ κατεπίγει γράφειν, διὰ τὸ μὴδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπράχθαι μνήμης ἄξιον. μόνῃ γὰρ τετυχῆκεν ἀναγραφῆς ἡ πεμφθεῖσα συμμαχία τοῖς Τρωσὶν ὑπ' Ἀσσυρίων, ἧς ἐστρατήγει Μέμωνον ὁ Τίδωνος. Τευτάμου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας, ὃς ἦν εἰκοστός<sup>c</sup> ἀπὸ Νινύου τοῦ Σεμιράμιδος, φασὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεῦσαι, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχόντων τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔτη πλείω τῶν χιλίων. Diodorus afterwards repeats the period of this empire<sup>f</sup>: ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρβάκης τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑδαφος κατέσκαψεν &c. — ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἀπὸ Νίνου διαμείνασα μὲν τριάκοντα γενεάς ἔτη δὲ πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ὑπὸ Μήδων κατελύθη. This account of the duration of the empire and of the date of its commencement is followed with little variation by many writers; Strabo, Nicolaüs Damascenus, Æmilius Sura, Velleius, and Justin, adopt the account of Ctesias<sup>h</sup>.

ρος ὁ Σικελιώτης συμπθέγγεται. *annis plus mille et trecentis* Euseb. Chron. I. 14. p. 38. Agathias II. 25. p. 120. gives 1306 years: *ἐξ τε καὶ τριακοσίων ἦδη πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, ἧ καὶ ὀλίγῃ πλείονων, ἐτῶν παραχρησάμενος ἐξ ὧ τὰ πρῶτα ὁ Νῖνος τῶν ἐκείνη κατέσχευεν πραγμάτων* οὕτω γὰρ Κτησίρ τῇ Κυδίῳ τοὺς χρόνους ἀναγραφάμενος καὶ Διόδωρος ξύμψησιν ὁ Σικελιώτης. Wesseling from Agathias, Syncellus, and Diod. II. 28. reads *ἔτι δὲ ἐξ* in Diodorus. The number in Agathias and Syncellus is confirmed by Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 21. who has 1305 years: *Ad Medos imperium translatus est post annos ferme mille trecentos quinque.*

<sup>c</sup> Eusebius Chron. I. p. 40. transcribing Diodorus: *Sardanapallus trigesimus quintus a Nino fundatore.* p. 39. *Tautanus erat vigesimus sextus a Ninia.* Syncellus p. 168. B. *ὁ μὲν Διόδωρος λέ' βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Νίνου ἐξέθετο, καὶ τὴν ἄλυσιν Τροίας— ἐπὶ κ' βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Ταυτάνου.* Wesseling ad Diod. II. 21., observing that the copies of Diodorus have *τριακόντα γενεάς*, adds, *Constat sibi Diodorus trigesimum a primo imperii conditore Nino Sardanapalum c. 28 perhibens.* The two passages are by no means consistent. Diodorus in the first reckons thirty generations after Ninus the third king; in the second he reckons thirty reigns from Ninus the founder: 33 reigns in the one case, and 30 in the other. Eusebius below makes the last king the 33rd from Ninus, which agrees with Diodorus. Cephallion seems to make Teutamius the 26th king; which again agrees with Eusebius. It is not clear what were the numbers of Ctesias: whether 36 reigns, which in the 1306 years would suppose 36 years to each, or whether 33, which would give 39½ years to each reign.

<sup>f</sup> II. 28.

<sup>g</sup> Ctesias supposed the revolt of the Medes and the destruction of Nineveh to have happened at the same time: Diod. II. 7. τῆς Νίνου κατακαυμένης ὑπὸ Μήδων οὕτε κατέλυσαν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν βασιλείαν.

<sup>h</sup> Strabo XVI. p. 737. *ὁ μὲν Νῖνος ἦν ὁ τὴν Νῖνον ἐν τῇ Ἀτουρίᾳ κτίσας ἡ δὲ τοῦτου γυνή, ἥπερ καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν ἀνδρα, Σεμιράμις ἧς ὅστι κτίσμα ἡ Βαβυλὼν.*

οὔτοι δὲ ἐκράτησαν τῆς Ἀσίας—ἀπέλιπον δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἐαυτοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τῆς Σαρδαναπάλου καὶ Ἀρβάκου μετέστη δ' εἰς Μήδους ὕστερον. ἡ μὲν οὖν Νῖνος πόλις ἠφανίσθη παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὴν τῶν Σύρων κατάλυσιν. Nicolaüs Excerpt. Vales. p. 229. Σαρδαναπάλος Ἀσσυρίων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀπὸ τε Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος τὴν βασιλείαν παραδεξάμενος, οἰκισιν ἔχων ἐν Νίνῳ κ. τ. λ. The narrative which follows p. 229—234. ἐπὶ Ἀρταίου τοῦ βασιλέως Μήδων, τοῦ διδόχου Σαρδαναπάλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως, is probably derived from Ctesias: conf. Diod. II. 33. from whence we learn that Ctesias entered upon a large account of this reign. Æmilius Sura apud Velleium I. 6, 6. *Æmilius Sura de Annis Populi Romani. Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt; deinde Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Macedones. Exinde duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus et initium regis Nini Assyriorum, qui princeps rerum potitus, intersunt anni MDCCCXCXV.* This passage of Sura, transcribed into the text of Velleius by an interpolator, approaches the date of Ctesias, 1000 years before the Trojan war. For B. C. 190 + 1995 = B. C. 2185 for the commencement of Ninus. Justin I. 1—3., after describing Ninus, Semiramis, and Ninyas, adds, *Imperium Assyrii, qui postea Syri dicti sunt* [conf. Strab. l. c.], *mille trecentis annis tenuere. Postremum apud eos regnavit Sardanapalus.* Velleius I. 6. *Imperium Asiaticum ab Assyriis, qui id obtinuerunt annis MLXX, translatus est ad Medos abhinc annos ferme DCCLXX.* Quippe Sardanapalum eorum regem, mollitiis fluentem et nimium felicem malo suo, tertio et tricesimo loco ab Nino et Semiramide qui Babylona condiderant natum, ita ut semper successor regni paterni foret filius, Arbaces Medus imperio vitæque privavit. The numbers are probably corrupt. The facts are the facts of Ctesias. The historian Duris believed in Arbaces, but gave a different account of the death of Sardanapalus: conf. Athen. XII. p. 529. a.



Some narratives varied in some particulars from the account of Ctesias, but agreed with him in assigning a high antiquity to the Assyrian empire. Abydenus placed the end of this empire 67 years before the first Olympiad, or at B. C. 843. His account agreed with that of Castor<sup>i</sup>, and Castor reckoned 1280 years from *Ninus* to a second *Ninus*, successor of *Sardanapalus*<sup>k</sup>. Cephalion, who flourished in the reign of *Hadrian*<sup>l</sup>, followed Ctesias in reckoning 42 years to *Semiramis*, and in some other particulars. But he made *Sardanapalus* the 26th king, and placed his accession, according to Eusebius, in the 1013th year of the empire, throwing back the destruction of the empire by *Arbaces* about 270 years above the date of Ctesias<sup>m</sup>. Eusebius numbers 36 kings and 1240 years from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus* both

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. 12. p. 36. *Abydeni de regno Assyriorum*. "Chaldaei regionis suae reges ab Alore usque ad Alexandrum hoc pacto enumerant. Nini quidem et Samiramidis nullam rationem habent." His autem dictis, ita historiam suam exorditur: "Fuit Ninus Arbeli, Chaali, Arbeli, Anebi, Babii, Beli, regis Assyriorum." Deinde accurate reges enumerat a Nino et a Samiramide ad Sardanapallum, qui omnium extremus fuit: a quo ad primam Olympiadem 67 anni putantur. De Assyriorum regno hac diligentia scripsit Abydenus. Nihilominus et Castor lib. I. summarii Chronicorum eadem plane ad literam narrat de regno Assyriorum. The list of Assyrian kings in the Excerpta Chronologica apud Scal. Euseb. p. 74. also reckons with Castor *Ninus II.* as the last king, and places the termination 67 years before Ol. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. 13. p. 36. *E Castoris summario*. "Belus erat (inquit) Assyriorum rex, et sub eo Cyclopes fulgoribus fulminibusque mitibus Jovi cum Titanis praeiuncti opem ferebant. Reges quoque Titanorum eo tempore cognoscebantur, quorum e numero erat Ogygus rex." Mox paucis interjectis, subdit gigantes Diis bellum intulisse atque occisione esse cecos; strenuos deorum adjuutores fuisse Herculem et Bacchum, qui et ipsi erant Titani; Belum de quo antea diximus mortem obisse, qui etiam deus existimatus sit. Post hunc Assyrii dominatum esse Ninum, qui uxorem duxit Samiramidem. Post eum Samiramidem rexisse Assyrios annis 42. Zamem, qui et Ninyas, successisse. Deinceps Assyriorum qui consecuti sunt reges singulatim ordinatimque numerat usque ad Sardanapallum, nominatim quemque compellans. The rest of this passage has been given already F. H. III. p. 546. b. In giving 42 years to *Semiramis* Castor agrees with Ctesias apud Diod. II. 20. In giving a successor to *Sardanapalus*, he differs from him, but agrees (as we shall see below) with Abydenus.

<sup>l</sup> Suid. Κεφαλίων.—ῥήτωρ καὶ ἱστορικός, γεγονὸς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ.—ἔγραψε παντοδαπὰς ἱστορίας ἐν βιβλίοις θ', ἀ τινὰ ἐπιγράφει Μούσας, ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ. *Cephalio-*

*nis novem Musarum libris* Euseb. Chron. I. p. 195.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. 15. p. 41. *Cephalionis historici de regno Assyriorum*. Partly transcribed by Syncellus p. 167. 168. παρέστω Κεφαλίων ἐπίσημος εἷς, οὗχ ὁ τυχὼν, οὕτω φάσκων. "ἄρχομαι γράφειν ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνι. κός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κυθίου, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίης ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος." εἴτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγον ἔτει γβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας [de annis denique quibus Ninus regnavit, videlicet 52, nec non de ejus obitu recte Armen.]. μεθ' ὧν Βαβυλῶνας (φησὶν) ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχευσε τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖσι λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι, Ἡρόδοτῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς. στρατεῖην τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἤτταν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς Ἰλίου ἀνέειλεν υἱὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Νίνου τῶν παίδων ἐνὸς ἀνηρέθῃ τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν. Eusebius adds (omitted by Syncellus), *interempta est postquam annis 42 regnasset*. Hic vero qui in imperium successit a Cephalione dicitur nihil dignum memoria gessisse. Syncellus proceeds: καὶ μεθ' ἑτερα. "καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰς α' ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἤρχον, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ ἔχων ἤτταν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν κ' [neminem eorum minus viginti annis sceptrum tenuisse Armen.]. Quare leg. ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτῶν κ'. τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸλεμὸν τε καὶ ἀφιλεκίνδυνον καὶ γυναικῶδες αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀσφαλές. ἐνδον γὰρ ἔμενον, οὐδέ τι αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔργον ἐπρήσσετο οὐδὲ ἑώρα τις αὐτοὺς πλὴν αἱ τε παλλακίδες καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ γυναικῶδεις. τοὺς δὲ βασιλείας τοῖσδε εἴ τις εἰδῆσαι βούλεται, Κτησίης ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων ὀνόματα αὐτῶν κ' (οἶμαι) καὶ γ'. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ γραφή τί τερπνὴν ἢ τί χάριεν ἡμελλεν εἶεν, ὀνομακλήθην ἄνευ πράξεων βαρβάρους φωνέοντι τυράννους δειλοὺς καὶ μαλακοὺς;" πρὸς οἷς ἐπάγει τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐτῶν αὐτῶν. "ἐτέων δὲ ὅταν ἀπὸ Νίνου τεσσαράκοντά που καὶ χ', Βέλμος [anno 640°] rege Belimo Armen.] ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων. καὶ ἀφικνεῖται Περσεὺς ὁ Δαναΐης εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, ναὺς ἄγων β'. ἔφευγε δὲ Περσεὺς Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλης υἱέα." καὶ μετέπειτα. "ὕστερῃ δὲ γενεῇ κατὰ Πανύαν ἀρχοντα ὁ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν στόλος ἐπλευσεν ἐπὶ τε Φῶσιν καὶ Μηδείην τὴν Κολχίδα" κ. τ. λ. καὶ αὖθις. "αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως εἰς Μητραῖον βασιλέα [si quis mille annos a Samiramide ad Mithraeum Armen.] ἀν



inclusive, places the destruction of the empire and its transfer to the Medes 43 years before the first Olympiad, and fixes the period at B. C. 819<sup>n</sup>. Syncellus begins his computation from *Belus*, reckons 41 reigns and 1460 years, and places the commencement of the period at B. C. 2285 and its termination at B. C. 826<sup>o</sup>. His 40 reigns from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*

“ ἀριθμοῖ τὸ περιτελλόμενον. Μῆδεια Κολχίς ἀνεχώρησεν  
 “ Αἰγέως, ἥς υἱὸς Μῆδος, ἐξ οὗ Μῆδοι καὶ ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη  
 “ Μῆδεια.” εἰτά φησι· “ Μητράϊον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέ-  
 “ χεται Ταύτανος [Teutamus Armen. Diod.] ζῶν  
 “ καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ ἔθνη τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ νόμους. καὶ ἄλλο  
 “ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καιρὸν ἔργον· Ἀγα-  
 “ μένων δὲ καὶ Μενέλαος οἱ Μυκηναῖοι ἐστρατεύσαντο  
 “ σὺν Ἀργείοις καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἀχαιοῖσι εἰς Ἴλιον  
 “ πύλιν τῆς Πριάμου τοῦ Φρυγῆς στρατηγίας.” Euse-  
 bius concludes p. 44. *Aut postea diserte Sarda-*  
*napallum anno 1013<sup>o</sup> Assyriorum regem esse cre-*  
*atum; cujus et exitum memorat. Tum sublato*  
*Sardanapallo Assyriorum imperium a Varbace*  
*extinctum et ad Medos esse translatum. Hæc*  
*omnia Cephalion.* Cephalion omitted all the  
 reigns between *Teutamus* and *Sardanapalus*;  
 whom he places 13 years after the Trojan war:  
 an omission for which he is censured by Syncel-  
 lus p. 168. B. The account of Cephalion will  
 place the rise of the Median empire at about  
 B. C. 1150, the rise of the Assyrian about B. C.  
 2184; which he reckons 640 years before *Per-*  
*seus* and *Bacchus*. From Cephalion, however,  
 we learn that *Teutamus* was made by Ctesias  
 the 25th king, and not the 20th, as Diodorus  
 expresses it. For Ctesias according to Cephalion  
 enumerated 23 kings, of whom *Teutamus* was  
 the 22nd, after recounting *Ninus*, *Semiramis*,  
 and *Ninyas*. These three reigns being added,  
*Teutamus* will be the 25th king.

“ Euseb. Chron. I. p. 44. *Qui in libris ferun-*  
*tur Assyriorum reges secundum emendata exem-*  
*plaria hi sunt.* I. *Ninus, quem primum aiunt*  
*universæ Asiæ, demptis Indis, imperasse annis*  
*52. Sub eo constat vixisse Abrahamum. Idem*  
*lib. II. p. 265. ex versione Hieronymi: Nini 43<sup>o</sup>*  
*imperii anno natus est Abraham.* Eusebius p. 45.  
 makes the 16th king contemporary with *Moses*:  
*Ascatades. sub hoc fuit Moses Hebræorum legis-*  
*lator.* lib. II. p. 283. at the 560th year of the  
 empire (518 + 42), *Ascatadis 21<sup>o</sup> Moses Judaicæ*  
*gentis in deserto dux erat.* At the 26th reign he  
 places the Trojan era: p. 45. *Teutamus: sub*  
*quo Ilum captum est.* Conformably with this in  
 Præp. X. 9. p. 486. A. he states the period from  
*Semiramis*: ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὀκτακοσίοις  
 ἔτεσι ζῆσι δίκονται προηγουμένη. He describes the  
 end of the monarchy in these terms Chron. I.  
 p. 46. *Sardanapallus. sub hoc Lycurgus leges*  
*Lacedæmoniis ferebat. Hæc finis fuit regni As-*  
*syriorum, imperante Athenis Thespicio Aripheonis*

*filio. Tempus imperii Assyriorum secundum ac-*  
*curatos scriptores anni 1240; secundum vero*  
*alios 1300. Thonnius Concoletus, qui Græce di-*  
*citur Sardanapallus, a Varbace et Belesi victus*  
*se ipsum igni tradidit. Ab eo ad Ol. 1. anni 40.*  
 In lib. II. p. 315. at the year of the empire 1239  
 (1197 + 42), *Thespiei 6<sup>o</sup>. Lycurgus Lacedæmo-*  
*niis jura componit. Usque ad id tempus fuisse*  
*reges Assyriorum historia refert. Et fiunt simul*  
*anni [sc. Abrahami] 1197. Omnes autem regni*  
*Assyriorum a 1<sup>mo</sup> Nini supputantur 1240.* That  
 is, 1240 current. From hence to Ol. 1 are 43  
 years in the canon, called 40 in round numbers  
 at p. 46.

“ Syncellus p. 92. B. Ἀσσυρίων μὲν βασιλεῖς, οἱ  
 καὶ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ γησιῖ καθολικοῦ ἔτους κόσμον  
 [B. C. 2285] ἔληξαν εἰς τὸ ὄχρ’ ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου  
 [B. C. 826] διαρκέσαντες ἔτη ὅλα αὐτ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου  
 αὐτῶν Βήλου ἕως τοῦ μὲν Μακροσκολέρου τοῦ καὶ Σαρδανα-  
 πάλλου, ὡς συμφωνοῦσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἱστορικῶν,  
 Πολύβιος καὶ Διδώρος, Κεφαλίων τε καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ  
 Θάλλος καὶ ἕτεροι. At p. 97. A. he makes *Belus*  
 the immediate predecessor of *Ninus* (contrary to  
*Abydenus*: see above p. 265. i), and places him  
 at A. M. 3216 B. C. 2285. At p. 151. A. he  
 reckons *Teutamus* the 27th king from *Belus*;  
 A. M. 4124 = B. C. 1377. At p. 155. A. he  
 places the Trojan war in the reign of a second  
*Teutamus* A. M. 4325 = B. C. 1176. Ἀσσυρίων λα’  
 ἐβασίλευσε Βάβιος.—Βάβιος αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ παρ’ Ἑλλήσι  
 Τίθωνος λεγόμενος—ταύτου παῖς Μέμων—ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ  
 καὶ δεύτερος Ταυτάνης. He places the destruction  
 of the empire in the time of *Aripheon* archon at  
 Athens: p. 165. C. ἕως τοῦδε τοῦ ὄχρ’ ἔτους τοῦ κόσ-  
 μου διαρκέσασα ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεία ἐπὶ αὐτ’ ἔτη  
 κατελύθη τῷ κ’ ἔτει τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως  
 Ἀσσυρίων. p. 185. B. Ἀρίφρων Φερεκλέως, κατὰ ταύ-  
 τον τὸν Ἀρίφωνα ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων κατελύθη ἀρχή, ὡς  
 πάντες συμφωνοῦσι. Euseb. lib. I. p. 137. *Aripheon*  
*Phereclis—cujus atate imperium Assyriorum oc-*  
*ciso Sardanapallo finitum est.* lib. II. p. 314.  
 (Hieronym.) Anno 1172 *Aripheonis 1<sup>o</sup>. Sub*  
*Aripheone Assyriorum regnum destructum et Sar-*  
*danapallus, ut nonnulli scriptitant.* The first  
 year of *Aripheon* is B. C. 844 in Eusebius and  
 A. M. 4651 = B. C. 850 in Syncellus; who would  
 place the end of the Assyrian monarchy (B. C.  
 826) in his 25th year. The variations in this  
 catalogue of reigns are shewn in the following  
 Table:

inclusive occupy 1405 years B. C. 2230—826. These 40 reigns are obtained by interpolating four reigns after the 27th king in Eusebius.

EUSEB. I. p. 44. II. p. 265—315.

SYNCELL. p. 96. 103. 108. 123. 147.  
151. 155. 159. 165.

EXCERPTA APUD SCAL. p. 74.

	lib. I.	lib. II.
1. Ninus .....	52.	52
2. Semiramis .....	42.	42
3. Ninyas or Zames .....	38.	38
4. Arius .....	30.	30
5. Aralius or Amyrus .....	40.	40
6. Xerxes or Balæus .....	30.	30
7. Amramithes .....	38.	38
8. Belochus .....	35.	35
9. Balæus .....	(12) 52.	52
10. Altadas .....	32.	32
11. Mammythus .....	30.	30
12. Macchaleus .....	30.	30
13. Sphærus .....	22.	20
14. Mamylus .....	30.	30
15. Sparæthus .....	40.	39
16. Ascatades .....	40.	40
17. Amyntas .....	45.	45
18. Belochus .....	45.	25
lib. I. filia Trates .....		
lib. II. Badossa vel Samiramis 7 }		
19. Balatores .....	30.	30
20. Lamprides .....	32.	32
21. Sosares .....	8.	20
22. Lampares .....	30.	30
23. Panyas .....	42.	45
24. Sosarmus .....	19.	19
25. Mithræus .....	27.	27
26. Teutamius .....	32.	31
{ Troy taken }		
27. Teutæus .....	40.	40
		—922

	y.
<i>Belus</i> .....	55
1. <i>Ninus</i> .....	52
2. <i>Semiramis</i> .....	42
3. <i>Ninyas</i> .....	38
4. <i>Arius</i> .....	30
5. <i>Aralius</i> .....	40
6. <i>Xerxes</i> .....	30
7. <i>Armamithres</i> .....	38
8. <i>Belochus</i> .....	35
9. <i>Balæus</i> .....	52
10. <i>Sethos</i> .....	50
11. <i>Mammythus</i> .....	30
12. <i>Aschalius</i> .....	28
13. <i>Sphærus</i> .....	22
14. <i>Mamylus</i> .....	30
15. <i>Spartheus</i> .....	42
16. <i>Ascatades</i> .....	38
17. <i>Amyntas</i> .....	45
18. <i>Belochus</i> .....	25
19. <i>Balatores</i> .....	30
20. <i>Lamprides</i> .....	30
21. <i>Sosares</i> .....	20
22. <i>Lampraes</i> .....	30
23. <i>Panyas</i> .....	45
24. <i>Sosarmus</i> .....	22
25. <i>Mithræus</i> .....	27
26. <i>Teutamius</i> .....	32
27. <i>Teutæus</i> .....	44
—947	
[28. <i>Arabelus</i> .....	42]
[29. <i>Chalaüs</i> .....	45]
[30. <i>Anebus</i> .....	38]
[31. <i>Babius</i> or <i>Tautamus</i> II. ...]	37]
32. ■ ■ ■ .....	30
33. <i>Dercylus</i> .....	40
34. <i>Eupacmes</i> .....	38
35. <i>Laosthenes</i> .....	45
36. <i>Pertiades</i> .....	30
37. <i>Ophratæus</i> .....	21
38. <i>Ephecheres</i> .....	(6) 52
39. <i>Aoraganes</i> .....	42
40. <i>Thon. Conc. or Sardanap.</i> ..	20
—480	

	y.
<i>Belus</i> .....	62
<hr/>	
1. <i>Ninus</i> .....	52
2. <i>Semiramis</i> .....	42
3. <i>Zinas</i> .....	38
4. <i>Arius</i> .....	30
5. <i>Aranus</i> .....	40
6. <i>Xerxes Balæus</i> .....	30
7. <i>Mammythus</i> .....	38
8. <i>Belochus</i> .....	35
9. <i>Balæus</i> .....	52
10. <i>Altalus</i> .....	35
11. <i>Mamithus</i> .....	30
* * *	
13. <i>Sphærus</i> .....	20
14. <i>Mammythus</i> .....	35
15. <i>Spareus</i> .....	40
16. <i>Ascatagus</i> .....	40
17. <i>Amintas</i> .....	50
18. <i>Atossa or Semiramis II.</i> ..	23
19. <i>Bilochus</i> .....	25
20. <i>Belleroparus</i> .....	34
21. <i>Lampridus</i> .....	32
22. <i>Posarus</i> .....	20
23. <i>Lamparus</i> .....	30
24. <i>Panius</i> .....	45
25. <i>Sosarmus</i> .....	20
26. <i>Mithreus</i> .....	35
27. <i>Tautelus</i> .....	32
<hr/>	
{ <i>Ilium captum anno 32<sup>o</sup>.</i> }	
28. <i>Eutæus</i> .....	40
29. <i>Thineus</i> .....	29
30. <i>Cercillus</i> .....	40
31. <i>Eupalus</i> .....	36
32. <i>Lausthenes</i> .....	45
33. <i>Peritiadus</i> .....	30
34. <i>Ophrateus</i> .....	20
35. <i>Ophratanus</i> .....	50
36. <i>Acrapæzus</i> .....	40
37. <i>Ton. Conc. or Sardanap.</i> ..	30
38. <i>Ninus II.</i> .....	19
<hr/>	

Simul reges 39.—perseverantes annos  
1430. Ab istis autem in prima  
Olympiada annos LXVII.

Eusebius has adapted the numbers to his reduced period of 1240 years. The sum of his reigns, however, in his tables is only 1237 years. Syncellus in the first 27 reigns from *Ninus* agrees with Eusebius in the names and nearly in the numbers, which are 922 years in Eusebius and 947 in Syncellus. After this 27th king

Syncellus interpolates four reigns and 162 years. His numbers in detail (from corruption somewhere) give 1482 years, exceeding by 22 his period of 1460. In the *Excerpta Barbara* one reign (where I have placed the marks of a *lacuna*) is wanting, which, with *Belus*, will complete the number 39. In the sum of the years



The period delivered by Ctesias seems to have been 1306 years. He placed its commencement 1000 years before the Trojan war, and its termination at B. C. 876. But in assigning the termination of the Assyrian monarchy Ctesias and those who followed him confounded two events, the revolt of the Medes and the destruction of Nineveh; which they made to happen together. These two events, however, were divided by a considerable interval of

there is a deficiency, since the whole period is called 1430 years, and the sum of the reigns is only  $62 + 903 + 379 = 1344$ . Moses Chorenensis I. 18. differs from the preceding lists by omitting five reigns. In the 15 reigns from *Ninyas* inclusive to *Amyntas* (whom he calls *Amindes*) he agrees; but between *Amyntas* and *Paneas* he has only three reigns, *Vestarcarus*, *Susares*, *Lampares*, instead of five: between *Teutamius* and *Dercyllus* only one, *Thyneus*, instead of two; then follow *Eupalmus*, *Prideares*, *Pharates*, *Acrasanes*, *Sardanapalus*, five reigns instead of seven; and *Sardanapalus* is the 29th from *Ninyas* inclusive instead of the 34th.

We may collect from Diodorus and Cephallion that Ctesias placed the fall of Troy in the reign of *Teutamius*. If Diodorus reports his meaning accurately, he reckoned more than 1000 years from the first year of *Ninus* to the beginning of the Trojan war. We are not informed of the date of Ctesias for that war; but we might suspect that Ctesias, like his contemporary Isocrates and others, placed the fall of Troy a few years below the epoch of Eratosthenes. The numbers of Ctesias have been variously corrupted or altered. Cephallion inaccurately made the 1000 years to elapse from *Semiramis* to *Mithraus* the predecessor of *Teutamius*. Eusebius on the contrary, who struck out 66 years from the whole period of Ctesias, omitted 123 years in the first 25 reigns to *Teutamius* inclusive; since he places the fall of Troy and the 25th year of *Teutamius* at the 877th year of the Assyrian monarchy.

The dates of many facts are marked in different writers by the corresponding Assyrian reign. But these coincidences, to which so much importance is attached by Hales vol. III. p. 53. 57., will not always enable us to trace the original numbers of Ctesias. Clemens has a date Strom. I. p. 321. A. mutilated in the text of Clemens but preserved entire by Eusebius Præp. X. p. 497. C. *εἰ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων πολλοὶς ἔτεσι προσβύτερα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀφ' ὧν Κτησίας λέγει, φανήσεται τῇ δευτέρῃ (καὶ τετρακοσιοστῇ) ἔτει τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχῆς, τῆς δὲ Βηλοόχου τοῦ ἡδύνου δυναστείας τῇ δευτέρῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ, ἢ διακοσίῃς—κατὰ Ἰσαχὺν τὴν Ἀργεῖον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου αἰγῆσι.* The words enclosed are lost in the text of Clemens but supplied by Sylburg.

ad Clem. from Eusebius; where for τετρακοσιοστῇ Jackson Chron. Ant. vol. I. p. 248. reads τριακοσιοστῇ. The 302nd year reckoned from B. C. 2182 would give B. C. 1781 for the exode by this calculation. But as the 32nd year of *Belochus* the 8th king is the 302nd year of the monarchy in the reduced numbers of Eusebius, we may doubt whether the numbers stood thus in the text of Clemens. Africanus is quoted by Syncellus p. 125. B. as follows: *εὐ μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐν τῇ λόγῳ τῶν ἱστορικῶν αὐτοῦ φάναι τὴν Ἀργεῖον βασιλείαν τῇ σ' ἔτει τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας ἀρξασθαι ἐπὶ Ἀρείου πέμπτου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων.* Arius is the fifth king according to Syncellus, who reckoned *Belus* the first; and his numbers, as given in the preceding Table, will place the 200th year at the 13th of *Arius*. But as Africanus began with *Ninus* apud Syncell. p. 64. B. *πρῶτος ἦρξε Νίνος ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας πλὴν Ἰνδῶν—τοῦτον διεδέξατο Σεμίραμις*—which would make *Arius* the fourth king, as in Ctesias and in Eusebius, we may suspect that Syncellus at p. 125. B. has mingled something of his own. Cyril adv. Julian. p. 11. D., in mentioning the 31st king *Laosthenes*, merely follows Eusebius: *ἐκατοστοτῇ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ πέμπτῃ ἔτει τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως—βασιλεύοντος Λακεδαιμονίων Λαβώτου, Ἀσσυρίων δὲ Λαοσθένους, Λατίνων δὲ Ἀλβα Σιλουῖου, Κορινθίων Ἀγελᾶου.* The 165th year from the fall of Troy is in Eusebius anno 999, which falls within the reigns of these kings. Augustine Civ. D. XVIII. 2—21. measures the early times by the Assyrian reigns; but in these he follows the chronology of Eusebius, whose period he adopts IV. 6. *Sicut scribunt qui chronicam historiam persecuti sunt, mille ducentos et quadraginta annos ab anno primo quo Ninus regnare cepit permansit hoc regnum, donec transferretur ad Medos.* And he endeavours to reconcile Eusebius with the period assigned by Ctesias, 1305 years, by including *Belus*: XVIII. 21. *Ad Medos quippe translatus est post imperium annos ferme mille trecentos quinque, ut etiam Beli qui Ninum genuit et illic parvo contentus imperio primus rex fuit, tempora computentur.* Hales vol. III. p. 53. refers to Jackson, who states that Cassiodorus placed *Cecrops* in the reign of *Sparthaus*. But this again is derived from Eusebius, who places the 1st year of *Cecrops* anno 461 at the 3rd year of *Sparthaus*.



time, and the conclusion of the term of 1306 years assigned to that monarchy did not occur at the Median revolt but at the final capture of Nineveh. The date of this event we are enabled to fix with precision on the concurrent authority of Scripture and Herodotus.

The overthrow of Nineveh did not happen before the death of *Josiah* king of Judah in B. C. 609, because a king of Assyria is mentioned at that period<sup>p</sup>; and Zephaniah<sup>q</sup> in the prophecy delivered in the reign of *Josiah* predicts the destruction of Nineveh as a future event. Jackson has drawn together many testimonies to the same point from the book of *Tobit*, which have been repeated by Hales<sup>r</sup>. The sum of the argument is this: From the age of *Tobit* it appears that Nineveh was standing in B. C. 610. For he became blind in the year 710<sup>s</sup>, and survived that accident 100 years<sup>t</sup>; and yet he died before the fall of Nineveh<sup>v</sup>. The city was taken by *Nabuchodonosor* and *Ahasuerus*<sup>w</sup>. *Nabuchodonosor* may be either the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* himself acting for his father<sup>x</sup>; and this passage will not determine whether Nineveh was taken before the accession of *Nebuchadnezzar*. But a prophecy of Jeremiah<sup>y</sup> written in the first year of the captivity B. C. 605 seems to imply that the city was then destroyed; for in the particular enumeration of *all the kings of the North far and near, and all the kingdoms of the world*, &c. Assyria and Nineveh are not named. The testimony of Scripture then decides that the city was captured, and the Assyrian monarchy destroyed, certainly after B. C. 609 and probably before B. C. 605. Herodotus brings the date to a narrower point. *Cyaxares* prepared to revenge his father's death upon the Assyrians, but was interrupted by the Scythians, who held Asia for 28 years<sup>z</sup>. After their expulsion *Cyaxares* conquered the Assyrians. But as the Scythians were not expelled till B. C. 607, the capture of Nineveh could not occur till B. C. 606; and this date obtained from Herodotus is remarkably consistent with the accounts of Scripture<sup>a</sup>.

Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus agree in referring the destruction of the city to the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which expresses the true time. But as their accounts of Assyrian affairs differ from that of Ctesias, it will be desirable to examine the narratives of these writers. In the first place Polyhistor differs from Ctesias in his account of the dynasty. According to Ctesias *Semiramis* was succeeded by 31 generations from father to son; according to Polyhistor the succession was interrupted by a new dynasty<sup>b</sup>. But an account drawn from Bero-

<sup>p</sup> 2 Kings XXIII. 29. *Pharaoh-Necoh king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates; and king Josiah went against him; and he slew him at Megiddo.*

<sup>q</sup> Zeph. II. 13. *He will destroy Assyria and will make Nineveh a desolation.*

<sup>r</sup> Jackson Chron. Antiq. vol. I. p. 345. Hales vol. III. p. 71.

<sup>s</sup> I. 21. II. 10.

<sup>t</sup> XIV. 2. 11.

<sup>v</sup> XIV. 4. From the age of *Tobias* nothing more can be collected than that he was grown up in B. C. 710: II. 1—3. that he lived to the age of 127: XIV. 14. and that he survived the fall of the city: XIV. 15. All beyond this is only conjecture, and Jackson and Hales have attempted too much in undertaking to fix from hence the precise year of the fall of Nineveh.

<sup>w</sup> Tobit XIV. 15.

<sup>x</sup> As in 2 Kings XXIV. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Jer. XXV. 18—26.

<sup>z</sup> See the Tables B. C. 634. 607.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus Ant. IX. 11, 3. dates the fall of Nineveh 115 years after the date of *Nahum's* prophecy, which he places in the reign of *Jotham*: ἦν δὲ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Νάουμος τὸννομα—συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινευῆς μετὰ ἑτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. Reckoned from the last year of *Jotham* B. C. 741, this period would place the capture at B. C. 626, twenty years before the true time. Josephus, however, distinguishes this event from the loss of the Assyrian empire, which he dates at the right place, B. C. 710, on the death of *Sennacherib*: X. 2, 2. Hales vol. I. p. 11. is inaccurate in representing the date of Josephus to be B. C. 710 for the fall of Nineveh, as if, like Ctesias, he had confounded the two events.

<sup>b</sup> Agathias II. 25. p. 119. Νῖνος τε πρότερον φαί-



sus of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, which differs altogether from that of Ctesias, is given by Eusebius<sup>c</sup> in the following terms: *A Xisuthro et a diluvio donec Medi Babylonem occuparunt summam regum 86<sup>d</sup> supputat Polyhistor, singulosque nominatim e Berosi libro recenset. Ex horum autem omnium ætatibus annorum conficit 33,091. Post hos qui successionem inconcussa regnum obtinuerant, derepente Medos collectis copiis Babylonem cepisse ait, ibique de suis tyrannos constituisse. Hinc nomina quoque tyrannorum Medorum edisserit octo, annosque eorum 224; ac rursus undecim reges et annos 48; tum et Chaldæos reges 49 annosque 458; postea et Arabes novem reges annosque eorum 245. Horum annorum recensione perscripta, de Samiramide quoque narrat quæ imperavit Assyriis. Rursumque distincte admodum nomina regum 45 enumerat, iisque annos tribuit 526. Post hos ait extitisse Chaldæorum regem cui nomen Phulus erat, quem Hebræorum quoque historia memorat quemque item Phulum appellat. Hic Judæam invasisse dicitur. Deinde Polyhistor Senecheribum regno potitum esse ait; quem quidem Hebræorum libri regnantem referunt imperante Ezechia et prophetante Isaia. Ait autem diserte divinus liber "Anno 14<sup>o</sup> Ezechia regis ascendisse "Senecheribum ad urbes Judææ munitas."—Et quidem Senecheribum cum ejus filio Asordane necnon Marudacho Baldane Chaldæorum quoque historiographus memorat; cum quibus etiam Nabuchodonosorum, ut mox dicitur. Hac autem ratione de iis scribit. "Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto 30<sup>o</sup> imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex, donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit. Hoc postremo annum jam tertium regnante, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversum Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum iis conserto superior evadebat, captumque Elibum cum familiaribus ejus in Assyriam transferri jubebat. Is igitur Babyloniorum potitus filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat, ipse autem in Assyriam reditum maturabat. Mox quum ad ejus aures rumor esset perlatus Græcos in Ciliciam coactis copiis bellum transtulisse, eos protinus aggressus est prælioque inito, multis suorum amissis, hostes nihilominus profligavit; suamque imaginem, ut esset victoriæ monumentum, eo loco*

νεται καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῦθα βεβαίαν καταστησάμενος, Σεμίραμις τε αὐτὸ μετ' ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπαντες οἱ τούτων ἀπόγονοι μέχρι καὶ ἐς Βελεῖον τὸν Δερκετάδου. ἐς τοῦτον γὰρ διὰ τὸν Βελεῖον τῆς τοῦ Σεμυραμίου φύλου διαδοχῆς παυσανίης, Βελήτάρης τις ὄνομα, φυτουργὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις κήπων μελετώνς καὶ ἐπιστάτης, ἐκατέσχετο παραλόγως τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τῷ οἰκίῳ ἐνεφύτνευσε γένει, ὡς Βίωνι γέγραπται καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Πολυίστῳ, ἕως ἐς Σαρδανάπαλλον, ὡς ἐκείνοί φασι, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπομαρτυρίης, Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος καὶ Βέλεσος ὁ Βαβυλωνίης ἀφῆρηται αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις, καθελόντες τὴν βασιλείαν. This king, called *Belochus* in the lists of Eusebius and Syncellus, as Niebuhr ad Agathiam has observed, is the 18th from *Ninus* inclusive, and the 18 reigns, as will be seen in the Table at p. 267, are 667 years in Syncellus, 631 years in the first book of Eusebius, and 648 in his canon.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. I. 4. p. 18.

<sup>d</sup> Syncellus p. 7B. C. gives a confused and mutilated account of this passage of Polyhistor:

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυίστωρ—βούλεται πάλιν τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρξασθαι μυθολογῶν διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσειν βεβασίλευκέναι Χαλδαίων καὶ Μῆδων βασιλεῖς πρ' ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσι καὶ δ'.—ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πρ' (δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλείων πρ' δὲ Μῆδων) Ζωρωάστῃν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ὧς Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει, ἔτη κρατήσαντας ἡλιακὰ ρ', ὃ αὐτὸς Πολυίστωρ. Syncellus supposed the Median kings to be included in the 86 reigns which preceded them, and the 8 Median reigns in Polyhistor he understood to be Chaldean. We learn, however, from Syncellus that the first Median king in Polyhistor (whose name is omitted by Eusebius) was called *Zoroaster*. Syncellus himself, to adjust the chronology, according to his notions of it, to Scripture, omits the Median kings altogether; reckons p. 90. C. 7 Chaldean kings from *Nimrod* in 225 years, then p. 92. A. 6 Arabian kings in 215 years, then *Belus*, *Ninus*, and the Assyrian dynasty.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. I. 5. p. 19. 20.



*erectam reliquit, cui Chaldaicis literis res a se gestas insculpi mandavit.—Tarsum quoque urbem ab eo structam ait ad Babylonis exemplar eidemque nomen inditum Tharsin. Jam et reliquis Senecherimi gestis perscriptis, subdit eum annis vixisse regnantem 18, donec eidem structis a filio Ardumuzane insidiis extinctus est. Hæc Polyhistor. Sane etiam tempora cum narratione divinorum librorum congruunt. Sub Ezechia enim Senecherimus regnavit, uti Polyhistor innuit, annis 18; post quem ejusdem filius annis 8; tum annis 21 Sammughes; itemque hujus frater 21; deinde Nabupalasarus annis 20; denique Nabucodrossorus 43: ita ut a Senecherimo ad Nabuchodonosorum 88 anni excurrant. Jam si quis Hebræorum libros scrutetur, paria dictis inveniet: namque post Ezechiam residuis Judæis Manasses imperat annis 55; deinde Amosus annis 12; tum Josias 31; postea Joachimus; sub cujus regni primordiis occupaturus Hierosolyma Nabuchodonosorus supervenit.—Atqui ab Ezechia ad Nabuchodonosorum anni excurrunt 88, quot nimirum Polyhistor ex historia Chaldaica supputavit. His omnibus absolutis, pergit denuo Polyhistor res aliquot etiam a Senecheribo gestas exponere, deque hujus filio eadem plane ratione scribit qua libri Hebræorum; accurateque admodum cuncta edisserit. Pythagoras sapiens fertur ea tempestate sub his regibus extitisse. Jam post Sammughen imperavit Chaldaïs Sardanapallus 21 annis. Is ad Asdahagem<sup>f</sup>, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam. Deinde Nabucodrossorus dominatus est annis 43.*

We will now transcribe the extract from Abydenus: *Abydeni de Senecherimo. His temporibus quintus denique et vicesimus rex fuit Senecheribus, qui Babylonem sibi subdidit, et in Ciliciæ maris litore classem Græcorum profligatam disjecit. Hic etiam templum Atheniensium struxit, ærea quoque signa facienda curavit in quibus sua facinora traditur inscripsisse. Tarsum denique ea forma qua Babylon utitur condidit.—Proximus huic regnavit Nergilus, quem Adrameles filius occidit. Rursus hunc frater suus Axerdis interfecit patre eodem alia tamen matre genitus; atque Byzantium usque ejus exercitum persecutus est quem antea mercede conduxerat auxiliarem. In hoc miles erat Pythagoras quidam Chaldææ sapientiæ assecla. Ægyptum præterea partesque interiores Syriæ acquirebat Axerdis. Hinc Sardanapallus exortus est. Post quem Saracus imperitabat Assyriis, qui quidem, certior factus turmarum vulgi collectitiarum quæ a mari adversus se adventarent, continuo Busalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic capto rebellandi consilio Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat, moxque raptim contra Ninum seu Ninevem urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognita rex Saracus regiam Evoritam inflammabat. Tum vero Nabucodrossorus summæ rerum potitus firmis mænibus Babylonem cingebat<sup>g</sup>.*

According to these accounts the Babylonian chronology of Polyhistor, after the fabulous period of 86 kings and 34,090 or 33,091 years<sup>h</sup>, will be this:

<sup>f</sup> This passage is preserved by Syncellus p. 210. A. Ναβοπαλάσαρος.—τούτων [f. τούτων, ὅν] ὁ Πολύστορος Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλλον καλεῖ, πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀστυάγην σατράπην Μηδείας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀμιύτην λαβόντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ. οὗτος [sc. Nabopolassar] στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σάρακος [i. Σαράκου] τοῦ Χαλδαίου βασιλέως σταλεῖς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σάρακος [Σαράκου] εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει, οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σάρακος ἑαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις

ἐνέπηρσε. This last particular is in Abydenus apud Euseb. p. 25.

<sup>g</sup> Apud Euseb. Chron. I. 9. p. 25. He concludes p. 26. *Hiscæ narratis, reliqua etiam Nabucodrossori gesta ita persequitur Abydenus ut a libris Hebræorum prorsus non abhorreat.*

<sup>h</sup> These were astronomical periods, like those of Berosus quoted in F. H. III. p. 505.



		anni	anni
<i>Medi</i> .....	8	.....	224
<i>reges</i> .....	11	.....	48
<i>Chaldæi</i> .....	49	.....	458
<i>Arabes</i> .....	9	.....	245
			—————975

His Assyrian chronology :

<i>Semiramis et reges</i>	45	.....	526	
<i>Pul</i> .....		—		
<i>Senecherimus</i> .....	18			= B. C. 692
<i>filius</i> .....	8			
<i>Sammughes</i> .....	21			
<i>frater</i> .....	21			
<i>Sardanapallus vel</i>	} (21)	20		
<i>Nabopalassar</i>		—————	88	
<i>Nabucodrossorus vel</i>	}			
<i>Nabuchodonosorus</i>		.....	43	= B. C. 604

The last Assyrian reigns in Abydenus are thus given :

- 25. *Senecheribus*
- (26) *Nergilus*
- (27) *Adrameles filius*
- (28) *Axerdis frater*
- (29) *Sardanapallus*
- (30) *Saracus*

We may remark the negligence or inconsistency of Eusebius, who supposes the account of Polyhistor to correspond with the account of Scripture because Polyhistor numbers 88 years from the 1st of *Sennacherib* to the 1st of *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the first place, Eusebius himself gives 98 years to the three reigns of *Manasseh*, *Amon*, and *Josiah*, since he reckons the reign of *Amon* twelve years<sup>i</sup>. And if we restore the right number, two years, to this reign, and obtain 88 years for the three Jewish reigns, still the two accounts are not consistent; for these 88 years carry back the 1st of *Sennacherib* to the 1st of *Manasseh*. But Eusebius himself has just admitted that *Sennacherib* invaded Judea 15 years before the death of *Hezekiah*: the time therefore of *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor, by the account of Eusebius himself, is quite at variance with the time of *Sennacherib* in Scripture. The true interval between the 14th of *Hezekiah* B. C. 713, when *Sennacherib* invaded Judea, and the accession of *Nebuchadnezzar* B. C. 604, is 109 years. *Sennacherib*, then, was in the throne at least 22 years before the date of Polyhistor. In the second place, the years ascribed to his reign are incompatible with the true account; for Polyhistor gives him 18 years, but we know that *Shalmaneser* was yet living in the 6th year of *Hezekiah*, and that *Sennacherib* was slain within

<sup>i</sup> That Eusebius reckoned 12 years to *Amon* appears from his list p. 243. and his Canon p. 326. *annis* 1360—1371. Conformably with this he computes *Præp.* X. 9. p. 443. from the 50th of *Uzziah* to the end of the Captivity in the 2nd

of *Darius*—ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστάτου ἔτους τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπὶ τὸ 9' ἔτος 'Οζίου—256 years. But these could only be obtained by computing 12 years to *Amon*.

J 2 Kings XVIII. 10.

the 15th of *Hezekiah*<sup>k</sup>; so that his reign could not have extended beyond nine years by the largest computation. Thirdly, *Marudachus Baldanes* in Polyhistor reigned for six months before *Belibus*, whose three years are fixed by the Astronomical Canon at B. C. 702—699. But *Merodach Baladan* in Scripture was king at the time of the sickness of *Hezekiah*, whose sickness and miraculous cure were in B. C. 713<sup>l</sup>. Again, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* is called *Nabopolassar* and has 20 years, completing the term of 88 years named by Eusebius: and yet in the same page he is called *Sardanapallus* and has 21 years; nor is any explanation given how the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* became the successor of the Assyrian kings.

Although Abydenus agrees in some points with Eusebius, yet he differs from him in others. But he still more remarkably differs from himself. In the former extract<sup>m</sup> Abydenus makes *Sardanapalus* the last king, and places his death at B. C. 842; in the present, he describes kings of Assyria at a period two centuries below that date: and *Sardanapalus* has a successor who is besieged in Nineveh by the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Eusebius has neglected to explain or notice these variations. It is probable that Abydenus in the former passage founded his account upon Ctesias, but that in the other narrative, like Polyhistor, he drew from Berosus.

A comparison of Abydenus and Polyhistor with each other and with Scripture may enable us to trace the truth. *Pul* king of Assyria (the first king of Assyria named in Scripture) invaded Palestine about the 40th year of *Uzziah* B. C. 769<sup>n</sup>. He was consequently in the

<sup>k</sup> *Sennacherib* was slain after his retreat from Judah and his expedition made in the 14th year of *Hezekiah*: 2 Kings XIX. 36. So *Sennacherib* king of Assyria departed and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead. Tobit I. 18. II. 1. And if the king *Sennacherib* had slain any, when he was come and had fled from Judea, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many. But the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king. And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king that I buried them and hid myself,—I withdrew myself for fear. Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was any thing left me except my wife Anna and my son Tobias. And there passed not five and fifty days before two of his sons killed him, and they fled into the mountains of Ararat, and Sarchedonus his son reigned in his stead; who appointed over his father's accounts and over all his affairs Achiacharus my brother Anael's son; and Achiacharus intreating for me, I returned to Nineveh.—Now when I was come home again—in the feast of Pentecost, &c. Jackson vol. I. p. 325. and after him Hales vol. II. p. 467. seem rightly to understand the 55 days

to mean 55 days after the return of *Sennacherib* to Nineveh. And as *Tobit* returned to Nineveh in the time of Pentecost or May, the death of *Sennacherib* is fixed to the beginning of B. C. 711, which might be towards the close of the 15th year of *Hezekiah*.

<sup>l</sup> 2 Kings XX. 12. Isaiah XXXIX. 1. At that time *Merodach Baladan* the son of *Baladan* king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to king *Hezekiah*, for he had heard that *Hezekiah* had been sick and was recovered, &c. It is not likely that this message was delayed till 12 years after the occurrence of the sickness; and we must refer the embassy to B. C. 712, which falls within the reign of *Mardocempadus* in the Astronomical Canon. In that reign, then, it appears that Babylon was independent of Assyria. Josephus indeed Ant. X. 2, 2. like Eusebius also understood *Baldanes* in Berosus to be *Merodach-Baladan* of Scripture: μημονεύει τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως Βαλάδα Βηρωσσός. But he is refuted by the difference of the time. And moreover *Mardocempadus*, who was the true *Merodach-Baladan*, reigned 12 years, but *Baldanes* in Berosus only six months; which again disproves the opinion of Josephus.

<sup>m</sup> Quoted above p. 265. i.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Kings XV. 19. *Pul* the king of Assyria came against the land; and *Menahem* gave *Pul* 1000 talents of silver that his hand might be with



throne 77 years before the *Sennacherib* of Polyhistor began to reign. *Tiglath-pileser* was king before the death of *Pekah* B. C. 738<sup>o</sup>. Before that date he conquered Syria<sup>p</sup>. About ten years after this conquest *Shalmaneser* was in the throne, in the beginning of the reign of *Hoshea* B. C. 730<sup>q</sup>. He was still living at the capture of Samaria in B. C. 721<sup>r</sup>, and at that time was still master of Media<sup>s</sup>. Eight years after that event *Sennacherib* is king<sup>t</sup>; and consequently succeeded *Shalmaneser* some time between B. C. 721 and 713; twenty-two years at least (as we have seen) before the accession of *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor. He was the son of *Shalmaneser*<sup>v</sup>; and the conquests of *Tiglath-pileser* are mentioned among the conquests of his fathers<sup>w</sup>. The death of *Sennacherib*, as already observed, is determined to the beginning of B. C. 711. Many years after, towards the middle of the reign of *Manasseh*, a king of Assyria is master of Babylon<sup>x</sup>. At a later period than this *Nabuchodonosor* is king of Assyria; whose accession is determined to B. C. 650 (the 48th year of *Manasseh*), because his 17th year coincided with the last year of *Phraortes* B. C. 634<sup>y</sup>. At this time Babylon was inde-

him to confirm the kingdom in his hand.—So the king of Assyria turned back and stayed not there in the land. Menahem began to reign in the 39th of Uzziah: XV. 17.

<sup>o</sup> 2 Kings XV. 29. In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria and took—Hazor and Gilead and Galilee and all the land of Naphthali, and carried them captive to Assyria. Pekah reigned B. C. 757—738.

<sup>p</sup> 2 Kings XVI. 5—9. Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war; and they besieged Ahaz.—So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son; Come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria and out of the hand of the king of Israel.—And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus and took it, and carried the people captive to Kir, and slew Rezin. This conquest was in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, since Pekah died in the 3rd year of Ahaz.

<sup>q</sup> 2 Kings XVII. 1—4. In the 12th (13th) year of Ahaz [B. C. 730] began Hoshea to reign in Samaria.—Against him came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria, and Hoshea became his servant.—And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt and brought no presents to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year. Therefore the king of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison.

<sup>r</sup> 2 Kings XVII. 6. In the 9th year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. XVIII. 9—11. In the 4th year of king Hezekiah which was the 7th year of Hoshea Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it; and

at the end of three years they took it; even in the 6th year of Hezekiah, that is, the 9th year of Hoshea king of Israel Samaria was taken; and the king of Assyria did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and did put them into Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

<sup>s</sup> 2 Kings XVII. 6. XVIII. 11. The same may be collected from Tobit I. 14.

<sup>t</sup> 2 Kings XVIII. 13. Isaiah XXXVI. 1. Now in the 14th year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib come up, &c.

<sup>v</sup> Tobit I. 15. Now when Enemessar was dead, Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead. The author from whom we have this account was a Jew of the tribe of Naphthali, who in the time of Enemessar king of the Assyrians was led captive to Nineve: v. 1. 2. 3.

<sup>w</sup> 2 Kings XIX. 12.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Chron. XXXIII. 11. The captains of the host of the king of Assyria took Manasseh—and bound him with fetters and carried him to Babylon.

<sup>y</sup> Judith I. 1—15. In the 12th year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor who reigned in Nineve the great city, in the days of Arphaxad which reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana [B. C. 639 the 17th of Phraortes]—even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king Arphaxad in the great plain which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.—Then he marched in battle array with his power against the king Arphaxad in the 17th year, and he prevailed in his battle, for he overthrew all the power of Arphaxad.—He took also Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, and smote him through with his darts and destroyed him utterly that day. Conformably with Herodotus quoted in the Tables B. C. 634. Jackson vol. I. p. 333—338. has well defended

pendent of Assyria<sup>z</sup>. Twenty-eight years after the defeat of *Phraortes* Nineveh was destroyed in B. C. 606, as we have seen from the united evidence of Scripture and Herodotus, by the Medes and Babylonians.

On comparing these testimonies with Polyhistor and Abydenus, we may observe that in neither of their accounts does the *Sennacherib* whom they describe agree with the *Sennacherib* of Scripture. The true *Sennacherib* succeeded his father, reigned a short period, and was slain in B. C. 711. *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor reigns 18 years, succeeds his brother, and recovers Babylon after the death of *Belibus*, whose three years terminate at B. C. 699<sup>a</sup>. Again, *Sennacherib* is made by both Polyhistor and Abydenus the founder of Tarsus. But this was ascribed by a concurrence of profane accounts to *Sardanapalus*. It is plain, then, that Abydenus and Polyhistor have confounded *Sennacherib* with *Esarhaddon*, and have ascribed to the father the acts which in reality belonged to the son. *Esarhaddon* began to reign in B. C. 711, and his reign, if of 18 years, would extend to B. C. 693, and would include the three years of *Belibus* king of Babylon. *Esarhaddon* under the name of *Sardanapalus* lost the Median empire, and under the name of *Sardanapalus* was commemorated by the Greeks as the founder of Tarsus and Anchialë<sup>b</sup>. By an opposite error both Abydenus and

the time and authority of the book of Judith, which he has shewn to belong to the reign of *Phraortes*; and has refuted Usher, Petavius, and Prideaux, who suppose *Arphaxad* to mean *Deioces*, and Whiston, who refers the book of Judith to the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. The war with the Assyrians is referred by Jackson himself to the right place, the last year of *Phraortes*. But that last year of *Phraortes* according to his arrangement of the Median reigns he places at B. C. 625, nine years below the actual date of the death of *Phraortes*.

<sup>z</sup> This may be collected from Judith I. 7—12. where it is said that *Nabuchodonosor* sent to all that dwelt in Persia and to all that dwelt westward (of Nineveh), to Cilicia, Damascus, Samaria, &c. But all the inhabitants made light of the commandment of the king of the Assyrians, neither went they with him to the battle, for they were not afraid of him. Agreeing remarkably with Herodotus I. 102. Φραόρτης στρατευσάμενος—ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ τὴν Νίνον ἔχον, καὶ ἤρχον πρότερον πάντων τότε δ' ἦσαν μεμινυμένοι μὲν συμμάχων, ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μὲντοι ἐαυτῶν εὖ ἤκοντες. Among the allies of *Phraortes* are all they that dwelt in the hill country and all that dwelt by Euphrates and Tigris, &c. Among these allies of *Phraortes* some were probably subject to the Babylonian kingdom. The invasion of Judea followed in the 18th year (of *Nabuchodonosor*) in the 22nd day of the first month: Judith II. 1. 120 days after his victory: I. 16. These dates will fix the defeat and death of *Phraortes* to about Cas-leu or November B. C. 634, and the commence-

ment of the expedition of *Holophernes* to Nisan or April B. C. 633.

<sup>a</sup> They terminate in the Astronomical Canon after the *Thoth* of N. E. 49; that is, after Feb. 14. B. C. 699.

<sup>b</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1022. Σαρδανάπαλος: ὁ υἱὸς Ἀνακυνδαράξου βασιλεὺς Νίνου Περσικῆς χώρας. ὃς ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Ταρσὸν καὶ Ἀγχιάλῃν ἔκτισεν—πεφυρπολημένου δὲ τοῦ οἴκου, ἔδωκεν εὐρεθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ταῦτα φησὶν ἐγγεγράφαι ἐπὶ τῇ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀσσυρίοις γράμμασι· “Σαρδανάπαλος Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ταρσὸν τε καὶ Ἀγχιάλῃν ἔδειμεν ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιᾷ” κ. τ. λ. —ὁ δὲ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν ταῖς Περσικοῖς δύο φησὶ Σαρδανάπαλους γεγονέναι. εἰς τὸ αὐτό. Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἐν τρυφῇ ὀρίζετο τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. λέγει δὲ [f. λέγεται δὲ] περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δύο πόλεις ἔκτισε τῆς Κιλικίας Ταρσὸν καὶ Ἀγχιάλῃν. ἦν δὲ τῇ βίῳ τρυφηλός—διὸ λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγράφθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· “Εὖ δεδαῶς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς” κ. τ. λ. seven lines. Hesych. Σαρδανάπαλος. πάντες σχεδὸν ἀπάσης ἀκολασίας καὶ τρυφῆς δοῦλον τοῦτον ἀναγράφουσι γεγονέναι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μνήματι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίδι ἐν Νίνῳ φασὶν ἐπιγεγράφθαι Ἀσσυρίοις γράμμασι· “Σαρδανάπαλος \*” γεγονάσι δὲ δύο Σαρδανάπαλοι. Phot. Suid. Σαρδανάπαλους ἐν β' Περσικῶν δύο φησὶ γεγονέναι Καλλιस्थένης· ἓνα μὲν δραστήριον καὶ γενναῖον, ἄλλον δὲ μαλακόν. ἐν Νίνῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτ' ἐπιγέγραπται· “Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ταρσὸν τε καὶ Ἀγχιάλῃν ἔδειμεν ἡμέρῃ μιᾷ” κ. τ. λ. Athen. XII. p. 529. e. f. ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτοῦ τῇ μνήματι· “Σαρδανάπαλλος Ἀνακυνδαράξῳ Ἀγχιάλῃν ἔδειμε καὶ Ταρσὸν μιᾷ ἡμέρῃ· ἀλλὰ νῦν τέθνηκεν.” Ἀμύντας δ' ἐν τρίτῳ σταθμῶν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ φησὶν εἶναι χῶμα ὑψηλόν—λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ χῶμα τοῦτ' εἶναι Σαρδανάπαλλου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Νίνου, ἐφ'



Polyhistor, in speaking of the king of Media, name the son for the father. For as *Aspadas* or *Astyages* began to reign in B. C. 595, ten years after the death of *Nabopolassar*, the king

ὅ καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Χαλδαϊκοῖς γράμμασι ὁ μεταγενεῖν Χοιρίαν ἔμμετρον ποιήσαντα. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο “Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐβασίλευσα” κ. τ. λ. Κλείταρχος δ’ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον γῆρα τελευτήσαι φησι Σαρδανάπαλλον μετὰ τὴν ἀπίπτωσιν τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς. Ἀριστέβουλος δ’ ἐν Ἀρχιμῶν, ἣν εἰδέματο (φησὶ) Σαρδανάπαλλος, Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναβαίνειν εἰς Πέρσας κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἦν οὗ πύργου τὸ τοῦ Σαρδανάπαλλον μνημεῖον, ἐφ’ ὃ ἐστάναι τύπον λίθινον συμβεβληκότα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τοῖς δακτυλοῖς— ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀσσυρίως γράμμασι “Σαρδανάπαλλος Ἀνακυνδαράξου” παῖς” κ. τ. λ. Arrian in his narrative Exp. II. p. 91. and Strabo XIV. p. 672. follow Aristobulus. Diodorus II. 23., describing the *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias, in whom the monarchy ended, adds, ἐπὶ τούτῳ προήχθη τρυφῆς— ὥστε ἐπικηδεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ποιῆται, καὶ παραγγέλλαι τοῖς διαδόχοις τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὴν τάφον ἐπιγράφαι τὸ συγγραφὲν μὲν ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ βαρβαρικῶς μαθεμνηθεὶς δὲ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων “Εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς”— where five of the lines of Chœrilus are given. Tzetzes Chil. III. 411—457., relating the tale of *Arbaces*, *Belesis*, and *Sardanapalus*, from Diodorus, gives the same verses. Six of them are repeated by Strabo XIV. p. 672. Athenæus VIII. p. 336. a. has all the seven: ἐφ’ ὃ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησὶ Χρύσιππος τάδε. “Εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς”— On the lines of Chœrilus conf. Jacobs. Antholog. tom. VI. p. 375. Nækiūm Chœrili fragm. p. 196—212. The inscription at Anchialē is alluded to by Plutarch Mor. p. 336. C. Both are quoted Steph. Byz. Ἀρχιμῶν.

Jackson vol. I. p. 380 (who is followed by Hales vol. III. p. 65) from the combined testimonies of Hellanicus, Callisthenes, and Clitarachus, distinguishes the two *Sardanapali*, and shews that the warlike *Sardanapalus* who survived the loss of the empire, and reigned when the Medes revolted, was *Esarhaddon*. This is confirmed by Abydenus and Polyhistor, ascribing the foundation of Tarsus to *Sennacherib*, whom we have shewn to be *Esarhaddon*. The *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias is the same person as *Saracus* in Abydenus, since the same particulars are told of both. In each account the last king perished with the city and was burnt in his palace. This, then, is the effeminate *Sardanapalus* of the Greek writers. Aristotle Rep. V. 10=8, 14. refers to the tale of Ctesias, but with some doubt of its truth: ὥστερ Σαρδανάπαλον ἰδὼν τις ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ ἀληθὴ ταῦτα εἰ μυθολογῶντες λέγουσιν. and mentions *Sardanapalus* again apud

Athen. VIII. p. 335. f. But as we learn from Berosus (through Abydenus and Polyhistor and Castor) that the last king but one was also called *Sardanapalus*, we have three kings of the name; *Esarhaddon*, *Sardanapalus I.*, *Nabuchodonosor*, *Sardanapalus II.*, and *Saracus*, *Sardanapalus III.* It seems probable, however, that this last king was called *Sardanapalus* by Ctesias through mistake, and that he gave to *Saracus* the name of his predecessor. Many Greek writers acknowledged only one *Sardanapalus*; and many confounded the two inscriptions. But the inscription which *Alexander* found at Anchialē belongs to the founder of Tarsus, whom we have seen to be *Esarhaddon*; to whom it is accordingly given by Jackson and Hales. *Anacyndaraxes*, then (or *Anabazares*: Athen. XII. p. 528. f), is another name for *Sennacherib*. The epitaph at Nineveh (a part of which was known to Aristotle: conf. Cic. Fin. II. 32. Tusc. V. 35) belonged to another *Sardanapalus*. But those who ascribed it to the last king of Nineveh forgot that he perished with the city and left no successors to erect his monument. The epitaph, then, probably belonged to the *Sardanapalus* of Berosus, the *Nabuchodonosor* of Judith. Herodotus II. 150. names *Sardanapalus* as a wealthy king: τὰ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλῆος χρήματα, ὄντα μεγάλα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίνοισι, ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι κ. τ. λ. Hales vol. III. p. 66. understands this of *Esarhaddon*, observing that it is demonstrated that the last king could not be meant, for he perished with his treasures. There is nothing in this narrative to justify the opinion of Hales. Wesseling ad locum understands the passage of the *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias. But this again is doubtful. The occurrence might have happened to the *Sardanapalus* of Berosus, and we have no distinct proof from hence that Herodotus acknowledged the *Sardanapalus* of Ctesias. The allusion, however, of Aristophanes Av. 1021. implies that before the time of Ctesias *Sardanapalus* had been known to the Greeks as a luxurious king.

That Berosus named *Sennacherib* we know from Josephus Ant. X. 1, 4. ἀλλὰ καὶ Βηρωσσὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συγγραφάμενος μνημονεύει τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Σενακχρίβου, καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦρχε, καὶ ὅτι πάσῃ ἐπιστρατεύσατο τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ [λέγων οὕτως]. As no citation follows, the words which I have enclosed seem to be an interpolation.

of Media who reigned in his time, and whose daughter was betrothed to his son, was not *Aspadas* but *Cyaxares*.

In Abydenus *Sardanapalus* appears under his right description as a king of Assyria; and as he is the last but one of the Assyrian kings, he appears to be the same person as *Nabuchodonosor* of the book of Judith, who began to reign 44 years, and invaded Judea 27 years, before the destruction of Nineveh. And this may have been the cause of the error of Polyhistor, who calls *Nabopolassar* by the name of *Sardanapalus*. *Nabopolassar* was sometimes called *Nabuchodonosor*, and this similarity of name may have produced the mistake. This error of Polyhistor (whatever was the cause) substituting a Babylonian for an Assyrian reign violates the true chronology in three principal points. First, it brings down the end of that Assyrian reign (which was in reality followed by another king, *Saracus*) two years below the capture of the city. Secondly, it places the accession of *Esarhaddon*, whom he calls *Sennacherib*, at B. C. 692<sup>c</sup>; nineteen years below the true accession. Thirdly, this date for the accession of *Esarhaddon* is inconsistent with the time of *Belibus*. For according to Polyhistor himself *Esarhaddon* recovered Babylon at the death of this king; but *Belibus* ceased to reign in B. C. 699, seven years before this date for the reign of *Esarhaddon*<sup>d</sup>.

Those two points being fixed, the accession of *Esarhaddon* to B. C. 711 and the accession of *Sardanapalus* or *Nabuchodonosor* to B. C. 650, we may perhaps arrange the numbers and the names supplied by Abydenus and Polyhistor in this manner. *Esarhaddon* (*Sennacherib*) the 25th king reigned 18 years; which places his death in B. C. 693. Between that event and the accession of the 29th king *Sardanapalus* or *Nabuchodonosor* are 43 years, occupied by three reigns in both historians, although they differ in the names. But in tracing the identity of Eastern kings the times and the transactions are better guides than the names; for these from many well-known causes (as the changes which they undergo in passing through the Greek language, and the substitution of a title or an epithet for the name) are variously reported, so that the same king frequently appears under many different appellations. In *Adrameles* of the one historian we may recognise *Sammughes* of the other; for in both accounts this prince is succeeded by his brother. The two reigns have 42 years or perhaps 41 complete in Polyhistor; which will leave only two years to *Nergilus*. But as this king has 8 years in Polyhistor, we may reconcile the difficulty and adapt the years to the period by supposing them to include his reign at Babylon, where according to Polyhistor's own account he reigned in the lifetime of his father<sup>e</sup>. This scheme will give the following results. The contemporary Babylonian reigns are added as they stand in the Astronomical Canon; and it will be observed that in some particulars they coincide with the arrangement proposed.

<sup>c</sup> See above p. 272.

<sup>d</sup> From the resemblance in the years of the three predecessors of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which are  $21 + 21 + 20 = 62$  in Polyhistor and  $20 + 22 + 21 = 63$  in the Astronomical Canon, we might suspect that Polyhistor had made a transition from the Assyrian to the Babylonian reigns at *Sammughes*, and that *Sammughes* and his brother were *Saosduchinus* and *Chinaladanus* of the Ca-

non. But the coincidences between Abydenus and Polyhistor seem to mark that these were in Berosus Assyrian and not Babylonian reigns. Both agree in placing three reigns between *Sennacherib* and *Sardanapalus*. In both the last of the three is the brother of his predecessor. In reality they only differ in two names.

<sup>e</sup> *Is Babylonia potitus filium suum Asordanem eis regem imponebat.*



ASSYRIA.			y.	B. C.	BABYLON.			y.	B. C.
(21)	<i>Pul</i>	.....	before	.....	769	<i>Nabonassar</i>	...	14.	747 Feb. 26.
(22)	<i>Tiglath-pileser</i>	.....	before	.....	738	<i>Nadius</i>	.....	2.	733
						<i>Chinzirus et Porus</i>	.....	5.	731
(23)	<i>Shalmaneser</i>	.....		729	<i>Jugæus</i>	.....	5.	726	
(24)	<i>Sennacherib</i>	.....	before	.....	713	<i>Mardocempadus</i>	.....	12.	721
25.	<i>Esarhaddon or Sardanapalus</i>	.....	18.	711	<i>Archianus</i>	.....	5.	709	
						<i>Interregnum</i>	.....	2.	704
						{ <i>Hagisa</i> 30 <sup>d</sup> .			
						{ <i>Marudach Baldanes</i> 6 <sup>m</sup> .			
						<i>Belibus</i>	.....	3.	702
(26)	<i>Asordanes or Nergilus</i>	at Babylon	... 6	} 8 {	(699)	<i>Apronadius or Asordanes</i>	6.	699	
	-----	in Assyria	... 2		693	<i>Regibalus</i>	.....	1.	693
(27)	<i>Adrameles or Sammughes</i>	.....	21.	691	<i>Mesesimordachus</i>	.....	4.	692	
					<i>Interregnum</i>	.....	8.	688	
(28)	<i>Azerdis frater Sammughis</i>	.....	(21) 20.	670	<i>Asaridinus</i>	.....	13.	680	
(29)	<i>Nabuchodonosor or Sardanapalus</i>	(21) 20.	650		<i>Saosduchinus</i>	.....	20.	667	
(30)	<i>Saracusor Ninus II. [or Sardanop.]</i>	(23) 24.	(630)		<i>Chinaladanus</i>	.....	22.	647	
	<i>Nineveh destroyed</i>	.....	606		<i>Nabopolassar</i>	.....	21.	625 Jan. 27.	
					<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i>	.....	43.	604 Jan. 21.	

That *Esarhaddon* was the 25th king is known from Abydenus. Hence the other reigns are determined. If *Esarhaddon* was the 25th, *Pul* was the 21st and *Saracus* the 30th king. The first five of these kings and their times, down to the accession of *Esarhaddon* in the beginning of B. C. 711, are fixed upon undoubted authority. The years of the reigns of the 27th, 28th, and 29th kings, are given from Berosus by Polyhistor. The period of the two last reigns is limited to 44 years upon sufficient evidence; but if the first of these had 21 or 20 years (which is ascertained from Polyhistor), there remain 23 or 24 for the last king *Saracus*.

It appears from Alexander Polyhistor and the Astronomical Canon that Babylon had always kings of her own from the earliest times. These kings were sometimes subjected to the Assyrians and sometimes independent; but they never acquired extensive dominion till the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the period described in this Table *Nabonassar* was independent<sup>f</sup>. His successors were perhaps independent down to *Hagisa* and *Marudachus Bal-*

<sup>f</sup> As we learn from Syncellus p. 207. B. quoting Polyhistor and Berosus. The same may be gathered from Herodot. I. 184. 185. who describes two queens of Babylon: τῆς Βαβυλῶνος πολλὰί μὲν αὖ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐγένοντο βασιλίδες—ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γενναῖαι δέοι· ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἀρξασα τῆς ὑστερον γενήσθαι πύτιν πρότερον γενμένη, τῇ ὀνόμα ἦν Σιμίραμις κ. τ. λ. ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενμένη ταύτης βασιλεία τῇ ὀνόμα ἦν Νίτωρις (αὕτη δὲ συντεταγμένη γενμένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξασας) τοῦτο μὲν μετὰ τὴν ἀπελευθερίαν τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσμαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ἐρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐκατέρευον, ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ὅσπερ αὐτοῖσι· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προσηφιδάξατο ὅσα ἰδύνατο

μάλιστα κ. τ. λ. *Nitocris*, who was queen after the capture of Nineveh, was the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* (who is called Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλωνίος Herodot. I. 74. cir. B. C. 603), and the mother of *Nabonnadius*; called Λαβύνητος by Herodotus I. 77. B. C. 546: ἐτυράνευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λαβύνητος. and again I. 188. in B. C. 538: ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀρχήν. Those who, with Wesseling ad Herodot. I. 185., suppose *Nitocris* to have been the wife of *Evil-Merodach*, who began to reign B. C. 561, besides that the mention of the

*danes* who reigned during the interregnum, and who are not marked in the Canon because each reigned less than a year. In their successor *Belibus*, both in the name and the duration of his reign, Polyhistor and the Canon agree. The next king *Apronadius* appears on a comparison of the two historians with the Canon to be no other than the son of *Esarhaddon* the *Sennacherib* of the two historians, the 25th king of Assyria, who conquered Babylon. During this period B. C. 699—693, while *Esarhaddon* was master of Babylon, the colony was planted in Samaria described in the following passage<sup>h</sup>: *And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah and from Ava and from Hamath and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria and dwelt in the cities thereof.* Ascribed to *Esarhaddon* by *Ezra*<sup>i</sup>. In the same

capture of Nineveh would be improbable so long after the event, overlook the shortness of his reign, only two years; within which it is not likely that the works ascribed to *Nitocris* could have been accomplished. Herodotus omits the short and troubled interval of six years, which occurred between the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* (*Labynet* I) and the accession of *Nabonnadius*, and passes to the last Chaldean king of Babylon, *Labynet* II., the son according to his account of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Nitocris*; in which he is confirmed by the prophet Daniel V. 1—18. by whom *Nebuchadnezzar* is repeatedly called father of *Belshazzar* (*Labynet* II.). The true account of that interval seems to be this: *Evil-Merodach* was murdered by *Nericosolassar* or *Neriglissar*, who usurped the throne: *Beros.* apud Joseph. Apion. I. p. 1176. and whose son *Laborosarchod* was also put to death. All these events happened within six years. After the usurpers were removed, τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τῷ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος *Berosus* apud Joseph. Ναβωννῶδον ἀποδεικνύσι βασιλέα προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν *Abydenus* apud Euseb. Præp. IX. p. 457. B. Rendered thus: *Nabonedochus nullo jure fretus ad regni sedem accedere jussus est* apud Euseb. Chron. I. p. 28. That this is not accurate we know from Daniel and Herodotus. But there is no reason for concluding *Nabonnadius* or *Labynet* II. to be the grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar* rather than the son according to the plain meaning of Daniel and Herodotus. That *Nitocris* was the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* is confirmed by another circumstance. According to *Abydenus* and Polyhistor already quoted, a daughter of *Cyaxares* (by them called *Astyages*) was betrothed to *Nebuchadnezzar*. But a work ascribed to *Nitocris* by Herodotus I. 186. is ascribed to a Median princess: *Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. I. 25. p. 33.* γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται Μῆδεια, τῶν ἐκεῖ ποτε ἄρχουσα, τὸν ποταμὸν ὑποζεύξαι τρόπον ὃν μή ποῦ τις ποταμὸς ἐξεύχθη. which *Olearius ad locum* improperly refers to the fabulous *Semiramis* of

*Diodorus*, who never reigned at Babylon, and who was not a Mede by any accounts. *Nitocris* then in Herodotus, the Median princess in *Philostratus*, and the daughter of *Astyages* (*Cyaxares*) in *Abydenus* and Polyhistor, are the same person. And as *Belshazzar* was son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the queen who appears in Daniel V. 10. in B. C. 538 was probably his mother *Nitocris*. In that case, as she was betrothed (before the fall of Nineveh) about 70 years before, she must have been betrothed in infancy. *Nitocris* being placed in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, cir. B. C. 585, will agree with B. C. 747 for the time of *Semiramis* five generations, or 160 years, before; and we may conclude with *Larcher* that this *Semiramis* was the wife of *Nabonassar*.

§ This prince from the time of *Hezekiah's* reign must have been a distinct person from the *Merodach-Baladan* of Scripture. See above p. 273. l.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Kings XVII. 24.

<sup>i</sup> *Ezra* IV. 2. *We do sacrifice—since the days of Esarhaddon the king of Assyria, who brought us up hither.* Josephus IX. 14, 3. where he paraphrases 2 Kings XVII. 24. refers this colony to the time of *Shalmaneser*: οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθαῖοι, ταύτη γὰρ ἐχρῶντο μέχρι δεῦρο τῇ προσηγορίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Χουθᾶς καλουμένης χώρας μεταχθῆναι, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι, καὶ ποταμὸς τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνομα. X. 9, 7. Σαλμανασάρης μὲν οὖν ἀναστήσας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας κατέφκησεν ἅντ' αὐτῶν τὸ Χουθαῖον ἔθνος, οἱ πρότερον ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας ἦσαν, τότε μέντοι Σαμαρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν. Again XI. 4, 3. where he paraphrases *Ezra*: ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἀπ' οὗ Σαλμανασάρης ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Χουθίας ἡμᾶς μετέγαγε καὶ Μηδίας ἐνθάδε. But the text of *Ezra* has *Esarhaddon*; and in 2 Kings *Men of Babylon* are mentioned, which better agrees with *Esarhaddon's* time, when we know that Babylon was subject, than with the time of *Shalmaneser*, when it was probably independent. The mention of Medes does not agree with the reign of *Esarhaddon*, whose au-



year in which the 26th king began to reign in Assyria, we find a new reign also at Babylon; and may conjecture that this city became independent again upon the death of its conqueror. The interregnum of 8 years, which shortly follows, marks a period of trouble; probably many kings arose within that period, whose names are not in the Canon because none of them reigned a year. At about this period, then, the king of Assyria who captured *Manasseh* (either the 27th or the 28th king in Abydenus) acquired Babylon again.

Polyhistor from Berosus describes a term of 526 years which ended at the accession of *Pul*. And *Pul* is the predecessor of *Sennacherib*<sup>k</sup>. Eusebius understands *Pul* to be the king so named in Scripture<sup>l</sup>. But this is very uncertain. Between *Pul* and *Sennacherib* came two other kings. We have seen that *Sennacherib* in Polyhistor was in reality *Esarhaddon*, and that by an error in mistaking an Assyrian for a Babylonian king<sup>m</sup> he was placed at a date twenty-two years below the time of *Sennacherib* and nineteen years below the accession of *Esarhaddon*. It is extremely uncertain, then, what king is described in Polyhistor under the name of *Pul*. The period, however, of 526 years terminates at this reign. *Sennacherib* is placed in Polyhistor (as we have seen) at B.C. 692<sup>n</sup>. To *Pul* no years are assigned. But if we assume 19 or 20 years for this reign, we shall have B.C. 712 or 711 for the termination of that period of 526 years. The coincidence of this account both in the number and the date with that of Herodotus leaves little doubt that in this term of 526 years ending about B.C. 711 was expressed by Berosus the period of the Assyrian empire, called by Herodotus 520 years, and terminating at B.C. 711<sup>o</sup>; and that Berosus gave the exact term of that empire, Herodotus the term in round numbers. The precise date of its termination B.C. 711 is given by Scripture, with which Herodotus agrees; and we accordingly obtain  $711 + 526 = \text{B.C. } 1237$  for the commencement. Polyhistor reckons 45 kings in this period<sup>p</sup>. According to which account *Pul* would be the 46th and *Sennacherib* the 47th. But Abydenus, who also seems to follow Berosus<sup>q</sup>, calls *Sennacherib* the 25th king, which would leave 24 reigns for the preceding period. *Esarhaddon*, then, whom they called *Sennacherib*, had 24 predecessors instead of 46. And this seems to be the true number, for  $24 \times 22 = 528$  would give 22 years to each king, about the average proportion of reigns<sup>r</sup>. And we may collect from all these particulars compared that the Assyrian empire commencing B.C. 1237 subsisted 526 years under a dynasty of 24 kings<sup>s</sup>; that under *Esarhaddon* the 25th king the

thority over the Medes had ceased. But the Medes are only found in Josephus; and according to Josephus himself the Cuthites came from Persia, which was not subject to Media at this time, being conquered after B.C. 656 by *Phraortes*: Herodot. I. 102.

<sup>k</sup> See above p. 272.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 270.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 277.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 272.

<sup>o</sup> See the Tables B.C. 711. I there suppose Herodotus to place the revolt of the Medes in Ol. 17. 2, since he places the accession of *Deioces* in Ol. 17. 3. This will fix the period of 520 years at B.C. 1230—711, or inclusive of B.C. 711. But I suppose the 526 years in Polyhistor to be terminated at the death of *Sennacherib*, and consequently to be reckoned exclusive of B.C. 711, and to be contained in B.C. 1237—712.

<sup>p</sup> See p. 270.

<sup>q</sup> That Abydenus drew from Berosus is proved from his account of *Sennacherib* compared with that of Polyhistor, who followed Berosus; for both accounts agree in the main particulars.

<sup>r</sup> In these 45 reigns Berosus, perhaps Polyhistor himself, seems to have included the contemporary Babylonian kings, who reigned as vassals of the Assyrians.

<sup>s</sup> In Polyhistor the 526 years end at the accession of *Pul*. But we know that the Assyrian empire really terminated at the accession of *Esarhaddon*. We are therefore justified in making his accession the limit of the empire of 526 years, and in placing within that period all the twenty-four kings his predecessors.

empire was lost, but that the Assyrian monarchy was continued under six kings for a farther term of 105 years; and that it terminated with the 30th king in B. C. 606<sup>t</sup>. Ctesias in his period of 1306 years had confounded the Assyrian empire with the Assyrian monarchy, and had assigned to this monarchy a date considerably too high. But as the monarchy ended in B. C. 606, and the empire in B. C. 711, we have B. C. 1912 for the commencement of his period of 1306 years; and this period B. C. 1912—606 includes within it the 526 years of the empire<sup>v</sup>. The period of 1306 years may possibly have been a genuine period, but it is a false account that the period began and ended where Ctesias has placed it; and a false account that it was occupied by only 33 or 36 reigns.

Polyhistor gives 975 years<sup>w</sup> as the interval between the Median conquest of Babylon and the commencement of the Assyrian empire of 526 years. This would give  $1237 + 975 = \text{B. C. } 2212$  as the date of that Median conquest. Niebuhr<sup>x</sup>, remarking that the observations sent by *Callisthenes* to *Aristotle* from Babylon went back 1903 years before the time of *Alexander*, that the beginning of this period nearly coincides with the date assigned by Berosus to the taking of Babylon by the Medes, and that this series of observations probably went back to some great political epoch (as the era of *Nabonassar* was the commencement of a later and

<sup>t</sup> See above p. 278.

<sup>v</sup> Prideaux and Usher place the termination of the Assyrian empire at B. C. 747, and refer *Arbaces* and *Belesis* to this date. Usher *Annals of the World* p. 29. adapts to it the 520 years of Herodotus: *B. C. 1267. Ninus the son of Belus founded the empire of the Assyrians; which continued in Asia by the space of 520 years, as Herodotus affirmeth, &c. p. 60. B. C. 747. The conspirators took the city and proclaimed Arbaces for their king—and so the kingdom of Assyria came to destruction. The kingdom therefore now falling to be divided, Arbaces, having freed his countrymen the Medes from the Assyrian yoke, enabled them to live in aftertimes according to their own laws, as Herodotus affirmeth. Belesis, who in Holy Writ is called Baladan, but by Ptolemæus is called Nabonassar, held the kingdom of Babylon 14 years. Prideaux vol. I. p. 1. adopts the same date B. C. 747 for the termination of the period, but retains the 1300 years of Ctesias: The ancient empire of the Assyrians, which had governed Asia for above 1300 years, being dissolved by the death of Sardanapalus, there arose up two empires, the one founded by Arbaces, the other by Belesis. Belesis had Babylon, Chaldæa, and Arabia, and Arbaces all the rest. This happened in B. C. 747. Arbaces in Scripture is Tiglath-pileser, Belesis is the same with Nabonassar, and in the Holy Scripture Baladan. But at this date B. C. 747 the Medes were still dependent upon Nineveh, as we know from Tobit I. already quoted, who describes them in the reign of *Shalmaneser*; and the era of *Nabonassar* is an insulated and independent date, not connected by any accounts with Assy-*

ria or with Media. The inconsistency of this date with the true time of the defection of the Medes is shewn by Jackson vol. I. p. 303. 304. Jackson himself, however, assigns an erroneous date to the period of 1300 years; for he supposes them to end at the revolt of the Medes B. C. 711; and adds another century to the Assyrian monarchy, which he carries down to the capture of Nineveh B. C. 606. But it is evident that the term of Ctesias was intended to include the whole duration of the kingdom, and to terminate at the fall of Nineveh. Jackson thus extends the monarchy to 1410 years, although he admits p. 307. that "Ctesias applied to *Arbaces* "and *Belesis* what plainly related to the destruction of Nineveh and of the Assyrian "kingdom under the last king by *Cyaxares* king "of Media and *Nabopolassar* prefect of Babylon." Whence he might have seen that the 1300 years of Ctesias terminated at that point, B. C. 606. The dates of Prideaux are inconsistent with himself; for he supposes the empire of Asia to have been acquired in B. C. 2047, which according to the dates he followed was fifty years before the birth of *Abraham*. But we know that no Assyrian empire governed Asia at the time of the war described in Gen. XIV. and those events occurred not long before the birth of *Ishmael*, about the 85th year of *Abraham's* life, which according to Prideaux was in B. C. 1912, 135 years after the Assyrians are supposed to have governed Asia.

<sup>w</sup> See p. 272.

<sup>x</sup> As quoted in the Philological Museum vol. I. p. 38.



more accurate series), concludes with very great probability that the capture of Babylon by the Medes is to be placed 1903 years before the time of *Alexander*. This will place that epoch at B. C. 2233 y, only twenty-one years above the date obtained from Polyhistor, whose period for the times before the Assyrian empire will be extended by this addition from 975 to 996 years. This is the more probable, because in the 48 years ascribed to the eleven reigns z the numbers are doubtful a. In that passage, then, we may substitute some other number, perhaps 69, for 48; which will raise the preceding period of 224 years to B. C. 2233. With only this alteration in the numbers, founded on the observation of Niebuhr, the following Table will exhibit the leading epochs according to the positions which have been established in the preceding inquiry :

	y.	B. C.
[ <i>Ninus</i> B. C. 2182]		
Assyrian monarchy 1306 y.	y.	B. C.
before the empire ...	675...	1912
during the empire, } 24 kings .....	526...	1237 <sup>b</sup>
[ <i>Sardanap.</i> B. C. 876]		
after the empire, } 6 kings .....	105...	711
	1306	
Capture of Nineveh .....		606
Conquest of Babylon by the } Medes : 8 Median kings }	224...2233	(2212)
Eleven kings ..... (48) .....	69...	2009 (1988)
49 Chaldeans .....	458...	1940
9 Arabians .....	245...	1482
— ended .....	996	1237 <sup>b</sup>
	(975)	

The Assyrian empire had not yet extended over Asia at the time of the Exode of the Israelites, when many independent kings are mentioned c; nor at the time of the first servitude, when an independent king reigned in Mesopotamia d. Down therefore to B. C. 1550 e Mesopotamia was not subject to the Assyrians. These facts confirm Herodotus and Polyhistor, and refute those who following Ctesias have supposed the empire of Asia to have been acquired by the Assyrians 1300 years before the end of their monarchy. And although Plato f supposed the kingdom of *Priam* to be within the authority of the Assyrians, it is probable that the Assyrian empire within that period of 526 years was principally confined to the Upper Asia, and not extended far to the westward. We know that Syria was a powerful and independent kingdom from the time of *Ahab* to the time of *Joash*; cir. B. C. 915—845 g;

y See F. H. III. p. 505.  
z See above p. 272.  
a The editor observes p. 18. upon this number 48: *In margine ac habet numerus XLVIII. at in textu vacuum relinquitur spatium.*  
b If the 526 years were completed at the death of *Sennacherib* in the beginning of B. C. 711 (see above p. 280. o), this term commences, and the preceding period terminates, in the beginning of B. C. 1237.  
c The king of Edom : Numb. XX. 14. of Moab : XXI. 26. of the Amorites : XXI. 21.  
d Judges III. 8.  
e B. C. 1405 according to the dates of Usher.  
f Plato Leg. III. p. 685. οἱ περὶ τὸ Ἰλίον οἰκοῦντες τότε πιστεύοντες τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων δυνάμει τῇ περὶ Νῆον γενομένη θρασυνόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἤγειραν τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, κ. τ. λ.—τῆς ἀρχῆς γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἦν μέριον. Ast ad locum rightly observes that Plato here follows Ctesias, according to whom apud Diod. II. 2. *Ninus* conquered the whole of Asia Minor.  
g Compare 1 Kings XX. 1. 2 Kings XIII. 25.

and that the Assyrians did not acquire dominion in Syria till after B. C. 769<sup>h</sup>, less than sixty years before the independence of the Medes. Herodotus, then, accurately limits the Assyrian dominion to the Upper Asia<sup>i</sup>. Dionysius follows Herodotus in ascribing a limited dominion to the Assyrians<sup>k</sup>.

In the fabulous account of Ctesias<sup>l</sup>, *Ninus* 1000 years before the Trojan war conquers with the help of the Arabians Babylonia, Armenia, Media, Egypt, Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, Asia Minor, Hyrcania, Carmania, Persis, Susiana, all these in 17 years; then after building Nineveh he conquers Bactriana, whose king according to Justin<sup>m</sup> was *Zoroaster*. After the death of *Ninus*, Babylon is founded by *Semiramis*. Ctesias has here ascribed to one person the acts of many. Babylon was really conquered about 50 years before the date of Ctesias; but it was conquered by the Medes, and *Zoroaster* was the first Median king of Babylon<sup>n</sup>. We may place the conquest of Bactriana and Media 1000 years after the supposed time of *Ninus*. Phœnicia, Syria, and the adjacent countries, were not subdued till 1400 years after the epoch of Ctesias. The western and southern countries of Asia Minor were probably never subjected at all till the time of *Esarhaddon* and his successors, who pushed their conquests in that direction when they were excluded from the Upper Asia by the Medes.

V.

SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

THE history contained in the Hebrew Scriptures presents a remarkable and pleasing contrast to the early accounts of the Greeks. In the latter we trace with difficulty a few obscure facts preserved to us by the poets, who transmitted with all the embellishments of poetry and fable what they had received from oral tradition. In the annals of the Hebrew nation we have authentic narratives written by contemporaries, and these writing under the guidance of inspiration. What they have delivered to us comes accordingly under a double sanction. They were aided by divine inspiration in recording facts upon which, as mere human witnesses<sup>a</sup>, their evidence would be valid. But as the narrative comes with an authority which no other writing can possess, so in the matters related it has a character of its own. The history of the Israelites is the history of miraculous interpositions. Their passage out of

<sup>h</sup> See above p. 273.

<sup>i</sup> Herodot. I. 95. τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας.

<sup>k</sup> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 5. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴ, παλαιὰ τις οὔσα καὶ εἰς τοὺς μυθικοὺς ἀναγομένη χρόνους, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἐπεκράτησε τῆς Ἀσίας μέρους. ἡ δὲ Μηδική, καθελούσα τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν καὶ μείζονα δυναστείαν περιβαλομένη, χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης κατελύθη γενεᾶς. He doubtless refers to the 520 years followed by the four Median reigns in Herodotus.

<sup>l</sup> Apud Diod. II. 2.

<sup>m</sup> Justin. I. 1. *Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.*

<sup>n</sup> See above p. 270. d. The mistake respect-

ing the foundation of Babylon is noticed by Berossus apud Joseph. Apion. I. 20. μέμφεται τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς μάτην οἰομέναις ὑπὸ Σεμιράμιδος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτισθῆναι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Referred to by Wess. ad Diod. tom. I. p. 390.

<sup>a</sup> It may be said that *Moses* was not a witness of the facts which he relates between the birth or the call of *Abraham* (when the history of the Hebrews may be properly said to commence) and his own time. But there were so few steps between *Abraham* and *Moses* that, though not a witness, he was an authentic reporter of evidence. In the following history, from the exode to the rebuilding of the temple, all the writers were, strictly speaking, witnesses.



Egypt was miraculous. Their entrance into the promised land was miraculous. Their prosperous and their adverse fortunes in that land, their servitudes and their deliverances, their conquests and their captivities, were all miraculous. The entire history, from the call of *Abraham* to the building of the sacred temple, was a series of miracles. It is so much the object of the sacred historians to describe these, that little else is recorded. The ordinary events and transactions, what constitutes the civil history of other states, are either very briefly told or omitted altogether; the incidental mention of these facts being always subordinate to the main design of registering the extraordinary manifestations of divine power. For these reasons the history of the Hebrews cannot be treated like the history of any other nation; and he who should attempt to write their history, divesting it of its miraculous character, would find himself without materials. Conformably with this spirit there are no historians in the sacred volume of the period in which miraculous intervention was withdrawn. After the declaration by the mouth of *Malachi*<sup>b</sup> that *a messenger should be sent to prepare the way*, the next event recorded by any inspired writer is the birth of that messenger<sup>c</sup>. But of the interval of 400 years between the promise and the completion no account is given. And this period of more than 400 years between *Malachi* and the *Baptist* is properly the only portion, in the whole long series of ages from the birth of *Abraham* to the Christian era, which is capable of being treated like the history of any other nation<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> III. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Or at least the circumstances which preceded it: Luke I. 1—56. Augustine Civ. Dei XVII. 24. has remarked this cessation of prophecy: *Toto autem illo tempore ex quo redierunt de Babylonia post Malachiam Aggaeum et Zachariam, qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdram, non habuerunt prophetas usque ad Salvatoris adventum, nisi alium Zachariam patrem Joannis et Elizabetham ejus uxorem, Christi nativitate jam proxima.* Josephus Apion. I. 8. admits the fact: ἀπὸ Ἀραξάρου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὴ ἑκασταῖς πιστεῖν δὲ εἶχ' ὁμοίας ἡξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τῶν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν.

<sup>d</sup> Because during this period divine interpositions were withheld, and the Jews were left to the ordinary course of things. And we may remark that in all ages of their history divine inspiration was vouchsafed in exact proportion to the necessity of the case. Inspiration was afforded to *Noah*, to *Abraham*, to *Moses*; and from *Moses* to *Malachi* there was an uninterrupted communication of the divine will through inspired ministers to the chosen people. By this chosen people the knowledge of the Deity was preserved through so many ages in the midst of the darkness and idolatry and polytheism of the other nations of the world. And the measure of inspiration was always in proportion to the exigency. The greatest prophets arose in the most difficult times. The reign of *Ahab* was distinguished by *Elijah* and *Elisha*. *Isaiah* continued to prophesy through the time of *Ahaz*. And

during the captivity many eminent prophets consoled and instructed the Jews in their calamity. But with *Malachi* inspiration ceased, and the Jews were left to the exertion of their own faculties. Inspiration appears to have been withdrawn because it was no longer necessary for the purposes of Providence. The character of the Jews in their captivity had undergone a remarkable change. During the period of their judges and kings they had been easily seduced into the idolatries of their neighbours; but, after the return from Babylon, they exhibited a spirit of attachment to their law and to their sacred books which they maintained under all circumstances with incredible firmness. A people of such habits as they had now acquired was eminently fitted for the office for which they were designed, of guardians of the oracles of God (ἐπιστεῖθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ Rom. III. 2). Josephus Apion. I. 8. remarks of his countrymen, πᾶσι σύμφυτον ἔστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίους τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ τοῖς ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θύσκειν ἡδέως. Miraculous aid was now therefore no longer necessary to fit them for their office, and was accordingly withheld. As in the material world Providence has everywhere proportioned the means to the end, the forces being not greater than the occasion requires, so it would seem that in his spiritual communications extraordinary aids are only granted when ordinary influence is insufficient. At the birth of the *Messiah* the greatness of the occasion demanded that divine communications, after a suspension of four centuries, should again be made;

From this spirit of the Scripture history, the writers not designing to give a full account of all transactions, but only to dwell on that portion in which the divine character was marked, many things which we might desire to know are omitted, and on many occasions a mere outline of the history is preserved. It is mortifying to our curiosity that a precise date of many remarkable facts cannot be obtained. The destruction of the temple is determined by concurrent sacred and profane testimony to July B. C. 587. From this point we ascend to the birth of *Abraham*. But between these two epochs, the birth of *Abraham* and the destruction of the temple, two breaks occur in the series of Scripture dates, which make it impossible to fix the actual year of the birth of *Abraham*; and this date being unknown, and assigned only upon conjecture, all the preceding epochs are necessarily unknown also.

Our knowledge of the time which had passed before the birth of *Abraham* is derived from two passages in Genesis, in which the years of the antediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs are recorded. In the antediluvian patriarchs the age of each at the birth of his son is stated with the following variations :

	Joseph.	LXX.	African. <sup>f</sup>	Theoph. <sup>g</sup>	Heb.	Samar. <sup>h</sup>
1. <i>Adam</i> .....	230	230	230	230	130	130
2. <i>Seth</i> .....	205	205	205	205	105	105
3. <i>Enos</i> .....	190	190	190	190	90	90
4. <i>Cainan</i> .....	170	170	170	170	70	70
5. <i>Mahalaleel</i> .....	165	165	165	165	65	65
6. <i>Jared</i> .....	162	162	162	162	162	62
7. <i>Enoch</i> .....	(1)65 <sup>e</sup>	165	165	165	65	65
8. <i>Methuselah</i> .....	187	187	187	167	187	67
9. <i>Lamech</i> .....	182	188	188	188	182	53
10. <i>Noah</i> .....	600	600	600	600	600	600
	[2156] 2256	2262	2262	2242	1656	1307

These variations are not the effect of accident, but design<sup>i</sup>; because the years before the birth of the son and the residues in all the cases agree with the totals of lives. Thus *Adam* has 130+800=930 in the Hebrew and Samaritan, but 230+700=930 in the Septuagint and Africanus. *Seth* has 105+807=912 in the former, but 205+707=912 in the latter; and so through the first five generations. The totals of lives in the first five and in the seventh are the same in Sam. Sept. Heb. In the 6th, 8th, and 9th, the Samaritan varies from the other two. 6. *Jared* 162+800=962 Heb. Sept., but 62+785=847 Sam. 8. *Methuselah* 187+782=969 Heb. Sept., but 67+653=720 Sam. 9. *Lamech* 182+595=777 Heb., but 188+565=753 Sept. and 53+600=653 Sam. In the totals of lives Josephus

and the evangelists and apostles were armed with supernatural gifts and powers adequate to the duties which they were to perform.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. Ant. I. 3, 4. 'Αδάμ μὲν οὖν τριακοστῇ ἡδὴ καὶ διακοσιοστῇ ἔτει γεγονότι παῖς Σήθης γίνεται κ. τ. λ.—Μαθουσάλας δὲ Ἀνώχου παῖς κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γεγονὼς πέμπτον καὶ ἐξηκοστὸν [καὶ ἑκατοστὸν] Λάμεχον υἱὸν ἔσχε, κ. τ. λ. The addition καὶ ἑκατοστὸν is properly made by Oberthur.

<sup>f</sup> Africanus apud Syncellum p. 81. ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ τοῖνυν μέχρι γενέσεως Ἐνὼς ἔτη τὰ σύμπαντα υἷε'. p. 83. D. γίνεται τοῖνυν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Νῶε καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἔτη βσξββ.

<sup>g</sup> Theophil. ad Autolyc. III. 24. Ἀδὰμ ἕως οὗ ἐτέκνωσεν ἔζησεν ἔτη σλ'. υἱὸς δὲ τούτου Σήθ ἔτη σέ', κ. τ. λ.—Νῶε—ἐπὶ τούτου ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλυσμὸς, ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἑτῶν χ'. τὰ πάντα οὖν μέχρι κατακλυσμοῦ γεγένηται ἔτη βσμβ'.

<sup>h</sup> Eusebius apud Syncellum p. 83. Chron. I. p. 58. κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Σαμαρείταις Ἑβραϊκὸν Ἀδὰμ γενόμενος ἑτῶν ρλ' γεννᾷ τὸν Σήθ κ. τ. λ. p. 85. A. Chron. I. p. 60. ὁμοῦ τὰ πάντα ἔτη ατζ'. διαφωνεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἔτεσι τμθ' πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ὁ ἐρμηνείαν ἔτεσιν ἄλλε'.

<sup>i</sup> Conf. Augustin. Civ. Dei XV. 13.



agrees with the Hebrew in all the nine. The Septuagint differs only in one, *Lamech*. The Samaritan differs from all the rest in the 6th, 7th, and 9th, which are shortened to adapt them to the shorter period between *Jared* and the flood. By this management, *Jared*, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech*, all die in the year of the flood.

The Septuagint computation gives 1287 years to the birth of *Methuselah*, and some copies divide the years of *Methuselah* thus:  $167 + 802 = 969$ ; from which this absurdity arises, that *Methuselah* is made to survive the flood 14 years<sup>k</sup>. But the better copies have  $187 + 782 = 969$ , which brings the death of *Methuselah* to six years before the flood. Theophilus, as we have seen, followed these faulty numbers<sup>l</sup>; they were also in the copies of Eusebius<sup>m</sup>, Augustine<sup>n</sup>, and Syncellus<sup>o</sup>; but Africanus and Josephus and the Paschal Chronicle<sup>p</sup> all divide the years of *Methuselah*  $187 + 782$ , as in the Hebrew; and the genuine numbers of the Septuagint, 2262 (not 2242), may be traced in Demetrius quoted below, and are given by Epiphanius<sup>q</sup>. The Septuagint, then, when the true numbers are restored to *Methuselah*<sup>r</sup>, only differs from the Hebrew (besides the centenary additions) in adding six years to the generation of *Lamech*, 188 for 182. Josephus, except in the centenary additions, entirely agrees with the Hebrew numbers; and Africanus with the Septuagint adds six years (besides the centenary additions) to the antediluvian generations, 2262 instead of 2256: but he partly compensates for these by omitting two postdiluvian years before the birth of *Arphaxad*, computing  $2262 + 265 = 2527$  to the birth of *Eber* instead of  $2256 + 267 = 2523$ ; thus making the postdiluvian dates only four years more instead of six. Thus he reckons  $2262 + 399 = 2661$  to the birth of *Phaleg*, while the true numbers (including the centenary additions) would be  $2256 + 401 = 2657$ . The 145th year of *Terah* is  $2262 + 1015 = 3277$ <sup>s</sup>. But, including

<sup>k</sup> Because  $1287 + 969 = 2256$ , but  $1287 + 167 + 188 + 600 = 2242$ , or 14 years less than the life of *Methuselah*. Petavius, among other writers, discusses this question ad Epiphanium p. 5. A.

<sup>l</sup> Hales vol. I. p. 92. has given a totally erroneous account of the dates of Theophilus: "The distinctest enumeration of the period is given by Theophilus of Antioch thus: *Adam* 330 y.: "&c. *Methuselah* 187, *Deluge* 2362." But Theophilus himself reckons 2242 years to the flood with the current copies of the Septuagint. He thus computes 3278 years from the Creation to the 100th year of *Abraham*: γίνονται μέχρι 'Αβραάμ ἔτη 3278. and 1036 (his period from the flood to the 100th year of *Abraham*) deducted from 3278 will also give 2242 for the period to the flood; agreeing with his numbers in detail. He again gives the same numbers in his summary III. 28. ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ὁ πᾶς χρόνος κεφαλαίως ὅτω κατάγεται. ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ὡς κατακλινομένου γίνονται ἔτη 3278. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλινομένου ὡς τεκνογονίας 'Αβραάμ τοῦ προπάτορος ἡμῶν ἔτη 1036. His chronology in the following periods shall be given below.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 54.

<sup>n</sup> Civ. Dei XV. 10. 11.

<sup>o</sup> Syncell. p. 113. 114. The copies of Suidas also gave 2242 years: conf. Suid. v. Φάλεκ.

<sup>p</sup> Chron. Pasch. p. 21. D. ἐν τῇ ἑκατοστῇ ἔτει

τοῦ Σὴμ ἑξακοσιοστῇ δὲ τοῦ Νῶε καὶ βσξβ' ἔτει γενέσεως κόσμου ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλισμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τοσαῦτα δὲ μέχρι τὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ 'Αφρικανὸς συνήγαγεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῆς Γενέσεως βιβλία πρὶν φαίνει τοῦ Μαθουσέλα ἔτη, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν γενῆσαι τὸν Λάμεχ. The generations in Chron. Pasch. l. c. give *Methuselah* 187 + 862, and make the whole period 2262 years.

<sup>q</sup> Epiph. adv. Hær. I. p. 5. A. οὕτω παρῆλθε δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ δι' ἐτῶν δισχιλίον διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα δύο, καὶ ὁ κατακλισμὸς πέπαυται. He places p. 663. A. the 15th of *Tiberius* at A.M. 5509 = B.C. 5491 for the date of the Creation.

<sup>r</sup> Syncellus p. 114. A. misunderstands the question, misrepresents Africanus, and himself supposes *Methuselah* to have survived the flood. We gather, however, from Syncellus that all the copies in his time had the faulty numbers: οὗτος κατὰ τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς Γενέσεως βίβλους ὑπερέβη τὸν κατακλισμὸν ἔτεσι 14. Augustine Civ. D. XV. 10. had the faulty reading in his copies, 167 + 802 for *Methuselah*, but (XV. 13) he judiciously applies the proper remedy, and adopts the better reading, 187 + 782.

<sup>s</sup> Africanus apud Syncellum p. 86. Σάλα γενόμενος ἐτῶν ρλ' γεννᾷ τὸν 'Εβερ, ββκζ'. 'Εβερ γενόμενος ἐτῶν ρλδ' γεννᾷ τὸν Φάλεκ, βχξά'.—p. 93. τῇ γσod' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου ἐπέβη 'Αβραάμ τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης Χαναανίτιδος γῆς.

the centenary additions, the date would be  $2256 + 1017 = 3273$ . The two years after the flood are also omitted by the Paschal Chronicle and by Theophilus.

The question in the antediluvian genealogies will lie between the computation of Josephus and of the present Hebrew copies; whether the genuine and original numbers were 1656 years, according to the Hebrew, or the Hebrew with the centenary addition to six generations, that is,  $1656 + 600 = 2256$  years according to the account of Josephus. The Samaritan numbers err in defect; the Septuagint inserts a supernumerary term of six years. In the postdiluvian generations the question is somewhat different. Here the Samaritan, the Septuagint, and Josephus, all concur in the longer computation.

	Heb. <sup>t</sup>	Sam. <sup>u</sup>	Joseph. <sup>v</sup>	LXX.	Theoph. <sup>w</sup>	Afric. <sup>x</sup>	Ch. P. <sup>y</sup>	Euseb. <sup>z</sup>
11. <i>Shem</i> ..... (100)	2	2	12	2				2
12. <i>Arphaxad</i> .....	35	135	135	135	135	135	135	135
[ <i>Cainan</i> .....				130			130]	
13. <i>Salah</i> .....	30	130	130	130	130	130	130	130
14. <i>Heber</i> .....	34	134	134	134	134	134	134	134
15. <i>Peleg</i> .....	30	130	130	130	130	130	130	130
16. <i>Reu</i> .....	32	132	130	132	132	132	132	132 <sup>a</sup>
17. <i>Serug</i> .....	30	130	132	130	130	130	130	130
18. <i>Nahor</i> .....	29	79	120	79	75	79	79	79
19. <i>Terah</i> .....	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
20. to <i>Abraham</i> .....	292	942	993	1072	936	940	1070	942

In the Septuagint there is a remarkable discrepancy in the residues of lives, which are not adapted to the centenary additions, as in the antediluvian generations. The Samaritan adapts the residues and adds the total amounts, which are wanting both in the Hebrew and the Septuagint<sup>b</sup>. The following Table exhibits these varieties:

LXX.			HEBREW.			SAMARITAN.			
	Age.	Residues.		Age.	Residues.	Age.	Residues.	Totals.	
<i>Shem</i> .....	100	500		100	500	100	500	600	
<i>Arphaxad</i> .....	135	330 <sup>c</sup>		35	403	135	303	438	
<i>Salah</i> .....	130	330 <sup>d</sup>		30	403	130	303	433	
<i>Heber</i> .....	134	270 <sup>e</sup>		34	430	134	270	404	
<i>Peleg</i> .....	130	209 <sup>f</sup>		30	209	130	109	239	
<i>Reu</i> .....	132	207 <sup>g</sup>		32	207	132	107	239	
<i>Serug</i> .....	130	200 <sup>h</sup>		30	200	130	100	230	
<i>Nahor</i> .....	79	129 <sup>i</sup>		29	119	79	69	148	
<i>Terah</i> .....	70	205 <sup>k</sup>		70	205	70	—	145	

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 63.

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. p. 64.

cell. p. 86. B.

<sup>v</sup> Ant. I. 6, 5.

<sup>w</sup> III. 24. p. 410.

<sup>g</sup> 207 Euseb. p. 62. Chron. Pasch. p. 48.

<sup>x</sup> Apud Syncellum p. 86.

<sup>h</sup> 200 Euseb. 230 Chron. Pasch.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. Pasch. p. 25. 48.

<sup>i</sup> 119 Euseb. 129 Chron. Pasch.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. I. p. 61.

<sup>k</sup> 70 + 135 Euseb. ἐπεξήσεν ἑτη σέ' Chron. Pasch.

<sup>a</sup> In Eusebius 135. But he gives the total amount p. 62. *A diluvio ad primum annum Abrahami congeruntur anni 942.* from whence it appears that these numbers were 132.

<sup>b</sup> See Hales vol. I. p. 82.

<sup>c</sup> 403 Euseb. Chron. p. 61. 330 Chron. Pasch. p. 25.

<sup>d</sup> 406 Euseb. 350 Chron. Pasch.

<sup>e</sup> 433 Euseb. 270 Chron. Pasch.

<sup>f</sup> 209 Euseb. Chron. P. African. apud Syn-

Total ages in Chron. Pasch. p. 25. 48.:

*Arphaxad* 465

*Salah* ..... 480

*Eber* ..... 404

*Phaleg* .... 339

*Reu*..... 339

*Serug* (300) 360. ἡμῶν τ'. l. τξ'.

*Nahor*..... 208

*Terah*..... 275



That the longer computation was in the Greek version from an early period appears from Demetrius, a writer quoted by Polyhistor, whose account is to the following effect<sup>1</sup>: εἶναι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἕως τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ συγγενεῖς ἔτη γχκδ', ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως τῆς Ἰακώβ παρουσίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔτη ατξ'. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐκλεγῆναι Ἀβραάμ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν ἐκ Χαβρᾶν εἰς Χαναάν ἕως εἰς Αἴγυπτον τοὺς περὶ Ἰακώβ ἐλθεῖν ἔτη σιέ'. These numbers give

		y.
From the creation to the flood .....	2264	
From the flood to the Call .....	1145	} .....
To the going into Egypt.....	215	
		1360
		3624

Consequently Demetrius reckoned from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*  $1145 - 75 = 1070$  years. He therefore agreed with the present copies of the Septuagint in computing 2264 years to the birth of *Arphaxad* (although he placed the two years before the flood<sup>m</sup> instead of after it) and in inserting the second *Cainan* in the postdiluvian genealogy. The second *Cainan* was in all the copies of the Septuagint in the time of Syncellus, who censures Eusebius for omitting him<sup>n</sup>. Eusebius was undoubtedly wrong in concealing from his readers that the second *Cainan* was in the Greek copies. But although there inserted, yet this *Cainan* has been properly rejected by many judicious chronologers as a spurious addition to the text. Among the arguments for his rejection these are sufficient. He is not in the Hebrew or Samaritan copies, nor in Josephus. The silence of Theophilus makes it probable that he was absent from some copies of the Septuagint. He is wanting in the Hebrew copy<sup>o</sup> of 1 Chron. I. 18. 24. Philo Judæus omitted him; for Philo reckoned two decades of generations from

<sup>1</sup> Apud Euseb. Præp. IX. 21. p. 422. Δημήτριος περὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ. ἀπώμεν δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πολύστορα. "Δημήτριός φησι τὸν Ἰακώβ γενόμενον ἐτῶν ἐβ- "δεμήκοντα πέντε φυγεῖν εἰς Χαβρᾶν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας" κ. τ. λ. His summary of the dates is given p. 425. C. Eusebius concludes p. 426. A. ταῦτά μοι κείσθω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολύστορος γραφῆς. Demetrius probably flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philopator: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 337. D. Δημήτριος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλείᾳ τὴν Ἰούδα φυλὴν καὶ Βενιαμὴν καὶ Λευὶ μὴ αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σενναχερείμ· ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ταύτης εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἢ ἐποίησατο Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἐξ Ἱερουσολύμων ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἑξ' ἀφ' οὗ δὲ αἱ φυλαὶ αἱ δέκα ἐκ Σαμαρείας αἰχμαλωτῆς γενήσασιν ἕως Πτολεμαίου τετάρτου [B. C. 222] ἔτη πεντακῆστια ἑβδόμηκοντα τρία μῆνας ἑννέα· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐξ Ἱερουσολύμων, ἔτη τριακῆστια τριάκοντα ὀκτὼ μῆνας τρεῖς. These numbers neither agree with the true periods nor with each other. The true interval between the two captivities was 133 years. The numbers of Demetrius give either  $128 + 338 = 466$  or  $128 + 445 = 573$ . Either the second or third number in Clemens is corrupted. Where Demetrius placed the captivity of *Zedekiah*, whether at B. C. 631, as Sulpicius did afterwards, or at B. C. 620 as Africanus did, we are not informed. If the second number is genuine,  $573 + 222$  will give B. C. 795 for the cap-

ture of Samaria and B. C. 667 for the capture of *Zedekiah*, about 36 years higher than the date of Sulpicius. The third date of Demetrius, which would bring down the capture of *Zedekiah* to B. C. 560, we may reject as corrupted.

<sup>m</sup> That is, the Septuagint divides the years to the birth of *Abraham* thus:  $2262 + 1072 = 3334$ . But Demetrius thus:  $2264 + 1070 = 3334$ .

<sup>n</sup> Syncell. p. 169. θαυμάσαι δὲ μοι μεγάλως ἔπεισιν ὅπως ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τινὰς κληθεὶς φρόνιμος Εὐσέβιος—οὕτω προδήλως ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀντιπесеῖν τετέλεμην, ὁ πᾶσαν ἀκρίβειαν ἐπαγγεिलाμένος καὶ τάληθους εὑρεσιν (ὡς φησιν) ἐκ τῆς παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις καὶ τοῖς ὁ ἑρμηνευταῖς φερομένης διαπεφωνημένης γραφῆς διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀντογράφων ἀσύμφωνον, καὶ τριχῶς παραθέμενος τοὺς χρόνους [sc. Chron. I. p. 53—66] ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν τριῶν παραθέσει τοῦ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν Καϊνᾶν υἱοῦ Ἀρφαξᾶδ ἐμνήσθη. εἰ γὰρ ἐν ταύταις οὐχ ἡῤῥηται, πόθεν αἱ ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναγνωσκόμεναι ἱερὰ βιβλία τῆς Γενέσεως τοῦτον ἐμφαίνουσι; πόθεν δὲ καὶ Δουκᾶς ὁ θεϊότατος—ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ εὐαγγελικῇ αὐτοῦ βίβλῳ ιγ' ἐξ Ἀδάμ ἔθετο τοῦτον;

<sup>o</sup> Hales vol. I. p. 90. asserts that the Septuagint in 1 Chron. I. 24. omits *Cainan*; which is an incorrect account. Many copies have *Cainan* in both the passages of 1 Chron. I. In v. 18. *Cainan* appears in 21 copies collated by Dr. Parsons, including the Alexandrine. In v. 24. he is inserted in six copies.

*Adam* to *Abraham*, computing *Noah* to be the tenth from *Adam* and *Abraham* the tenth from *Shem*, as in the present Hebrew copies <sup>p</sup>. Berosus <sup>q</sup> places *Abraham* in the tenth generation after the flood; but if *Cainan* were admitted, *Abraham* would be in the eleventh. Jackson <sup>r</sup> imputes great alteration in the Hebrew copies to the Jews of the second century. But as *Cainan* was wanting in the copies used by Josephus and Philo, it is evident that he was absent from the Hebrew copies as early as the Christian era, before the Jews could have had any motive, from the growth of Christianity, for corrupting the text. Nor is the insertion of *Cainan* before the time of Demetrius a reason for admitting him; for, if this passage was interpolated by the original translators to augment the amount of years, it would naturally appear in all the early copies. This spurious generation being rejected, our choice will lie between 292 years, the numbers in the Hebrew, and 942 years, the numbers of the Samaritan and corrected Greek copies supported by Josephus. But this amount is still to be enlarged, when the true time of the birth of *Abraham* is taken into the account. All the authorities which have been quoted suppose *Abraham* to have been the eldest son of his father, and place his birth at the 70th year and the call at the 145th year of *Terah*. But Usher has shewn the error of this opinion, and has proved that the birth of *Abraham* is determined by the narrative of *Moses* to the 130th year of *Terah*<sup>s</sup>. We are therefore to add 60 years to the preceding

<sup>p</sup> Philo Jud. de post. Cain. c. 50. tom. II. p. 45. ed. Lips. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παραύξησιν ἄχρι δεκάδος, ἀριθμοῦ τελείου, λήφεται, καθ' ἣν ὁ δίκαιος Νῶε συνίσταται· δευτέραν δὲ καὶ ἀμείνου τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Σὴμ ἐτέραν δεκάδα τελευτῶσαν, ἥς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πιστὸς ἐπώ-

νυμος· τρίτην δὲ καὶ τελευτέραν δεκάδος ἐβδομάδα ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι Μωϋσῆ—ἐβδόμος γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ αὐτός ἐστι. The generations which were in the mind of Philo were these:

1. <i>Adam</i>	1. <i>Shem</i>	1. ( <i>Abraham</i> )
2. <i>Seth</i>	2. <i>Arphaxad</i>	2. <i>Isaac</i>
3. <i>Enos</i>	3. <i>Salah</i>	3. <i>Jacob</i>
4. <i>Cainan</i>	4. <i>Heber</i>	4. <i>Levi</i>
5. <i>Mahalaleel</i>	5. <i>Peleg</i>	5. <i>Kohath</i>
6. <i>Jared</i>	6. <i>Reu</i>	6. <i>Amram</i>
7. <i>Enoch</i>	7. <i>Serug</i>	7. <i>Moses</i>
8. <i>Methuselah</i>	8. <i>Nahor</i>	
9. <i>Lamech</i>	9. <i>Terah</i>	
10. <i>Noah</i>	10. <i>Abraham</i>	

There were two decades to *Abraham*, and *Moses* was the seventh inclusive from *Abraham*. When Josephus (who omitted *Cainan*, as we know from his detail Ant. I. 6, 5) calls *Abraham* the tenth from *Noah*—Ἀβράμου ὃς δέκατος μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Νῶε—he computes exclusive of *Noah*, and has in view a similar division of the patriarchs into two decades.

<sup>q</sup> Joseph. Ant. I. 7, 2. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου Βηρωσσός, οὐκ ὀνομάζων, λέγων δὲ οὕτως· “Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας.” Repeated by Eusebius Præp. IX. 16. Jackson vol. I. p. 69—80. stating the arguments in favour of the second *Cainan*, and Hales vol. I. p. 90—94. the arguments for rejecting him, each pressing his own view of the question with too much eagerness, have sometimes drawn opposite conclusions from the same facts. Jackson considers this passage

of Berosus an evidence “that *Cainan* was in “the genealogy;” for that “if we exclude *Cainan*, there are no more than nine generations “after the flood to *Abraham* inclusive.” But according to Hales Berosus is “a powerful authority for the rejection of *Cainan*, who, if “inserted, would place *Abraham* in the eleventh “generation from *Shem* inclusive.” There is no doubt that Hales is in the right.

<sup>r</sup> Vol. I. p. 79.

<sup>s</sup> The proof is easy and complete. *Abraham* removed to Canaan after his father's death: Acts VII. 4. and at the time of his removal was 75 years old: Gen. XII. 3—5. But 205—75 = 130. Usher accordingly Annals p. 4. observes, “Now when *Terah* had lived 70 years, there “was born to him the eldest of his three sons: “Gen. XI. 26. and he not *Abram*, who came “not into the world till 60 years after, but *Ha-*



numbers, and the one computation will give  $292 + 60 = 352$  years, the other  $942 + 60 = 1002$  years, for the interval from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*<sup>t</sup>. The early fathers for the

"*ran.*" Moreover "*Sarai*, who was also called "*Iscah*, the daughter of *Haran Abram's* brother : Gen. XI. 29." was only "ten years younger than her husband *Abraham* : Gen. XVII. 17." Usher Ibid. And this confirms the fact that *Haran* was 60 years older than *Abraham*. The erroneous date for the birth of *Abraham* placed the call of *Abraham* into *Canaan* 60 years before the death of his father, which is contrary to Gen. XI. 32. XII. 1. 4. and on this account in the Samaritan copy the life of *Terah* is reduced to 145 years, that his death might be adapted to the supposed time of the call. In Gen. XI. 26. 27. *Abram* is named first on account of his superior importance. Thus in Gen. VI. 10. IX. 18. X. 1. *The sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth*, *Shem* is named first ; but *Japheth* was the elder brother : Gen. X. 2. 21. Mr. Greswell Dissert. vol. I. p. 383. adopts the shorter computations, and places the creation with Usher at B. C. 4004, observing, "It is requisite to premise that the only foundation for my calculations which I acknowledge is the Hebrew text ; in comparison of which I admit the superior authority neither of the Septuagint nor of Josephus." His arrangement, however, of the years of *Abraham* is inconsistent with this declaration ; for, in order to adapt the years of *Terah* to that arrangement, he alters the age of *Terah* upon conjecture to 135 years : p. 388. "The true length of the life of *Terah*, as it appears to me, was neither 205 nor 145, but 135. *Moses* might simply have written *The days of Terah were 135 years* ; which some scribe considering to be distinct from the time before specified (that he lived 70 years and begat, &c.) added the one to the other, as making up the sum total of his life. And this conjecture is greatly confirmed by the result : for  $70 + 135 = 205$ . It is not likely that *Terah* would enjoy a longer life than *Abraham* himself, who died at 175, or than *Isaac* and *Jacob*, who died at 180 and 147. I conclude, then, that the age of *Terah* at his death was 135." By this alteration of the text he places the birth of *Abraham* in the 62nd year of *Terah* and the 284th year after the flood ; and the death of *Terah* in the 74th year of *Abraham* : vol. I. p. 387. vol. III. p. 341. The assertion that *Terah* lived 70 years and begat *Abram*, &c. he understands vol. I. p. 387. to mean that "they were all begotten before he was 70, because the age of the *πατριάρχαι* just before the birth of *Terah*

"was as early as 29, and in no case since the flood had exceeded 35 ; so that it cannot be credible that *Terah* should be twice 35 before the birth of his eldest son." But it is not unlikely that *Terah* should have lived longer than *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, when the lives of all the seven preceding patriarchs had been gradually shortened from 600 to 400 and 200 years. On the contrary it may be said with greater reason that, since *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, lived 175, 180, and 147 years, it is not likely that *Terah*, who preceded them, should have lived only 135. Nor is it incredible that *Terah* should have been 70 years older than his eldest son, when *Abraham* was 86 at the birth of *Ishmael*, *Isaac* 60 at the birth of *Jacob*, and *Jacob* 78 at the birth of *Reuben*. This conjectural alteration, then, of the text of Genesis, for which there is no authority in any of the copies, appears to be made without necessity.

<sup>t</sup> Dr. Hales vol. I. p. 104. discerns the number 1002 in the account of Josephus : "The present text of Josephus assigns 120 years to *Nahor's* generation. But he probably wrote 129 ; for 29 was the curtailed Hebrew generation, to which according to his system he rightly added a century. And that he originally wrote 129 is proved also from its being necessary to complete the correct period 1002, to which it appears he was no stranger, from his remarkable deviation from Scripture in twelve years, which he substitutes for two, from the deluge to the birth of *Arphaxad*. For as Josephus adopted the vulgar error that *Abraham* was *Terah's* eldest son, there was a deficiency of 60 years in *Terah's* generation ; and these 60 years Josephus most ingeniously supplied by adding 50 years to *Nahor's* generation (the correct length being 79), and 10 years more to the first interval." But there is no magical virtue in the number 1002, that it was to be obtained by any means. This amount happens to result from the sum of the generations when properly stated, and could only have occurred to those who placed the birth of *Abraham* at the right year of his father. Josephus, then, displayed no great skill or ingenuity, if, having missed the true place of *Abraham's* birth (at the 130th year of his father), he corrupted the numbers in two periods in order to produce a term of 1002 years, which he could have no reason for preferring. The opinion of Jackson is more probable, that in the first number there is an error in the text, δύο καὶ δέκα for δύο.



most part followed the longer computation<sup>v</sup>. We must not, however, give to this argument an authority beyond its value. The testimony of the fathers in favour of the Septuagint is of

<sup>v</sup> These are a few examples, to which others might be added. *Theophilus* A. D. 181. whose dates have been already quoted. *Clemens Alexandrinus* A. D. 194. He records p. 338. A. the date of Eupolemus: Εὐπόλεμος ἐν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ πραγματεία [sc. ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἰουδαίων Euseb. Præp. IX. p. 418. C] τὰ πάντα ἔτη φησὶν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους Δημητρίου, Πτολεμαίου τὸ δωδέκατον βασιλείοντος Αἰγύπτου, συνάγεσθαι ἔτη εἰρηθ'· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ χρόνου ἐξήγαγε Μωσῆς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τὴν προεირημένην προθεσμίαν συνάγεσθαι ἔτη δισχίλια [l. χίλια] πεντακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα. Jackson vol. I. p. 71. properly reads χίλια. The date he fixes at B.C. 296, the 5th year of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* and the 12th of *Ptolemy Soter* in Jackson's computation. But this may be doubted. *Demetrius* reigned in Asia two years with his father from B. C. 303: F. H. III. p. 309. This would place his 5th year at B. C. 298. Reckoned from the death of his father, his 5th year would be current from August B. C. 297 to August B. C. 296. But neither of these periods coincided with the 12th of *Ptolemy*, whose first year was reckoned either from Nov. B. C. 305 (F. H. III. p. 399), or from Midsummer B. C. 306 (F. H. II. p. 174); in the one case his twelfth year was current from July B. C. 295 to July 294; in the other, from Nov. B. C. 294 to Nov. 293; in neither case corresponding with the 5th of *Demetrius*. Jackson proposes to write "the 10th of *Ptolemy*." But Eupolemus might refer to B. C. 235, which was in reality the 5th of *Demetrius II.* king of Macedon and the 12th of *Ptolemy Evergetes*. The 12th of *Evergetes* was current from Nov. B. C. 236 to Nov. B. C. 235: F. H. III. p. 399. The 5th of *Demetrius II.* was also current in B. C. 235, for he began to reign in 239 (F. H. II. p. 220). But  $5149 + 235 = \text{B. C. } 5384$ ; and  $1580 + 235 = 1815$ . As Clemens quotes the numbers of Eupolemus with apparent acquiescence, we may conclude that they agreed with his own views. *Hippolytus* A. D. 200 apud Routh Rel. Patr. tom. II. p. 349. ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ ἔνσαρκος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου γεγένηται πεντακισχίλιον καὶ πεντακοσίον ἔτη. The date of Hippolytus may be also gathered from Photius Cod. 202. ἀνεγνώσθη Ἱππολύτου—ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Δανιὴλ—τὸ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν—αὐτὸν πεντακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ὑπαχθέντα περιγράψασθαι, ὅσανε τῶν ἀπὸ πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἑξακισχίλιον ἔτην συντελούμενον κ. τ. λ. *Africanus* A. D. 220. His computations we have already considered. His whole period is stated by Syncellus p. 18. A. Ἰουδαῖοι—ἀριθμῶν ἑτῶν πεντακισχίλιον

πεντακοσίων εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου—παρὰδεδόκασιν. *Lactantius* A. D. 306 observes VII. 13. *Sciant philosophi, qui ab exordio mundi seculorum millia enumerant, nondum sextum millesimum annum esse conclusum.* *Eusebius* A. D. 315. His periods are, to the flood 2242 y., to the birth of *Abraham* 942, to the birth of *Christ* 2015, making 5199 years = B. C. 5201. *Epiphanius* A. D. 368. See above p. 286. q. *Augustine* Civ. D. XVIII. 22. reckons 1000 years—*anni non multo amplius quam mille*—from the flood to *Ninus*, whom he places with *Eusebius* at B. C. 2059. and XVI. 10. he reckons 1072 years from the flood to *Abraham*. Idem XVIII. 40. *Quum a primo homine—nondum sex millia annorum compleantur.* *Augustine* XVIII. 54. gives the date of that treatise: *Missus est Spiritus Sanctus per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde consulibus, 365 anni reperiuntur impleti per easdem Idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani* [A. D. 398]. *Porro sequenti anno consule Manlio Theodoro* [A. D. 399: Chron. Pasch. p. 306. D]—*Carthagine Africæ Gaudentius et Jovius comites imperatoris Honorii XIV Kal. April. falsorum deorum templa everterunt.*—*Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus per 30 ferme annos, &c.* = A. D. cir. 428. He began the work soon after the sack of Rome by *Alaric* A. D. 409, and was some years in its composition: *Quod opus per aliquot annos me tenuit.* *Retractat. lib. II. Chrysostom* A. D. 398: tom. V. p. 377, 33. μετὰ πεντακισχίλια καὶ πλεονα ἔτη τοῦ γένους ἤκε προνοήσαν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ὁ Χριστός. *Sulpicius Severus* A. D. 400 follows the Septuagint before the birth of *Abraham*; reckoning I. 5, 2. to the flood 2242 years; to the birth of *Abraham* I. 7, 1. 1070 years (including the second *Cainan*); 505 years to the Exode: I. 21, 2. 3. 26, 4. 588 to the temple: I. 70, 3. The collected amount is 4405 years. The death of *Samson* he places I. 55, 3. at A. M. 4303. *Sulpicius* I. 72—93. computes 433 years from the building of the temple to the destruction, which he places at B. C. 629 (631): F. H. II. p. 322. These collected numbers will give B. C. 5467 (5469) as his era for the Creation. *Annianus* A. D. 405 placed the Nativity at the close of A. M. 5500: *Syncell.* p. 35. A. τῷ εφ' πληρουμένῳ καὶ ἀρξαμένῳ τῷ εφ' α'. It is needless to enumerate the opinions of later writers, who took the Septuagint for their guide; as *Syncellus* p. 2. B. p. 315. C. who fixed the Nativity to Dec. 25. A. M. 5500, or the author of the Paschal Chronicle, who placed the Creation at B. C. 5507; since 4905 y. 6 m. are computed



the less weight because they very generally believed that translation to have been miraculously made<sup>w</sup>. Nor are their longer dates to be regarded as so many distinct authorities. The dates of the fathers are the dates of the Septuagint, and all resolve themselves into that one authority. The testimonies, then, to the longer computation in the antediluvian are less cogent than in the postdiluvian period. In the latter we have the additional evidence of the Samaritan dates. In the former the Samaritan rather agrees with the Hebrew<sup>x</sup>. Admitting Josephus, we have two witnesses before the flood, but after the flood we have three.

Jackson and Hales, who adopt the longer computations, argue in this manner: 1. They assert that the shorter generations are repugnant to the course of nature; that, if human life be divided into three periods, the generative powers continued in full vigour during the second period; hence that the age of puberty among the antediluvians began at 160 or 170 years of age; that *Terah's* eldest son *Haran* was born near the commencement of his second period, 70 years<sup>y</sup>. It is also argued that the average length of generations in the first ten patriarchs after the flood is shorter than in succeeding periods, when the duration of life was shortened. This last argument may be thus stated. Seven generations of the descendants of *Shem*<sup>z</sup> according to the short computation occupied 220 years, which give  $31\frac{1}{3}$  years for each generation. But in the following period, from the birth of *Terah* to the birth of *Judah*, are 373 years, making for the four generations<sup>a</sup> 93 years to each. From the birth of *Abraham* to the 40th year of *Moses*<sup>b</sup> are 465 years and seven generations<sup>c</sup>; giving an average of  $66\frac{1}{2}$  years. It is not likely, then, that the proportion would be  $31\frac{1}{3}$  when the standard of life was from 400 to 200 years<sup>d</sup>. 2. They argue that according to the shorter scheme *Shem* survived

from the Creation to the captivity of *Zedekiah*: p. 129. C=p. 243. Scal. And this last event is placed at B. C. 602: F. H. II. p. 322.

<sup>w</sup> The tale of the miraculous version was believed by *Justin Martyr* Cohort. c. 13. *Irenæus* contra Hæres. III. 21. p. 215. *Clemens Alexandrinus* Strom. I. p. 341. *Tertullian* Apologet. c. 18. tom. V. p. 49. *Epiphanius* de Ponderibus c. 9. tom. II. p. 166. *Augustine* Civ. D. XVIII. 42. 43. The gradual progress of the tale, from the first narrative ascribed to *Aristeus* down to the account given by *Epiphanius*, is traced by *Prideaux Connexion* vol. III. p. 36—60. *Augustine* XVIII. 43. attests the authority of the Septuagint version: *Hanc quæ LXX est tanquam sola esset sic recepit Ecclesia, eaque utuntur Græci populi Christiani, quorum plerique utrum alia sit (interpretatio) aliqua utique ignorant. Ex hac LXX interpretatione etiam in Latinam linguam interpretatum est quod ecclesiæ Latine tenent. Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Græco sed ex Hebræo in Latinum eloquium eadem scripturas converterit. Sed ejus tam literatum laborem quævis Judæi fateantur esse veracem, LXX vero interpretes in multis errasse contendunt, tamen ecclesiæ Christi tot hominum auctoritati—neminem judicant præferendum.*

<sup>x</sup> It agrees with the Hebrew in seven cases out of ten.

<sup>y</sup> Hales vol. I. p. 85. 86. after Jackson vol. I. p. 50. 51.

<sup>z</sup> *Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor.*

<sup>a</sup> *Terah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.*

<sup>b</sup> After which he married.

<sup>c</sup> *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses.*

<sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* argues this point Chron. I. p. 66. of the Armenian version. The original is preserved by *Syncellus* p. 89. ἐπεὶ τούτων φαίνονται κατὰ τὸ παλαιότατον Ἑβραϊκὸν, ὃ δὴ παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἔτι καὶ νῦν σώζεται, τῇ τῶν ὁ ἑρμηνεία συμφώνως οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ μετὰ τὰς προκειμένας τῶν ἐτῶν ἑκατοντάδας καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀριθμὸν παῖδας ποιησάμενοι, ποῖος ἐρεῖ λόγος τοῦς τούτων πρεσβυτέρους, καίπερ ἔτεσι πολλὴ πλείοσι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βεβιωκότας, τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἔλθειν, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον κατὰ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ὁ σσημειωμένους χρόνους; τούτων δ' αὖ καὶ ὁ σάφρων λογισμὸς ὑποβάλλει νοεῖν, ὅστε ἀνάγκη διημαρτῆσθαι ὁμολογεῖν τὴν μὲν παρὰ Ἰουδαίους γραφὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ χρόνους—τὴν δὲ παρὰ Σαμαρείταις ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν μόνους. τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἔτη σύμφωνα εὗρηται τῇ παρὰ τοῖς ὁ φηρομένη τῶν ἐτῶν σημειώσεις.—ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τὴν ἀτοπίαν συνιδεῖν τῶν παρ' Ἰουδαίους ἀντιγράφων ἀπὸ τοῦ τριακονταέτους ἀνα-

all his eight descendants except *Heber*, and lived till the 148th year of *Abraham* and the 73rd year after the call. *Noah* himself survived his fifth descendant *Peleg*, his eighth descendant *Nahor*, and lived to the 158th year of *Terah*. *Salah* survives *Peleg*, *Reu*, *Serug*, *Nahor*, *Terah*. *Heber* survives *Abraham* himself. The first four patriarchs after the flood, *Shem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, were all living at the time of the call, which was addressed to the tenth descendant of *Shem*. The remark of Scripture<sup>e</sup>, that *Haran died before his father*, would scarcely have been thought necessary if the same thing had happened to all the preceding patriarchs. 3. It is remarked by Jackson<sup>f</sup> that the country of *Abraham* was overspread with idolatry before the call. *Terah* was an idolater<sup>g</sup>. But the worship of celestial bodies and of deified dead men would scarcely have begun in Chaldæa while *Noah* and *Shem* and *Arphaxad* and *Salah* and *Heber* were still living. 4. The shorter computation is inconsistent with profane accounts. Upon this subject Hales<sup>h</sup> quotes the observation of Raleigh, that “in *Abraham’s* time all the then parts of the world were peopled, all nations and countries had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent cities, and so had Palestine and all the bordering countries, yea all that part of the world besides, as far as India, &c. which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity than those other men supposed.” And that “if we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham’s* time, yea before his time, we shall find that it were very ill done by following opinion without the guide of reason to pare the times over deeply between the flood and *Abraham*.”

These arguments relate to the postdiluvian period; and, if they were admitted, would make it probable that the interval from the flood to the birth of *Abraham* was 1002 years rather than 352. In the preceding period the arguments are not so cogent, and it might still happen that the Hebrew numbers might be the true amount before the flood and the Samaritan after it. This would give three variations; and the years to the birth of *Abraham* inclusive will be either  $1656 + 352 = 2008$  with the Hebrew, or  $1656 + 1002 = 2658$  with the Hebrew and Samaritan, or  $2256 + 1002 = 3158$  with Josephus and the corrected Septuagint. We must here remark, however, that those who, with Clavier, imagine themselves at liberty to enlarge the time to an indefinite amount mistake the nature of the question<sup>i</sup>. The uncertainty here is not an uncertainty arising from want of testimony, like that which occurs in the early chro-

γράφαι τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ πεπαιδευμένους· ὅποτε οἱ μετὰ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἱστοροῦνται πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἑτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν παιδοποιῶν ἐλθεῖν. πανταχόθεν τοιγαροῦν τῆς τῶν ὁ ἑρμηνείας ἐκ παλαιᾶς ὡς ἔοικε καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου Ἑβραίων γραφῆς μεταβεβλησθαι συνισταμένης, εἰκότως ταύτη καὶ ἡμεῖς κεκρήμεθα κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν χρονολογίαν, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ ἡ καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡπλωμένη Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία ταύτη μόνῃ προσέχει, τῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἀρχῇθεν ταύτη χρῆσθαι παραδεδοκότων.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. XI. 28.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. I. p. 90.

<sup>g</sup> Joshua XXIV. 2. Conf. Joseph. Ant. I. 7, 1.

<sup>h</sup> Hales vol. I. p. 15. quoting Raleigh p. 228. 277.

<sup>i</sup> Clavier Hist. des Prem. Temps vol. I. p. 6. remarking that Plato asserts Egypt to have existed in his time 10,000 years, observes, *Cette haute antiquité ne s'accorde guères avec ce qui*

nous lisons dans la Bible. Mais les théologiens les plus savans conviennent que si nous devons croire sans examen tout ce qu'elle nous enseigne sur le dogme et sur la morale, il n'en est pas tout à fait de même de ce qui est purement historique, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de nombres qui peuvent avoir été altérés, et qui l'ont été effectivement, puisque des chronologistes très orthodoxes ont varié de près de deux mille ans sur l'époque de la creation du monde; le P. Petau ne la portant qu'à l'an 3983 avant notre ère, et D. Pezron, savant Bénédictin, la réculant jusqu'à l'an 5868, sans qu'on l'ait traité d'hérétique. On peut donc bien la reculer encore davantage sans offenser en rien la religion. Petavius founded his dates upon the Hebrew, Pezron upon the Septuagint. But there is no ulterior point to which the epoch can be carried.



nology of Greece and of many other countries, where the times are uncertain because no evidence was preserved; and an approximation to the truth is to be made by a comparison of different particulars. The uncertainty here is of a peculiar character belonging to this particular case. The evidence exists, but in a double form; and we have to decide which is the authentic and genuine copy. But if the one is rejected, the other is established. Either the space before the flood was 1656 years, or it was 2256; either the period after the flood was 1002 years, or it was 352. These periods could not be greater than the highest of these numbers; they could not be less than the lowest.

That whole argument founded on the length of generations is of very little force. The hypothesis, that the age of puberty did not commence till a third part of life had been passed, is assumed without proof, and founded on no facts. The proposition is not true even in the present condition of human life; and we may collect the contrary from Scripture accounts themselves. In the period from *Jacob* to *Moses* the average length of life was from 150 to 120 years; and yet we know from undoubted facts that within this period the age of puberty was the same as at present. *Judah* could not be more than 48 years of age at the descent into Egypt, as will be shewn below; and yet he had four successions in his line before that epoch. His son *Pharez* was born after the marriage and death of the eldest son; and yet *Pharez* had children before the descent into Egypt<sup>k</sup>. The years, then, of these generations could not have been more than these: *Judah* 15 + *Er* 15 + 2 (the widowhood of *Tamar*) + *Pharez* 16 = 48. *Benjamin* was under 30 at the going into Egypt; and yet *Benjamin* had ten sons<sup>l</sup>. Again, there were eight generations between *Ephraim* and *Joshua*<sup>m</sup>; *Joshua* was born at least 40 years before the exode, *Ephraim* about 5 years before the coming into Egypt: an interval of 180 years from the birth of *Ephraim* to the birth of *Joshua* his tenth descendant. These will give for the nine generations 20 years to each. From the birth of *Manasseh* to the death of *Joseph* were about 75 years, as will be shewn below; and yet the grandchildren of *Manasseh* were born before the death of *Joseph*<sup>n</sup>; perhaps 30 years to a generation. But in another line, from the birth of *Levi* to the birth of *Moses*, are 184 years, and yet in the female line only two generations. The daughter of *Levi*, then, must have been born after the 120th year of his life. From the birth of *Kohath* to the birth of *Moses* are 136 years, giving for the two generations of *Kohath* and *Amram* 68 years to each.

From these facts it may be inferred that in the patriarchal times the age of puberty was the same as at present, although the duration of life was longer. If this be so, it is not difficult to trace the increase of population in the first generations after the flood. In the present state of mankind it is calculated that the numbers of a people under favourable circumstances may be doubled in ten years. It has been proved by other calculators that the numbers have actually doubled in periods of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  years for short periods. It is acknowledged that in parts of North America the people have doubled their numbers in 15 years<sup>o</sup>. The Israelites in Egypt doubled their numbers in periods of something less than 15 years<sup>p</sup>. Now the first

<sup>k</sup> Gen. XLVI. 12      <sup>l</sup> Gen. XLVI. 21.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Chron. VII. 23—27.

<sup>n</sup> Gen. L. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Malthus Essay vol. I. p. 8. "According to a table of Euler—the period of doubling will be only 12 years and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . And this proportion is not only a possible supposition, but has actually occurred for short periods.—Sir W.

"Petty supposes a doubling possible in so short a time as ten years." On the period of 15 years in some states of North America, see Malthus vol. I. p. 7. vol. II. p. 194. 195.

<sup>p</sup> Malthus vol. II. p. 190. quoting Short's Observations on Bills of Mortality p. 259, "It is calculated that the Israelites in Egypt doubled their numbers every fifteen years during the

families after the flood were placed in circumstances more favourable to rapid increase than in any other period of mankind. They were not gradually emerging from barbarism, but possessed all the arts and civilization of the antediluvian world. They had unoccupied land before them, and their lives were extended to 500, 400, and 200 years. If we assume, then, that the population doubled itself in periods of twelve years, the population of the earth, beginning from six parents, would in 276 years arrive at more than fifty millions of persons, and in 300 years would amount to two hundred millions<sup>9</sup>. If we take only the actual rate of increase which we know to have occurred in Egypt, and suppose 15 years to be the period of doubling, still the numbers of mankind would attain fifty millions in 345 years, and would reach two hundred millions in 375 years from the flood. I think the former calculation the most probable; but even in the latter case the numbers of mankind would have reached two hundred millions in the 24th year of the life of *Abraham*.

The circumstances of the dispersion of mankind are in favour of the shorter computation of the Hebrew copy. That dispersion was effected by the immediate interposition of Providence in opposition to the inclinations of mankind, who desired to dwell together, and were averse to the dispersion. Their object was to remain collected in one city. They built the tower, *lest they should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth*<sup>r</sup>. It is manifest, then, that the dispersion was commanded while they were yet few in number. It was directed prospectively with a view to prevent the evils that would arise from crowded numbers in a limited space. But at the time assigned to this event by the longer dates, more than 500

“period of their stay.” The periods, however, of doubling were less than 15 years; for the Israelites in Egypt would have reached 2,293,000 persons in 15 periods of doubling; which, at 15 years to each period, would give 225 years. But they really attained 2,500,000 in 215 years; a larger number in a shorter term.

<sup>9</sup> Six persons were the parents of mankind; for the age of *Noah* and the silence of the sacred historian make it probable that *Noah* had no children after the flood. But taking 6 as the element of our calculation, we arrive by an arithmetical progression in 18 periods at 1,572,864; in 20 periods at 6,291,456; in 23 periods at 50,331,648; in 25, at 201,326,692. But, the period of doubling being computed at twelve years, 18 periods would make 216 years, 20 would amount to 240 years, 23 to 276, and 25 would be completed in 300 years. It is plain, then, that the population of the earth might have been 200,000,000 fifty years before the birth of *Abraham* by the shorter computation. It may perhaps be said that the periods of doubling might proceed at the rate of twelve years to a certain point, perhaps to 23 periods; but that then the progress would be checked, and the numbers remain nearly stationary or slowly advancing; as the Israelites in 215 years multiplied to 2,500,000 persons, but during the 40 years in the wilderness their numbers remained

stationary at that point. This check, however, upon the impulse of population was provided against by the dispersion of mankind. After that dispersion, the periods of increase would proceed at the same rate as before among the families of mankind who occupied new countries.

<sup>r</sup> Gen. XI. 4. In the Greek version, however, πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. But Jackson himself, who adopts the longer genealogies, asserts the true sense vol. I. p. 224. 225. “The Latin Vulgate and Jerome agree “with the Greek, that the Arabic translation, “taken from the Greek, has it *lest we be scattered*, in agreement with the Hebrew and Samaritan and with the Chaldee paraphrase and “the Syriac version. And this is undoubtedly “the true sense of the words. There is no reason to think that these first inhabitants of the “new world would spend several years in building a city and a tower which they expected “soon to leave. Their design therefore in building the city was undoubtedly that they might “live together in it, not intending to separate “from one another; they built it for an habitation for themselves and their families.” Josephus Ant. I. 4, 1—3. understands the passage in its right sense: τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῖς εἰς πολυανθρωπήσιν στέλλειν ἀποικίας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζουσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους—ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας παρήκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.



years after the flood<sup>s</sup>, it is evident that this was no longer the condition of mankind; since (as we have shewn) their numbers would increase in the common progress of things to many millions, their dispersion would then have been no longer a matter of choice, but of necessity. It could not have proceeded from a divine command providing against a future evil, but would have been forced upon them by the actual presence of that evil. The dispersion, then, in the days of *Peleg* took effect at an earlier period, while the numbers of mankind were yet a few thousands; and *Peleg* was born where the Hebrew text places him, 101 years after the flood. It is not likely that the numbers of mankind, when they received the command to separate, and prepared to inhabit one city, would exceed 50,000 persons; and this number they would certainly have reached within 160 years of the flood.

The other objections of Hales and Jackson are of no great force. The first patriarchs survived their descendants because the term of human life was suddenly shortened by the immediate will of Providence. The fact that *Haran* died before his father is not mentioned by the historian as a remarkable occurrence, but merely related as a fact in the narrative necessary to be known in order to explain the following history. That idolatry should have sprung up during the lives of *Noah* and *Shem* is nothing wonderful, when we consider the multitudes of mankind, and that after the dispersion they were widely scattered over the face of the earth. We know that *Jacob* had but little authority in restraining the violence of his sons; and that the Israelites, even in the presence of the holy mountain and during the lifetime of *Moses*, fell into idolatry, and in the midst of the warnings of their prophets. The influence of *Arphaxad* and *Salah* and *Heber* in Chaldæa would not be greater than that of *Moses* or *Elijah* over the children of *Israel*. Besides it is not affirmed in Scripture that all the patriarchs between *Arphaxad* and *Terah* were holy men and never deviated into idolatry. That the call should be addressed to *Abraham* during the lives of *Shem* and *Arphaxad* and *Salah* and *Heber* is not incredible. It was the design of Providence that the promise should be limited to *Abraham* and his posterity. But if the call had been addressed to those patriarchs in the 427th year from the flood, this design would not have been so readily fulfilled. In some other branches their immediate descendants might still be living; but in the line of *Abraham* the descent was interrupted by the deaths of *Peleg*, *Nahor*, *Reu*, *Serug*, and *Terah*.

The objection to the shorter computation founded upon profane history, being in reality founded upon the supposed deficient numbers of mankind, vanishes when that subject is better understood. We have seen upon authorities which there is no reason to call in question that an army of Medes occupied Babylon about B.C. 2233; and this is the highest point to which any authentic profane accounts will carry us. But this, as will be shewn, was about 100 years before the birth of *Abraham*, and consequently 250 years after the flood by the shorter numbers. At this period it has been shewn that the population of the earth would amount to many millions. There is nothing, then, incredible in the account that wars should have occurred.

<sup>s</sup> The Paschal Chronicle p. 25. A. places the dispersion 650 years after the flood, at the 130th year of *Peleg*: τὰ μετὰ τὴν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη ἕως τῆς περὶ τῆς καὶ συγχύσεως τῶν γλῶσσῶν τῆς γῆς εἰσιν ἔτη 130. Syncellus p. 42. B. in the 534th year after the flood. Hales vol. II. p. 47. in the 140th year of *Phaleg*, 541 years after the flood. Syncellus p. 42. B. is inconsistent with his own

dates; placing the 4th year of *Phaleg* and the building of the tower in the 494th year, and the dispersion in the 534th year from the flood. But according to the chronology of Syncellus, who includes the second *Cainan*, *Phaleg* was born in the 531st year; according to those who exclude *Cainan*, in the 401st year.

Jackson<sup>t</sup> and Hales<sup>v</sup> impute great alterations in the Hebrew copies to the Jews of the second century. That the Jews might endeavour to alter many passages which the Christians applied to *Christ* is very probable. But it is difficult to imagine what adequate motive they could have for shortening the genealogies. Jackson<sup>w</sup> admits this, observing, “The reasons “which induced the Jews to corrupt the prophecies relating to *Christ* are plain. But the “reason for their making so great alterations in the Scripture chronology is not so plain.” The first translators, however, of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek had a very obvious motive for enlarging the chronology. The Chaldæans and Egyptians (whose histories were about that time published by Berosus and Manetho) laid claim to a remote antiquity. Hence the translators of the Pentateuch into Greek might be led to augment the amount of the generations by the centenary additions and by the interpolation of the second *Cainan*, in order to carry back the epochs of the creation and of the flood to a period more conformable with the high pretensions of the Egyptians and Chaldæans.

The space of 545 years from the birth of *Abraham* to the death of *Moses* is clearly marked in Scripture. The interval from the call to the exode is declared to be 430 years<sup>x</sup>: *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years. And it came to pass at the end of the 430 years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt.* That these 430 years are to be computed from the call of *Abraham*, and not from the going down of *Israel* into Egypt, is explained by St. Paul himself<sup>y</sup>: τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι—τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν ὁ μετὰ ἑτῇ τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονώς νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ. And the interpretation of Josephus<sup>z</sup> in one place agrees with the explanation of St. Paul: μετὰ ἑτῇ τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια ἢ Ἀβραμὸν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐλθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰακώβου μεταναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης διακοσίοις πρὸς τοῖς δέκα πέντε ἑνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον. Demetrius already quoted<sup>a</sup> agrees in the same interpretation; for he reckons 215 years from the call to the going down into Egypt, and 135 years from this last epoch to the birth of *Moses*<sup>b</sup>. Eusebius<sup>c</sup> also rightly collects

<sup>t</sup> Vol. I. p. 79.

<sup>v</sup> Vol. I. p. 74—78.

<sup>w</sup> Vol. I. p. 96.

<sup>x</sup> Exod. XII. 40. 41.

<sup>y</sup> Gal. III. 17. <sup>z</sup> Ant. II. 15, 2. <sup>a</sup> See p. 288.

<sup>b</sup> Demetrius apud Euseb. Præp. IX. 21. p. 425. D. Λεὺν δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι ἑτῇ ιϛ', ἀφ' οὗ ἐκ Χαναάν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐτῶν ξ' καὶ γενῆσαι Κλάθ· αὐτῷ δὲ ἑτεῖ ὃ γενέσθαι Κλάθ τελευτῆσαι Ἰακώβ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εὐλογήσαντα τοὺς Ἰωσήφ υἱοὺς, ὄντα ἐτῶν ριζ', καταλιπόντα Ἰωσήφ ἐτῶν νρ'. Λεὺν δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν ριζ' [Exod. VI. 16] τελευτῆσαι· Κλάθ δὲ ὄντα ἐτῶν ρ' γενῆσαι Ἀβραάμ, ὃν ἐτῶν εἶναι ιδ' ἐν ᾧ τελευτῆσαι Ἰωσήφ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὄντα ρί' ἐτῶν· Κλάθ δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν λγ' [Exod. VI. 18] τελευτῆσαι. Ἀβραάμ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θυγατέρα Ἰωχαβέτ, καὶ ὄντα ἑνιαυτῶν οε' γενῆσαι Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωσὴν· γενῆσαι δὲ Μωσὴν τὸν Ἀβραάμ ὄντα ἐτῶν οή', καὶ γενόμενον Ἀβραάμ ἐτῶν ριζ' [137 Exod. VI. 20] τελευτῆσαι. He computes

To the birth of Kohath .....	17
— of Amram .....	40
— of Moses .....	78
	135
Moses .....	80
	215

Although Demetrius errs in the distribution of the period, yet the total amount is right.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 68. *Jam a primo anno Abrahami ad Mosem egressumque Judæorum ab Ægypto, consensu omnium interpretum, anni fiunt 505, quorum est hujusmodi supputatio; Abrahamo vitæ annum 75<sup>um</sup> agenti Deus conspicendum se præbuit recepitque se proli ejus daturum terram repromissionis. Sane monumentis literarum consignatum est annos 75 natum exiisse Abrahamum e Charan.—Itaque a primordio ætatis Abrahami conficiuntur anni 75. Deinde a 75<sup>o</sup> anno Abrahami usque ad exitum Judæorum ab Ægypto anni sunt 430. Profecto ei rei Paulus quoque apostolus testis accedit.—Nascitur Abrahamo filius Isaacus in ejus 100<sup>o</sup> anno repromissionis autem divinæ 25<sup>o</sup>. Desiderantur ad exitum ab Ægypto præterea anni 405 ut a repromissione ad id tempus conflentur anni 430. Jam qui se Abrahamo revelaverat Deus rursus eidem apparens ait, &c [Gen. XV. 13. 14]. Nimis diuturnam dicit prolem ut ne de Isaaci cogitemus temporibus. Porro sub exitu filiorum Israelis ab Ægypto commemoratur spatium annorum 430. At enim Scriptura &c [Exod. XII. 40. 41].*



505 years from the birth of *Abraham* to the exode. That this interpretation of the 430 years is accurate is demonstrated by the circumstances. For if the space from the descent into Egypt to the 80th year of *Moses* had been 430 years, there would have been 350 years from the going into Egypt to his birth. But the mother of *Moses* was the daughter of *Levi*<sup>d</sup>, who lived in Egypt 88 years<sup>e</sup>; and if 350 years had intervened between the descent into Egypt and the birth of *Moses*, his mother would have borne him 262 years after her father's death. Again, as *Kohath* was born before the descent into Egypt<sup>f</sup>, these 350 years would have been occupied by two generations, *Kohath* and *Amram*. But this was not possible, because *Kohath* lived only 133 years and *Amram* 137. The other text of Genesis<sup>g</sup>, repeated in the Acts<sup>h</sup>, which limits their stay in Egypt to the fourth generation, confirms the preceding account: *And he said to Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them 400 years;—but in the fourth generation they shall come hither again; for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full.* In the Acts this passage is quoted. But St. Stephen does not affirm that the Israelites were 400 years in Egypt any farther than this text affirms it. And this text does not affirm it, because it limits their stay to the fourth generation, and the ages of these four generations are delivered by *Moses* himself, the last of the four. It is plain, then, that the 400 years in round numbers include the stay in Canaan. Theophilus, then, and all those who ascribe the 430 years to the sojourning in Egypt, and who compute 760 years from the birth of *Abraham* to the death of *Moses*, are refuted by these facts<sup>i</sup>. And these facts shew that some modern

*Age vero, quum anni cumulentur 430 post Dei repromissionem quæ anno Abrahami 75<sup>o</sup> facta est, prorsus sequitur ut a primo Abrahami anno ad Mosem exitumque ab Ægypto numerentur anni 505. Quos quidem nonnulli hoc etiam pacto percensent. Scilicet Abrahamus (aiunt) annos natus 100 genuit Isaacum; Isaacus annos natus 60 genuit Jacobum; Jacobus annos natus 86 genuit Levinum; Levinus annos natus 46 genuit Cahathum; Cahathus annos natus 63 genuit Amramum; Amramus annos natus 70 genuit Mosem. Moses annos natus 80 populum eduxit ex Ægypto. Conficiuntur anni 505. This distribution of the last 215 years is more correct than in the account of Demetrius, but still erroneous.*

<sup>d</sup> Exod. II. 1. *And there went a man of the house of Levi and took to wife a daughter of Levi.* VI. 20. *Amram took Jochebed his father's sister to wife.* Numbers XXVI. 59. *The name of Amram's wife was Jochebed the daughter of Levi, whom her mother bare unto Levi in Egypt; and she bare unto Amram Aaron and Moses, and Miriam their sister.* Abraham had made a similar alliance. Such alliances were not unlawful until they were forbidden.

<sup>e</sup> See below.

<sup>f</sup> Gen. XLVI. 11. Hence we may correct Eusebius, who places his birth three years after the descent, and Demetrius, who places it 17 years after.

<sup>g</sup> Gen. XV. 13. 16.

<sup>h</sup> Acts VII. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Theoph. ad Autolyc. III. 24. 'Αβραάμ ἐτέκ-

νωσε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ὃν ἐτῶν ρ'. γίνονται οὖν μέχρι 'Αβραάμ ἔτη γισσὴ. Ἰσαὰκ ὁ προειρημένος ἕως τεκνογονίας ἐζήσεν ἔτη ξ', ὃς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. ἐζήσεν ὁ Ἰακώβ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενομένης—ὃν ἐτῶν ρλ', ἣ δὲ παροικήσις τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐγενήθη ἔτη υλ'. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καλουμένη διέτρεψαν ἔτη μ'. γίνονται οὖν τὰ πάντα ἔτη γθλγ'. He reckoned 1036 years from the flood to the 100th year of *Abraham* (see above p. 286. l), which he accordingly places at A. M. 3278; and 660 years from the 100th year of *Abraham* to the death of *Moses*, which he places at A. M. 3938. The numbers in detail correspond with the whole amount.

	γ.
Isaac .....	60
Jacob .....	130
In Egypt .....	430
In the Wilderness .....	40
	<hr/> 660

And  $3278 + 660 = 3938$ . He had already reckoned 430 years for the stay in Egypt III. 10. παροικήσαντες οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ τριακόνοις. And he repeats the amount of the periods III. 28. where he again reckons ἀπὸ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀβραάμ ἕως οὗ ὁ λαὸς σὺν Μωσῇ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διέτριβεν ἔτη χξ'. Theophilus was misled by a too literal interpretation of Exod. XII. 40. 41. But the other passages guide us to the meaning of that text. Sulpicius Severus I. 21. 3. rightly collects the period: *Ab eo tempore quo Abraham*

writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to *Moses* an inspired writer (in the account of his mother and father and grandfather) that authority, which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion <sup>k</sup>.

The dates in this period ascertained in Scripture are the following, reckoned from the birth of *Abraham* :

	Birth of <i>Abraham</i> in the 130th year of <i>Terah</i> .
10	Birth of <i>Sarah</i> : conf. Gen. XVII. 17. ten years younger than <i>Abraham</i> .
75	The call : Gen. XII. 1—4. Joseph. Ant. I. 7, 1. "Αβραμος καταλείπει τὴν Χαλδαίαν, ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε γεγονώς ἔτη, τοῦ Θεοῦ κελεύσαντος.
86	Birth of <i>Ishmael</i> : Gen. XVI. 16. Joseph. Ant. I. 10, 5. 'Αβράμῳ ἕκτον ἦδη καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι 'Ισμάηλος ἐγεννήθη.
99	The promise renewed : Gen. XVII. 1. Joseph. I. 10, 5. εἰς ἑνατον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν (ἔτος) παρελθόντι ἐπιφανείς ὁ Θεὸς ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἔσοιτο.
100	Birth of <i>Isaac</i> : Gen. XVII. 17.
137	Death of <i>Sarah</i> æt. 127 : Gen. XXIII. 1. 2. Joseph. Ant. I. 14. βιώσασα ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν.
140	Marriage of <i>Isaac</i> æt. 40 : Gen. XXV. 20. Joseph. I. 16, 1. περὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι.
160	Birth of <i>Esau</i> and <i>Jacob</i> , <i>Isaac</i> being 60 years of age : Gen. XXV. 26.
175	Death of <i>Abraham</i> æt. 175 : Gen. XXV. 7. 8. Joseph. I. 17. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν.

*in terra Chananæorum consedit in id quod Jacob Ægyptum ingressus est referuntur anni 215. I. 26, 4. Populus egressus—ab eo quo primum Abraham terram Chananæorum accesserat anno 430°.*

<sup>k</sup> An objection has been urged, in "the prodigious increase in one family during one generation. In the desert the males of the descendants of *Kohath* are reckoned at 8600. "*Kohath* had four sons; from each son, then, "in one generation must have sprung, on the "average, 2150 males." The chief force of this objection lies in the terms in which it is expressed. If we examine the facts, we shall find that the rate of increase in this particular family was not greater than the average rate of increase in the whole nation. From the birth of *Kohath* to the 80th year of *Moses* were three generations in the line of *Moses* and ten generations in the line of *Joshua* : see above p. 294. *Kohath* died at least 83 years before the exode, and might

have had sons when he was 30 years of age ; sons, therefore, at the least 186 years before the exode. From his four sons would proceed in eleven periods of doubling 16,384 persons. These eleven periods, at 15 years to each, would be accomplished in 165 years. But these 165 years would take their beginning from the 51st year of *Kohath* by the lowest calculation of his age. So that, if he had no other children than these four sons (which is not proved), and if he had no grandchildren born till his 51st year, still his descendants would have reached 16,384 persons at the exode, proceeding only at the same rate of increase as the rest of the Hebrew people. In this calculation it is assumed that *Kohath* was born only one year before the entrance into Egypt. But the objection founded on the number of his descendants will have still less force, if *Kohath* should happen to have been born a few years earlier ; which there is nothing in Scripture to contradict.



200	First marriages of <i>Esau</i> æt. 40: Gen. XXVI. 34. Joseph. I. 18, 4. τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη.
223	Death of <i>Ishmael</i> æt. 137: Gen. XXV. 17.
237	<i>Jacob</i> æt. 77 goes to Charran: conf. a. 251. Rightly placed at the year 237 by Eusebius Chron. II. p. 273. Syncell. p. 105. C. 'Ο Ἀφρικανὸς οὕτως ἔτῳ λέγει τὸν Ἰακώβ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν.
(241)	Birth of <i>Levi</i> : Gen. XXIX. 34. about four years after <i>Jacob</i> went to Charran. That <i>Levi</i> could not be younger appears from the age of <i>Judah</i> , who had four successions in his line before the descent into Egypt: see above p. 294.
251	Birth of <i>Joseph</i> : Usher Annals p. 9. " <i>Rachel</i> bare <i>Joseph</i> unto <i>Jacob</i> at the end of his "14 years' service; and then asking leave of <i>Laban</i> to return into his own country, he was "held there six years more upon another bargain: Gen. XXX. 22. 25. 31. XXXI. 41. "Now that <i>Jacob</i> was 91 years old when <i>Joseph</i> was born, and consequently 77 when he "first began to serve <i>Laban</i> , appears by this; that <i>Jacob</i> being 130 years of age when he "first stood before <i>Pharaoh</i> , which was when the 7 years of plenty were passed and two of "the famine spent: Gen. XLV. 6. XLVII. 9. <i>Joseph</i> was then 39 years old, as being "30 what time he first came into <i>Pharaoh's</i> presence immediately before the 7 years of "plenty began: Gen. XLI. 32. 46." Placed at the year 252 by Eusebius Chron. II. p. 273. Syncellus p. 106. A. rightly collects the time: εἰ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ μ' ἐτῶν ἦν τῷ ρλ' ἔτει τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἥνικα κατήλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὸν Ἰακώβ ἰα' αὐτοῦ ἔτει γεννηῖσθαι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς Παρχήλ.
257	<i>Jacob</i> æt. 97 returns to Canaan after twenty years' service: Gen. XXXI. 41.
268	<i>Joseph</i> æt. 17 sold into Egypt: Gen. XXXVII. 2.
280	Death of <i>Isaac</i> æt. 180: Gen. XXXV. 28. But Josephus Ant. I. 22. βιώσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδόηκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. Eusebius Chron. II. p. 274. 180 annorum <i>Isaac</i> moritur relinquens filium <i>Jacob</i> annorum 120. at the year 281.
281	<i>Joseph</i> æt. 30 governor of Egypt: Gen. XLI. 46. Joseph. II. 6, 1. τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἦν τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διεληλύθει. Placed by Eusebius p. 274. at the year 282.
289	Birth of <i>Kohath</i> , at least before the descent into Egypt: Gen. XLVI. 11. Joseph. Ant. II. 7, 4.
290	<i>Jacob</i> æt. 130 goes into Egypt: Gen. XLVII. 9.
307	Death of <i>Jacob</i> æt. 147: Gen. XLVII. 28. Joseph. II. 8, 1. ἑπτακαίδέκατον ἔτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατρίψας—τελευτῇ, βιώσας ἔτη τὰ πάντα τριῶν δέοντα πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
360	Death of <i>Joseph</i> æt. 110: Gen. L. 26. Joseph. II. 8, 2. ἔτη βιώσας ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα. Africanus apud Syncell. p. 106. ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἰωσήφ γενεαὶ μὲν κγ' ἔτη δὲ γηφεγ'. Ibid. p. 110. ε' ἔξῃσιν Ἰωσήφ ἔτη μετὰ τὸ παρικήσθαι τὸν Ἰακώβ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.
(378)	Death of <i>Levi</i> æt. 137: Exod. VI. 16. If he was born in the 81st year of <i>Jacob</i> (conf. a. 241), he would be 49 at the descent into Egypt, and would survive that event 88 years. Africanus places his birth in the 87th year of <i>Jacob</i> : Syncell. p. 106. A. Eusebius in the 86th year: Chron. p. 69. who are refuted by the age of <i>Judah</i> . Syncellus p. 106. places the birth of <i>Levi</i> in the 82nd year. The Paschal Chronicle p. 59. A. in the 83rd year, and reckons him 47 at the descent into Egypt p. 61. C. Demetrius apud Euseb. Præp. p. 425. reckons <i>Levi</i> 43 at the descent into Egypt; which agrees with Africanus. <i>Levi</i> then passed

	at least 88 years in Egypt, and is the first of the four generations who lived there : Gen. XV. 16. <i>In the fourth generation they shall come hither (to Canaan) again.</i> The four generations were <i>Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses.</i>
422	Death of <i>Kohath</i> æt. 133 : Exod. VI. 18. Birth of <i>Aaron</i> 83 years before the exode : Exod. VII. 7. <i>Joched</i> is the mother of <i>Aaron</i> 44 years after the death of her father <i>Levi</i> : see above p. 298.
425	Birth of <i>Moses</i> 80 years before the exode : Exod. VII. 7.
465	<i>Moses</i> æt. 40 fled to Midian : Acts VII. 23. Exod. II. 15—22.
505	The Exodus, 430 years after the call, <i>Moses</i> being 80, <i>Aaron</i> 83 : Exod. XII. 40. 41. Joseph. Ant. II. 15, 2. Μαῦσῃ ἐγεγόνει μὲν ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἤδη· ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν τρισὶ πλείουσιν.
545	Death of <i>Miriam</i> in the first month of the 40th year : Numb. XX. 1. conf. Joseph. IV. 4, 6.—of <i>Aaron</i> æt. 123 : Numb. XX. 28. 29.—of <i>Moses</i> æt. 120 : Deut. XXXIV. 7. In the eleventh month of the 40th year : Deut. I. 3. Joseph. Ant. IV. 4, 7. Ἀαρὼν—βιοὺς ἔτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοὺς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. IV. 8, 1. τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτων παρὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας συμπληρωμένων. §. 48. 49. ἀφρανίζεται.—ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔτων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, ὃν ἤρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνὶ λείποντι μηνί. <i>Miriam</i> was at least ten years older than <i>Moses</i> : conf. Exod. II. 4—8. which would place her birth about the year (of <i>Abraham</i> ) 415, when 37 years had passed from the death of <i>Levi</i> : conf. a. 422.

The two generations between *Levi* and *Moses* are variously divided by chronologers, but as the sacred historian, the sole authority, is silent, the precise years of the birth and death of *Amram* cannot be known<sup>1</sup>.

After the death of *Moses* a chasm occurs in the Scripture Chronology. We are not informed what was the duration of the government of *Joshua* and the Elders and of the interregnum or anarchy which followed. Josephus<sup>m</sup> makes this period 43 years; computing

	y.
to the division of the lands .....	5
to the death of <i>Joshua</i> .....	20
interregnum or anarchy.....	18
	—43

Theophilus, Clemens, and the Paschal Chronicle<sup>n</sup>, allow only 27 years for the whole in-

<sup>1</sup> According to Demetrius apud Euseb. Præp. IX. p. 426. A. *Amram* was 78 at the birth of *Moses*; according to Eusebius Chron. I. p. 69. *Amram* was born in the 63rd year of *Kohath*, and *Moses* in the 70th year of *Amram*. In Chron. Pasch. p. 61. D. 62. C. 63. B. and in Abulpharagius p. 17. the generations are, *Kohath* 60, *Amram* 75; which Hales adopts vol. II. p. 121. But these numbers are merely conjectures.

<sup>m</sup> Joseph. Ant. V. 1, 29. ὁ μὲν (Ἰησοῦς)—τελευτᾷ βιοὺς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ὃν Μωϋσεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν χρησίων συνδιέτριψε τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν γίνεταί πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. V. 1, 19. ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἤδη παρεληλύθει, καὶ

Χανααίων οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ὑπολέλειπτο. V. 1, 28. ἔτει δ' ὕστερον εἰκοστῷ, ὑπὲρ γῆρας γὰρ ἦν, μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιωματος μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων, κ. τ. λ. VI. 5, 4. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου (*Joshua*) τελευτὴν ἔτεσι τοῖς πᾶσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅκτω τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε.

<sup>n</sup> Theoph. ad Autolyc. III. 24. τοῦ Μωσέως τελευτήσαντος διεδέξατο ἄρχειν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυί, ὃς πρόεστη αὐτῶν ἔτεσιν κζ'. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦ λαοῦ παραβάντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐδούλευσαν κ. τ. λ. Clem. Strom. I. p. 323. D. μετὰ τὴν Μωσέως τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ λαοῦ Ἰησοῦς, πολέμων μὲν ἔτη ξε' ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ τῇ ἀγαθῇ ἄλλα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἀναπαυσάμενος. ὥς δὲ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ περιέχει, διεδέξατο τὸν Μωσέα ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ ἔτη κζ'. ἔπ-



terval from the death of *Moses* to the first servitude, omitting the years of the anarchy and ascribing these 27 years to *Joshua*. Eusebius<sup>o</sup> agrees in omitting the years of the anarchy, and reckons to *Joshua* 30 years in one place and 27 in another. Sulpicius Severus<sup>p</sup> gives 27 years to *Joshua*, but names no time for the anarchy. Africanus<sup>q</sup> states the period at 25 + 30 or 55 years; Syncellus<sup>r</sup> at 27 + 18 or 45. Among modern chronologers, Usher<sup>s</sup> makes this interval 38 years, assigning eight to the government of *Joshua* and 30 to the elders, followed by the Mesopotamian servitude. Blair reckons for *Joshua* 25 years, for the anarchy 13; agreeing in the whole amount, 38 years, with Usher. Hales allows for *Joshua* 26 years, for the anarchy 10; or 36 for the whole interval. Lenglet du Fresnoy<sup>t</sup> makes the space 14 + 12 = 26 years.

The notices in Scripture shew that this period was not very long. The division was 45 years after the second year from the exode<sup>v</sup>. When *Caleb* was 85 years old<sup>w</sup>. The time of the anarchy included *all the days of the elders who overlived Joshua*<sup>x</sup>, and lasted *till all that generation were gathered to their fathers, and there arose another generation which knew not the Lord*<sup>y</sup>. *Caleb* and *Joshua* might be both about the same age, about 40 at the exode<sup>z</sup>; which would bring the death of *Joshua* to the 30th year after the death of *Moses*. He was already *old and stricken in years* six years after the death of *Moses*<sup>a</sup>. Although the anarchy lasted till the elders who overlived *Joshua* were dead, yet *Othniel*, who was a military leader in the sixth year after the death of *Moses*<sup>b</sup>, survived the anarchy 48 years<sup>c</sup>. And *Phineas* was priest during the anarchy<sup>d</sup>, who was at least twenty years of age in the last year of *Moses*, when the priesthood was promised to his posterity. His father *Eleazar* died soon after the death of *Joshua*<sup>e</sup>. The interval, then, between the death of *Moses* and the first

εἰτα διαρτύντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι παραδίδονται Χουσαχάρ βασιλεὶ Μεσοποταμίας ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ, ὡς ἡ τῶν Κριτῶν ἱστορεῖ βίβλος. For ἐτη ξ' we must probably read ἐτη ε', expressing the five years of war till the division of the lands. Chron. Pasch. p. 77. Ἰησοῦς Ναυὴ κζ'—Χουσαρσάδῃμ ἡ. ἐμοῦ γ' ἡβ'. It is computed that *Joshua* succeeded *Moses* A. M. 3878, and that the first servitude began A. M. 3905.

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. Præp. X. 14. p. 502. D. μετὰ Μωσέα πρῶστῃ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἔθνεσι Ἰησοῦς, ὡς τινες, ἔτεσι λ'. εἴθ', ὡς φησιν ἡ γραφή, ἐκράτησαν ἀλλόφυλοι ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ. But in Chron. II. p. 285. he gives *Joshua* 27 years; annis 546—572.

<sup>p</sup> Hist. Sacr. I. 44, 3. *Jesus mortuus est anno ætatis 110<sup>o</sup>. De imperii ejus tempore parum definitio. Frequens tamen opinio est 27 annis cum Hebræis præfuisse.*

<sup>q</sup> Africanus apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 489. D. Ἰησοῦ—ἐτη κέ. πρεσβυτέρων ἐτη λ'. Euseb. Chron. I. p. 70. Africanus adjungit annos seniorum qui post Josuam fuerunt, quos annos scribit 30.

<sup>r</sup> Syncell. p. 174. C. τὰ μὲν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυὴ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρων ἡ γραφή παρσιώπησεν ἡ δὲ ὁμογραφία συνήθεια τοῦ μὲν Ἰησοῦ κζ' τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων οὐ παρέδεικε. καὶ οὕτω σχεδὸν πάντες ὁμοφωνοῦσιν. Εὐσέβιος δὲ μόνος ὁ Καισαρίης τὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οὐ παρέλαβον, ὁ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐτη λ' αὐτοῖς ἀπέθηκεν. In ascertaining that Eusebius alone omitted the years of the

elders, Syncellus is mistaken; for we have seen four other computations in which they were omitted.

<sup>s</sup> Annals p. 26. 28. He places the death of *Moses* in A. M. 2553, the final division of the lands in 2561, and the first servitude in 2591. The time of the death of *Joshua* is not assigned. He "dwelt many years after that God had given "rest to Israel."

<sup>t</sup> Tablettes Chron. tom. I. p. 284. *Josué meurt âgé de 110 ans, et 14 après qu'il eut commencé à gouverner les Israélites.—Joseph lui donne 25 ans de gouvernement. Caleb et les anciens gouvernent pendant 12 ans.*

<sup>v</sup> In Numb. X. 11. is mentioned the 20th day of the second month, in the second year; and XIII. 6. *Caleb* son of *Jephunneh*. And in *Joshua* XIV. 7. 10. *Caleb* affirms that he was 40 years old in that second month of the second year, and that 45 years had elapsed since that period.

<sup>w</sup> *Joshua* XIV. 10.

<sup>x</sup> *Joshua* XXIV. 31.

<sup>y</sup> Judges II. 10.

<sup>z</sup> Numb. XXVI. 65.

<sup>a</sup> *Joshua* XIII. 1.

<sup>b</sup> He married the daughter of his uncle *Caleb* at the time of the division of lands: *Joshua* XV. 16. 17. Judges I. 12. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Judges III. 8—11.

<sup>d</sup> Judges XX. 28.

<sup>e</sup> *Joshua* XXIV. 33.

servitude may be pretty accurately filled, although the years will be assigned upon conjecture and not upon testimony.

From the first servitude to the death of *Samson* the years are clearly expressed in Scripture.

	y.		EUSEB. CHRON.
1 Servit. Mesopot. ....	8	7 Sulpic. 8 Chron. Pasch.	{ 8
<i>Othniel</i> .....	40	50 Clem. Euseb. Præp. Sulp. 32 Chron. Pasch.	{ 32
2 Servit. Moab .....	18		{ 18
<i>Ehud</i> .....	80	ἔτεσιν ἡ Theoph. { 56 } Chron. Pasch.	{ 62
<i>Shamgar</i> .....		1 Joseph. African. { 24 }	
3 Servit. Canaan .....	20		{ 20
<i>Deborah</i> and <i>Barak</i> ....	40		{ 20
4 Servit. Midian .....	7		{ 7
<i>Gideon</i> .....	40		{ 33
<i>Abimelech</i> .....	3		
<i>Tola</i> .....	23	om. Joseph. 22 Sulp. Theoph.	22
<i>Jair</i> .....	22	om. Clem. Al. 20 Syncell.	
5 Servit. Ammon .....	18		{ 3
<i>Jephthah</i> .....	6		{ 3
<i>Ibzan</i> .....	7		
<i>Elon</i> .....	10	8 Clem. Al.	om.
<i>Abdon</i> .....	8	om. Joseph.	om.
6 Servit. Philist. ...	40		
<i>Samson</i> .....	{ 20	40 } Theoph. Clem. Euseb. Præp.	
	{ 20	20 } Sulpic. Syncell. Chron. Pasch.	
	390		

The years of *Samson* are expressly included in the last servitude: *He judged Israel in the days of the Philistines 20 years*<sup>f</sup>. Those who reckon the years of *Samson* exclusive of the 40 enlarge the period to 410 years contrary to the authority of Scripture<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Judges XV. 20. ἐν ἡμέραις ἀλλοφύλων in the Septuagint.

<sup>g</sup> Clemens Strom. I. p. 324. gives the period of the Judges. *Jair* is omitted. After *Jephthah* he has Ἀβαθθάν ὁ ἐκ Βηθλεὲμ ἔτη ζ', ἔπειτα Ἐβρών ὁ Ζαβουλωνίτης ἔτη η', ἔπειτα Ἐγλάμ, Ἐφραΐμ, ἔτη η'. εἶνοι δὲ τοῖς τοῦ Ἀβαθθάν ἔτεσιν ζ' συνάπτουσι τὰ Ἐβρώμ μ' [I. η'] ἔτη. Potter remarks, Ἐβρών ἔτη η'. *Hujus sacrae literæ non meminerunt, sed proxime post Ebzan meminerunt Elon Zabulonitam, qui 10, dein Abdon Pirathonitam qui octo.* But *Ebron* the Zabulonite is no other than *Elon* the Zabulonite, and *Eglon* the Ephraimite is *Abdon* the Ephraimite (φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραΐμτιδος πόλεις δὲ τῆς Φαριθωνιτῶν γερονός Joseph. Ant. V. 7), only Clemens ascribes to each 8 years, instead of 10 to the first and 8 to the second. Hales vol. I. p. 102. observes, "To *Abdon* no years are assigned by Josephus V. 7, 15. perhaps designedly: for Clemens Alex. relates that some chronologers connected together the years of *Abdon* and *Elon*, or made them contemporary." In this solution

there are two mistakes: 1. the years of *Elon* are omitted in the account of Clemens, and not the years of *Abdon*. 2. Josephus distinctly makes *Abdon* μετὰ Ἡλωνα, and not contemporary with him. The total amount of this period in the detail of Clemens is 396 years. The Paschal Chronicle p. 78. B—82. B. gives 402 years. Syncellus p. 154. A. 159. A. 164. 173. B. 408 years. Josephus Ant. V. 3, 2—8, 1 (if we insert the years of *Tola* and *Abdon*), has 391 years. His present text gives 360. The collected years in Sulpicius I. 45—52. amount to 419 years; whence in I. 55, 3. the numbers may be corrected: *A die mortis Jesu usque in id tempus quo Samson defunctus est numerantur anni CCCC et IX. Legendum CCCCXIX.* which seems to be the reading of some copies. Africanus, as will appear below, had enlarged this period to 490 years. The numbers of Theophilus ad Autolyc. III. 24. seem corrupted. If we restore to *Ehud* 80 years, Ἀδθ ἔτεσιν π', his amount will give 409 years. Eusebius has three accounts. In Præp.



We then arrive at a second chasm between the death of *Samson* and the election of *Saul*. In this interval occurred the government of *Eli*, the abode of the ark at Kirjath-jearim, and the government of *Samuel*. Scripture supplies 20<sup>y</sup>. 7<sup>m</sup>. for the absence of the ark after the death of *Eli*<sup>h</sup>, and assigns some years to the government of *Samuel* between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*. *The child Samuel grew before the Lord*—when *Eli* was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel<sup>i</sup>. He began therefore to prophesy towards the end of the life of *Eli*. But he was old before the election of *Saul*<sup>k</sup>. The twenty years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim were not the whole period of its abode there. It remained till the reign of *David*, who removed it<sup>l</sup>. The twenty years, then, denote the time which preceded the government of *Samuel*. After these twenty years, *he gathered Israel to Mizpeh and judged them in Mizpeh*<sup>m</sup>. Thirty-two years, therefore, are not too much to assume between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*; a space within which *Samuel*, who was young at the death of *Eli*, became old, and had sons grown up and exercising the government<sup>n</sup>. The authority, however, of Scripture is not positive for the insertion of the 40 years of *Eli*<sup>o</sup>.

X. 14. he makes this period 420 years. In Chron. I. p. 73. 412 years. But in Chron. I. p. 77. and in his Tables p. 286—299. he adopts the Hebrew method of arrangement, including the servitudes within the years of the following Judges: *Post Jesu obitum dominantur alienigenæ annis VIII, qui cum Godonielis annis permisceri solent ex Judæorum traditione. Post Godoniclem Hebræi in potestate alienigenarum fuerunt annis XVIII, qui una cum Ahodi annis computantur ex Judæorum traditione.* And so of the following servitudes. The 5th is reduced from eighteen years to three, in order to be included in the years of *Jephthah*: p. 296. *Post Jairum Hebræi in Ammanitarum potestate fuerunt annis III, qui cum Judicium posteriorum temporibus computantur, ut Hebræi docent.* By this distribution and by the omission of *Elon* the years of this period are reduced to 288: *Annis 573—860.*

<sup>h</sup> 1 Sam. VI. 1. VII. 2.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Sam. II. 21. 22.

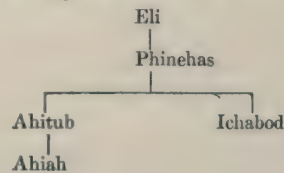
<sup>k</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 15—VIII. 5. *Samuel went from year to year in circuit—and judged Israel;—and his return was to Ramah. And it came to pass when Samuel was old, that he made his sons judges over Israel.—Then all the elders of Israel came to Samuel—and said, Thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways; now make us a king to judge us.*

<sup>l</sup> 2 Sam. VI. 3.

<sup>m</sup> 1 Sam. VII. 5. 6.

<sup>n</sup> That the interval was considerable may be inferred from this circumstance. *Ahiah* was the Lord's priest in Shiloh in the second year of *Saul*: 1 Sam. XIV. 3. conf. XIII. 1. and was afterwards put to death by *Saul* towards the end of his reign, after the marriage of *David* and *Michal*: 1 Sam. XXII. with all the priests that were at Nob. *Abiathar* son of *Ahiah* escaped, who shared the fortunes of *David*: 1 Sam.

XXII. 20—23. and succeeded his father in the priesthood: XXX. 7. He continued in the office during *David's* reign: 2 Sam. XV. 24—29. and was deprived of the priesthood in the first year of *Solomon*: 1 Kings II. 24—27. *Abiathar* then was priest more than 40 years, and *Ahiah* or *Ahimelech* more than 30, from the 2nd of *Saul*. But *Ahiah* the priest in the second year of *Saul* was the grandson of *Phinehas*, who died in the last year of *Eli*; and his uncle *Ichabod* was born at the death of *Eli*: 1 Sam. IV. 21. The descent is thus given in 1 Sam. XIV. 3.:



Now *Phinehas* was slain in the flower of his age: 1 Sam. II. 33. Between, then, the death of *Phinehas* and the priesthood of his grandson a considerable space of time intervened. *Ahitub* son of *Phinehas* was priest between the death of his father and the reign of *Saul*. *Josephus Ant.* VI. 6, 2. in the parallel history to 1 Sam. XIV. calls *Ahiah* ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀχίας ἀπὸγονος ὦν Ἡλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. Afterwards, however, VI. 6, 5. he names him *Ahitub*: καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίτωβον τὸν ἀρχιερέα—by mistake.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Sam. IV. 18. *Eusebius* remarks Chron. II. p. 300. *Hebraicum exemplar habet XL, septuaginta autem interpretes dicunt XX.* εἰκοσι in some copies of the Septuagint now extant. *Eli* has 20 years in *Theophilus* and *Sulpicius*, but 40 in *Clemens*, *Africanus*, *Chron. Pasch.* *Syn-cellus* p. 176. C. marks the variety: Ἡλεὶ ἱερεὺς ἡγήσατο τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔτη κ' κατὰ τοὺς ὁ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν, φ' καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἠκολούθησεν, ἔτη μ'.

Some modern chronologers, who contract these times within the 480 years P, make the years of *Eli* conumerary with the 6th servitude. Thus Usher makes *Eli* and *Samson* contemporary: *Eli* succeeded *Abdon*, and the death of *Eli* was one year later than the death of *Samson*. Du Fresnoy<sup>q</sup> adopts a similar arrangement, and places the death of *Samson* one year later than the death of *Eli*. Josephus<sup>r</sup>, however, makes the years of *Eli* subsequent to the years of *Samson*. Theophilus, Clemens, Africanus, Cyril, the Paschal Chronicle<sup>s</sup>, also reckon the years of *Eli* distinct from the years of *Samson*. Even the Jewish chronology, which limited the space from the exode to the temple to 480 years, yet computed the 40 years of *Eli*<sup>t</sup> as following the death of *Samson*. And the tenour of the history seems to require it. *Samson* is twice mentioned as judge for 20 years<sup>v</sup>. Of *Eli* it is said<sup>w</sup>, *And he had judged Israel 40 years*. These governments could scarcely have been contemporary, for they were exercised in the same part of the country. *Eli's* station was at Shiloh, in Benjamin; on the borders of Benjamin; near the border of the Philistines. *Samson's* station was at Zora, between Zora and Eshtaol; in the camp of *Dan*; in the border of Judah, or in Judah; or the country of the Philistines. *Eli*, then, and *Samson* both governed in the part to the west of Jordan and the south of Samaria. It is expressly marked that *Samson* governed in the days of the Philistines; during the 40 years of the 6th servitude. This is marked nowhere else and in no other judge; but the contrary is plainly declared in the case of all of them in detail, and in the general summary it is clearly specified that the first five servitudes were not included in the governments of the judges.

This second break therefore is variously supplied by conjecture. Josephus makes it 52 years, reckoning 40 years to *Eli* and 12 to *Samuel*<sup>x</sup>. The Jewish chronology followed by Eusebius computed 40 years<sup>y</sup>, and included *Samuel* in the years of *Saul*. Africanus seems to have made the interval 148 years; the Paschal Chronicle 100<sup>z</sup>; Syncellus 80<sup>a</sup>; Hales 72<sup>b</sup>. Usher, who omits the years of *Eli*, computes 21 years between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*. Theophilus has 63 years. Those who, with Usher, the Paschal Chronicle, and Syncellus, limit the space between *Eli* and *Saul* to 21 or 20 years, are at variance

<sup>p</sup> Expressed in 1 Kings VI. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Tablettes tom. I. p. 290. *Héli grand-prêtre—gouverne 40 ans dont les 20 premières années se passèrent sous la sixième servitude.*

<sup>r</sup> Ant. V. 9, 1. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σάμψωνος τελευτὴν προέστη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς.

<sup>s</sup> Theophil. ad Autolye. III. 24. Clemens Strom. I. p. 324. Σαμψών—οὗτος ἤρξεν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀναρχίας οὗσης διέκρινε τὸν λαὸν Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη. Africanus reckoned 90 years to *Eli* and *Samuel*. Cyril adv. Julian I. p. 11. D. places 60 years between the government of *Samson* and the death of *Eli*: τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως—κριτὴς ἦν ὁ Σαμψών. ἐξηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει—τετελεύτηκε μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἡλεὶ ἀλλόφυλοι δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀπεκόμισαν. Chron. Pasch. p. 83. C. μετὰ τοὺς κριτὰς ἤρξεν Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἔκρινε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἔτη μ'. Sulpicius I. 55. supposes an interval between them: *Quum quot anni inter Heli et Samson fuerint minime Scriptura prodiderit, video medii quiddam fuisse temporis, quod labore ambiguo*. Theoph. p. 410. and Syncellus p. 174. B.

make this interval 40 years: ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης ἔτη μ'.

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 77. II. p. 299. 300. Anno 841 *Samson annis XX*. Anno 861 *Heli sacerdos annis XL*.

<sup>v</sup> Judges XV. 20. XVI. 31.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Sam. IV. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Joseph. Ant. VI. 13, 5. And yet from Ant. VI. 1, 3. 2, 1. it would seem that he reckoned the 12 years of *Samuel* exclusive of the 20 years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim; which would make his period 40 + 20 + 12 = 72, the period adopted by Hales.

<sup>y</sup> Chron. I. p. 77. II. Anno 901 *Samuel annis XL*. Anno 941 *David XL*.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. Pasch. p. 83. B. μετὰ τελευτὴν Σαμψών ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης ἔτη μ'. p. 83. C. Ἡλεὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς μ'. p. 84. A. Σαμουὴλ ἔτη κ'.

<sup>a</sup> Syncell. p. 174. B—176. C. ἀναρχίας—ἔτη μ'. Ἡλεὶ ἱερεὺς—ἔτη κ'. Σαμουὴλ ἔτη κ'.

<sup>b</sup> See above, note x.



with the accounts of Scripture; for this arrangement would give to *Samuel*, who began to prophesy while a child towards the end of the life of *Eli*, about  $22 + 21 = 43$  years for his age at the election of *Saul*. But these are too few for the description <sup>c</sup>. The 12 years in Josephus and Theophilus, and 9 years in Clemens, are still more erroneous <sup>d</sup>.

The years of the reign of *Saul* are not mentioned in the Old Testament, but in Acts <sup>e</sup> his reign is attested to have been 40 years. Josephus <sup>f</sup> distinctly ascribes 40 years to *Saul*. He elsewhere states the sum of the regal government, including the reign of *Saul*, to have been 514 years <sup>g</sup>. But as the other reigns, from *David* to *Zedekiah* inclusive, amount in Josephus to 473<sup>y</sup>. 6<sup>m</sup>. 20<sup>d</sup>. this will leave  $514 - 474 = 40$  years to *Saul* <sup>h</sup>.

The period, then, from the exode to the temple is embarrassed by those two chasms in the dates of the sacred narrative, and is variously delivered by chronologers. A short view of the principal varieties will shew where the differences lie. Theophilus gives the following amount of years:

	y.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40
<i>Joshua</i> .....	27
<i>Judges</i> <sup>i</sup> .....	409
to <i>Saul</i> <sup>k</sup> .....	73
<i>Saul</i> .....	20
<i>David</i> .....	40
<i>Solomon</i> .....	3
—612	

<sup>c</sup> 1 Sam. VIII. 1. XII. 2. rendered by Josephus VI. 3, 2. 3. *ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ γήρας βαρυνόμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη πρᾶττειν ἐμποδιζόμενος τοῖς υἱαῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ πλήθους παραδίδωσιν—ὁ δὲ λαὸς—τάς τε τῶν υἱῶν παρανομίας ἔλεγον, καὶ ὅτι γηραιὸς αὐτὸς ὢν ἦδη καὶ παρεμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου κ. τ. λ.*

<sup>d</sup> Theophilus III. 24. p. 410. *εἰρήνη ἐγένετο ἔτεσι μ'. εἶτα Σαμῆρα ἔκρινεν αὐτοῖς ἐνιαυτόν· Ἦλεῖ ἔτεσιν κ'. Σαμουὴλ ἔτεσι ιβ'.* For the 40 years of peace between *Samson* and *Eli* (which the Paschal Chronicle and Syncellus also compute) there is no warrant in Scripture. *Samera* may be also traced in Sulpicius I. 55. *Post Samson judicem Semigar fuit.* and seems to be *Shamgar* (who lived in the days of *Ehud*, and to whom one year is given by Josephus and Africanus) transposed to a wrong place. Clemens, as will be seen below, allowed 9 years to *Samuel* by one computation, and by another included him wholly in the reign of *Saul*.

<sup>e</sup> XIII. 21.

<sup>f</sup> Ant. VI. 14, 9. *ἡ βασιλεύσει δὲ, Σαμουήλου ζῶντος, ἔτη ἑκτὴ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι.*

<sup>g</sup> Ant. X. 8, 4. *ἔτη δὲ πάντες βασιλεύσαντες πενταεῖς καὶ δεκατέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας ἑξ καὶ ἡμέρας δέκα· ἑξ δὲ ὅν εἰκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς Σάουλ, οὗ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ὑπάρχον.*

$474 + 20$  would give only 494 years instead of 514. whence it is manifest that the number εἴκοσι is to be corrected into τεσσαράκοντα. Dr. Hales is inconsistent upon this subject. Vol. II. p. 354. quoting Hudson's correction of Josephus VI. 14, 9. *ἔτη δὲ δύο (ἑμοῦ δὲ ἔτη) εἴκοσι—*“18 years “and 2 years, and 20 years in all,” he remarks, “The present reading 22 years is utterly inconsistent with the history and with Josephus “elsewhere, assigning only 20 years to *Saul's* “reign (namely, in X. 8, 4) and 18 to *Samuel's* “joint administration with him (in VI. 13, 5).” Hales had forgotten his own account in vol. I. p. 101. 102. of the chronology of Josephus, where he exhibits

<i>Saul and Samuel</i> ...	18	} 40
<i>Saul</i> .....	22	

and observes, “It is truly remarkable, and a “proof of the great skill and accuracy of Josephus in forming the outline of this period, “that he assigns with St. Paul 40 years to “*Saul*.”

<sup>h</sup> The appointment of *Saul* was at the time of wheat harvest: 1 Sam. XII. 17. from whence Usher p. 33. determines it to the time of Pentecost, about the end of May or beginning of June.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 303. g.

<sup>k</sup> See note d.

Clemens according to Eusebius<sup>1</sup> computes 574 years from *Joshua* to the temple. The detail of Clemens<sup>m</sup> gives the following numbers :

	y.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40
<i>Joshua</i> .....	27
<i>Judges</i> <sup>n</sup> .....	396
<i>Eli</i> .....	40
<i>Samuel</i> ..... 9 }	27
with <i>Saul</i> ..... 18 }	
<i>Saul</i> (last) .....	2
<i>David</i> .....	40
<i>Solomon</i> .....	3
	—575

After mentioning *Eli*, he proceeds, τοῦτον δὲ διαδέχεται Σαμουὴλ ὁ προφῆτης, σὺν οἷς Σαοὺλ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἔτη εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ κατασχάν.—ἐτελεύτα δὲ Σαμουὴλ δυοῖν ἐτῶν πρότερος τοῦ Σαοὺλ. To *Saul* he gives 20 years: Σαοὺλ ἔτη εἴκοσι. From hence it follows that *Samuel* survived during 18 years of the reign of *Saul* (which is also the opinion of Josephus), and that he governed alone 9 years, before the election of *Saul*; the distribution of Clemens 27+2 being equivalent to 9+20. But these 9 years are neglected by Clemens in his collected periods, and *Samuel* is included in the reign of *Saul*. He computes thus :

	y.	m.
<i>Judges</i> to <i>Samuel</i> .....	463.	7.
<i>Saul</i> .....	20	
<i>David</i> .....	40	
	—523.	7.

And again,

<i>Moses</i> .....	120
to the death of <i>David</i> .....	523. 7.
<i>Solomon</i> .....	40
	—683. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 71. *Clemens a Josua successore Mosis ad templi ædificium annos congerit 574, quod e primo licet ejus libro cognoscere.*

<sup>m</sup> Strom. I. p. 324.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 303. g.

<sup>o</sup> Clem. Strom. I. p. 325. Σαοὺλ πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τοὺς κριτάς, ὧν ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἕως τοῦ Σαμουὴλ γίνεταί ἔτη τετρακόσια ἐξήκοντα τρία, μῆνες ἑπτὰ [sc. including *Joshua* and excluding *Samuel*]. ἔπειτα διὰ τῆς πρώτης βίβλου τῶν βασιλειῶν τοῦ Σαοὺλ ἔτη εἴκοσι, ἐπεὶ ἀνακαινισθεὶς ἐβασίλευσε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίην Σαοὺλ βασιλεύει Δαβὶδ—ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, ὡς περιέχει ἡ δευτέρα τῶν βασιλειῶν.—γίνονται οὖν ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ [exclusive] ἕως παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Δαβὶδ, ὡς μὲν τινες, ἔτη τετρακόσια πενήκοντα, ὡς δὲ ἡ προκειμένη δείκνυσιν χρονογραφία, συνάγονται ἔτη πεντακόσια εἴκοσι τρία μῆνες ἑπτὰ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Δαβὶδ τελευταίην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβασίλευσε Σολομὼν υἱὸς Δαβὶδ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.—γίνονται οὖν ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως

ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος ἡλικίαν, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασιν, ἔτη πεντακόσια ἐννεήκοντα πέντε· ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, πεντακόσια ἐβδμήκοντα ἕξ. εἰ δέ τις τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ μέχρι Δαβὶδ τετρακοσίοις πενήκοντα ἔτεσι συγκαταριθμήσῃ τὰ τῆς Μωϋσέως στρατηγίας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ἃ γηγόνει ὁ Μωϋσῆς πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ἔξοδον τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου γεγονέναι, προσθήῃ τε τούτοις τὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς Δαβὶδ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, συνάξει ἔτη τὰ πάντα ἐξακόσια δέκα. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ ἢ καὶ ἡμᾶς χρονογραφία πρόεισιν, εἰ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ καὶ μυσὶν ἑπτὰ μέχρι τῆς Δαβὶδ τελευταίας προσθήῃ τις τὰ τε τοῦ Μωϋσέως ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἔτη τὰ τε τοῦ Σολομῶνος μ'. συνάξει γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος τελευταίην ἔτη ἐξακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα τρία μῆνας ἑπτὰ. The seven months which appear in all these computations seem to arise from the seven months after the death of *Eli*, during which the ark was in the hands of the Philistines, expressed in 1 Sam. VI. 1.



In his own detail, from the death of *Moses* to the death of *Eli* are 463 years, but the sum of 523 years twice repeated is exclusive of the 9 years of *Samuel*; and according to these numbers his period from the exode to the temple will be this:

	y.	m.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40	
to the death of <i>David</i> .....	523.	7.
<i>Solomon</i> .....	3	
	—566. 7.	

Nine years less than his amount in detail. Eusebius collects the numbers from the amount in detail, and must be understood to mean *inclusive* of *Joshua*.

Clemens reports the numbers of other calculators thus; from the death of *Moses* to the accession of *David* 450 years; from *Moses* to *Solomon* 595 or 576; and again,

	y.
<i>Moses</i> .....	120
to <i>David</i> .....	450
<i>David</i> .....	40
	—610

The numbers of Clemens himself err in defect; principally in the times of *Samuel* and *Saul*.

Africanus made this period 744 years, according to Eusebius P. And this number may be collected from himself in the following account of his chronology:

P Euseb. Chron. I. p. 70.

q Africanus apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 489. D. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου Μωσέως ἐπὶ Κῦρον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔτη 40. Μωσέως γὰρ ἔτη τὰ λοιπὰ τεσσαράκοντα. Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνων ἡγήσαμένου ἔτη κ'· προσβυτέρων ἔτη λ' τῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ κριτῶν· τῶν δὲ [1. Ἰησοῦν· κριτῶν δὲ τῶν] ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν κριτῶν περιεχόμενων ἔτη ν'. Ἰερών δὲ Ἡλεί καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἔτη ς'. τῶν δὲ ἐξῆς βασιλέων Ἑβραίων ἔτη τετρακίσια ς'. (τῆς δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐβδωμήκοντα recte addit Valesius). ἥς τὸ τελευταῖον ἔτος ἦν Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτον—ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πρώτης οὐλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ Μωσέως ἔτη ρα', εἴπερ ἐπὶ πεντηκστῆς πέμπτῃς ἔτος πρῶτον ἔτη 40. His comparative view of the Grecian epochs has been given already p. 6. z. Eusebius Chron. I. p. 70. thus remarks upon the dates of Africanus: *Non est prætermittendum ab Africano item chronologiæ quinque libros esse confectos, qui meo quidem iudicio in his quæ max addam crasso errore vagatur. Namque ab exitu Mosis ad Solomonem templique ædificium suis quidem peculiaribus calculis supputat annos 744; cujus temporis magnam partem sine testimonio statuens peccat; non eo solum nomine quod divini sermonis libro adversatur, verum etiam quod a se temere fictos centum annos obtrudit. Quippe adjungit*

annos seniorum qui post Josuam fuerunt, quos annos scribit 30, deinde post Samsonem popularis potestatis annos 40, rursusque pacis annos 30. Atque tot annorum excessum sine debita confirmatione tacite constituens multorum annorum vim Marte proprio inter Mosis tempora regnumque Solomonis inserit, quod spatium annis plus 740 definit. This passage is noticed by Syncellus p. 174. Africanus made up 490 years for the judges by computing the 40 + 30 = 70 years between the death of *Samson* and the government of *Eli* in addition to the 420 years computed by Eusebius himself: see above p. 303. g. The years therefore ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης, which were an undefined interval in Sulpicius, and 40 years in Syncellus and Theophilus, were 70 years in Africanus. Vigerus ad Euseb. Præp. p. 489. D. reconciles the sum total of Africanus, 1237, with the particulars by supposing him to have reckoned 41 years in the first term of his series and 71 years in the last. Dr. Routh with greater probability adapts the whole to the parts by reading κ' for κ' in the years of *Joshua*: tom. II. p. 299. in which emendation he had been anticipated by Jackson vol. I. p. 157.

	y
<i>Moses</i> .....	40
<i>Joshua</i> ..... (25) .....	27
The Elders .....	30
Judges .....	490
<i>Eli</i> and <i>Samuel</i> .....	90
Kings .....	490
Captivity .....	70
<hr/>	
From the exodus to Ol. 55. 1 inclusive	1237
Deduct 54 Olympiads and one year ....	217
<hr/>	
From the exodus to Ol. 1. 1 exclusive	1020

Africanus places the death of *Joseph*<sup>r</sup> at A. M. 3563, the first year of *Eli*<sup>s</sup> at A. M. 4292, and the 8th of *Solomon*<sup>t</sup> at A. M. 4457. The exode was 144 years after the death of *Joseph*=A. M. 3707. But 4452 (the 3rd of *Solomon*)—3707=745 years for the period from the exode to the temple. Again, if the 8th of *Solomon* was in A. M. 4457, the first year of *Saul*, 87 years before, was in A. M. 4370; and 4370—4292=78 years for *Eli* and *Samuel*: 78 years, then, only elapsed before the election of *Saul*<sup>v</sup>, and the 90 years terminated in the 12th of *Saul*. We may accordingly arrange the chronology of Africanus in this manner:

A. M.	y.	y.	B. C.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40	1796	
<i>Joshua</i> and the elders .....	57	1756	
Judges .....	490	1699	
4292 <i>Eli</i> .....	40	90	{ 1209
4332 <i>Samuel</i> , to the 12th of <i>Saul</i> .....	50		
4382 <i>Saul</i> , last 28 years .....	28	490	{ 1119
4410 <i>David</i> .....	40		
4450 <i>Solomon</i> .....	40		
4490 <i>Rehoboam</i> to the Captivity .....	382		
1st <i>Zedekiah</i> <sup>w</sup> to 1st <i>Cyrus</i> both inclusive ...	70	629	
1st <i>Cyrus</i> Ol. 55. 1. ....		560	

Eusebius in his Tables, as we have seen, limits this period to 480 years. In another

<sup>r</sup> Syncell. p. 106. C. ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν 'Ιωσήφ ἐκ τῆςδε τῆς βίβλου [Genesis] γενεαὶ μὲν κγ' ἔτη δὲ γφξγ'.

<sup>s</sup> Syncell. p. 176. A. τὰ κατὰ 'Αφρικανὸν ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ ἕως τέλους τῶν κριτῶν καὶ ἀρχῆς 'Ηλεί τοῦ ἱερέως ἔτη ρσζβ'.

<sup>t</sup> Syncell. p. 181. D. εἰσὶν ἀπὸ 'Αδάμ ἕως ἡ' ἔτους Σολομῶνος ἔτη—κατὰ 'Αφρικανὸν ρνζ'.

<sup>v</sup> The 70 years ἀναρχίας καὶ εἰρήνης reckoned by

Africanus (see note q) added to these 78 years =148 will accordingly express his period between the death of *Samson* and the election of *Saul*.

<sup>w</sup> From whence Africanus dated the captivity: F. H. II. p. 321. where in line 10 for B. C. 630 read 629. B. C. 629—560, or more properly Ol. 37. 4—55. 1, both inclusive, will express the 70 years of Africanus.



place he gives 600 years<sup>x</sup> as the interval. His detail on another occasion gives 613<sup>y</sup>; namely,

	y.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40
<i>Joshua</i> .....	30
<i>Judges</i> .....	420
<i>Eli</i> .....	40
<i>Samuel</i> (no years) .....	—
<i>Saul</i> .....	40
<i>David and Solomon</i> .....	43
	—613

The Paschal Chronicle reckons from the 81st year of *Moses* to the 2nd of *Solomon* 630 years<sup>z</sup>; and the numbers in detail agree with this amount:

	y.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40
<i>Joshua</i> .....	27
<i>Judges</i> <sup>a</sup> .....	402
Between <i>Samson</i> and <i>Saul</i> .....	100 <sup>b</sup>
<i>Saul</i> .....	20
<i>David</i> .....	40
<i>Solomon</i> .....	2
	—631

The 630 years will be exclusive of the second year of *Solomon*; the 631 will include it.

Syncellus computed the space at 659 years<sup>c</sup>, which he thus obtained:

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. Chron. I. p. 73. *Summa temporis quo judices magistratum gesserunt anni omnino 450 usque ad Samuelem, suffragante etiam nuntio nostro apostolo [Act. XIII. 20]. Sunt tamen extra hunc censum etates Mosis itemque Josue successoris, necnon Samuelis et Saulis. Sed interim Samuelis et Saulis et Josue tempora seponamus. Ex testimonio autem Apostoli anni Saulis 40 accenseantur judicum annis 450, cui numero additis 40 annis Davidis et 4 annis Solomonis, consurgit annorum summa 534; quæ videlicet apostolica traditio est. Jam additis 40 annis quos Moses in deserto traduxit, rursusque annis 27 Josue filii Navi, adstipulantibus ipsis Hebraeis, congeruntur anni 600. In this sum he omits the years of Samuel, which he supposed (contrary to the Scripture account, as we have seen) to be included in the years of Saul.*

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. Præp. X. 14. p. 502. 503. His own dates, however, seem to have been the contracted Hebrew period of 480 years, as exhibited in his tables; for in Præp. X. 9. p. 484. A. B. he reckons 408 years from the 3rd of *Labdon*, which he places at B. C. 1184, to the 50th of *Uzziah*, which he places at B. C. 776; and de-

termines the 3rd of *Labdon* to have been seven years before *Samson* judged Israel: which are nearly the dates of his tables, annis 835, 841, 1241.

<sup>z</sup> Chron. Pasch. p. 91. B. συνάγεται ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἀπὸ πᾶ Μωϋσέως, καθ' ὃ ἡ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πορεία γέγονεν, ἐπὶ Σολομῶντα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατασκευῆς εἰς ἑτὴ χλ'.

<sup>a</sup> See above p. 303. g.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 305. z.

<sup>c</sup> Syncell. p. 175. B. εἰάν οὖν κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον τὰ τῶν κριτῶν ν' ἔτη καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου μ' ἔτη Μωϋσέως Ἰησοῦ τε κ' καὶ τῶν μετ' Ἰησοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ιη', καὶ ἔτι Ἡλεὶ τοῦ ἱερέως κ', Σαμουὴλ κ' καὶ Σαούλ μ', Δαβὶδ τε μ' καὶ Σολομῶντος δ' συναριθμήσωμεν, ἔσται ὁ πᾶς χρόνος—ἑτῶν χηθ'. His own detailed account gives one less: p. 176. A. τὰ ν' ἔτη τῶν κριτῶν κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον ἀπὸ τοῦ γ' ἢ β' ἔτους τοῦ κόσμου ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Ἡλεὶ πληροῦται, ἐνδὲς ἔτους ὑπολειπομένου, ὅπερ Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν Σεμέγαρ λέγει κρατῆσαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, τῆς γραφῆς [Judg. III. 31] οὐκ εἰκνύσης χρόνον. In reality his detail has two years less than the 450. He states p. 154. A. the first servitude A. M. 3902. p. 174, the death of *Samson* A. M. 4309. 40 years ἀναρχίας A. M. 4310. p. 176. B., first year of *Eli* A. M. 4350. But 3902—

	y.
<i>Moses</i> .....	40
<i>Joshua</i> .....	27
The elders .....	18
Judges .....	450
<i>Eli</i> .....	20
<i>Samuel</i> .....	20
<i>Saul</i> .....	40
<i>David and Solomon</i> .....	44
	—659

Josephus in the present text has various accounts of this period, 592, 612, 632 years<sup>d</sup>. His detail of the particulars gives 609 years.

	y.	
<i>Moses</i> .....	40	
<i>Joshua</i> .....	25	} 43 V. 1, 29. VI. 5, 4.
Interregnum... 18	18	
Judges <sup>e</sup> .....	391	
<i>Eli</i> .....	40	V. 9, 1. 11, 3.
<i>Samuel</i> .....	12	VI. 13, 5.
<i>Samuel</i> .....	18	} 40 VI. 14, 9.
<i>Saul</i> .....	22	
<i>David</i> .....	40	VII. 15, 2.
<i>Solomon</i> .....	3	
	—609	

The error is in omitting the 20 years of the ark at Kirjath-jearim, and placing only 12 years between *Eli* and *Saul*. If we correct Josephus by striking out the year of *Shamgar* and adding the 20 years of the ark, the period will amount to 628 years<sup>f</sup>.

4349 both inclusive are only 448 years. And to obtain these he carries the period 40 years beyond the death of *Samson*.

<sup>d</sup> We may collect 591 years from Ant. VII. 3, 2. 592 or 590 from VIII. 3, 1. 563 from IX. 14, 1. 632 years (namely 1062—430) from X. 8, 5. and 612 years from XX. 10, 1.

<sup>e</sup> See above p. 303. g.

<sup>f</sup> Josephus Ant. VI. 1, 4. mentions the ark: ἐθεράπευον τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ Ἀμυναδάβου παῖδες, καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἕως ἐτῶν εἰκοσι προέστησαν. τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ Καριαθιαρίμῃ, ποιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνιοις μῆνας τέσσαρας [7 months with the Philistines, 20 years at Kirjath-jearim: I Sam. VI. 1. VII. 2]. The gathering of the people to Mizpeh by *Samuel* and their victory over the Philistines (I Sam. VII. 5—13) was during that period of the ark's abode: VI. 2, 1. τοῦ λαοῦ πάντος ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καθ' ὃν εἶχεν ἡ Καριαθιαριμιτῶν πόλις τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐπ' εὐχαΐς καὶ θυσίαις τραπέτης τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ. And the 12 years of *Samuel* are described VI. 13, 5. as if immediately following

the 40 years of *Eli*: ἦρξε δὲ καὶ προέστη τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἡλὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτὴν μόνος μὲν ἔτη δώδεκα, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτώ, Jackson vol. I. p. 148. and Hales vol. I. p. 100—102. have given the chronology of Josephus, but both are inaccurate. Jackson reckons *Samson* exclusive of the sixth servitude, which is contrary to Josephus; and gives only 20 years to the reign of *Saul*, to whom, as we have shewn, Josephus assigns 40 years. Hales tacitly inserts the 20 years of the ark, although he himself vol. II. p. 337. censures Josephus for his mistake in neglecting them. By this insertion of the 20 years, and by omitting to add the years of *Abdon*, while he inserts the years of *Tola*, he brings the period of Josephus to 621 years. These 621 years he affirms to be the true period of Josephus, obtained by comparing the date of the exode X. 8, 5. (1062 years before the destruction of the temple) with the date of the capture of Jebus by *David* (477 years before the same event) in Bell. VI. 10. This period, however,



St. Paul <sup>g</sup> gives the outline of the period :

	y.
Forty years in the wilderness .....	40
The division of the lands (in the 6th year) .....	6
The judges to <i>Samuel</i> , or the whole time between the division of the lands and <i>Samuel</i> the prophet }	450
Administration of <i>Samuel</i> (no years).....	—
<i>Saul</i> .....	40
	<hr/>
	536
Add <i>David</i> <sup>h</sup> .....	40
<i>Solomon</i> .....	3
	<hr/>
	579

We have the authority, then, of St. Paul for 579 years exclusive of the years of *Samuel*. The 450 years of the Apostle commence at the division of the lands in the 47th year after the exode <sup>i</sup>. But it is not clear when they terminate; whether at the call of the child *Samuel* in the last years of *Eli*, or whether at the administration of *Samuel* after the death of *Eli*. Now as we have seen already that there were 430 years from the first servitude inclusive to the death of *Eli* <sup>k</sup>, if these 450 years terminate at that point, they will leave 20 years for *Joshua* and the elders, and, 32 years being assumed between *Eli* and *Saul*, the whole period will be 611 or 612 years. Hales supposes the period of the Apostle to end at the call of the child *Samuel*, which he assumes to be ten years before the death of *Eli*. This arrangement throws back the division of the lands ten years higher, allows 30 years for *Joshua* and the elders, and enlarges the whole period to 621 years. I think that the other interpretation is the most probable, and that the 450 years extended to the death of *Eli*.

The period, then, from the exode to the temple, founded on the testimony of St. Paul and on the Old Testament narrative, fluctuates between the 600 years of Eusebius and the 628 years arising out of the corrected numbers of Josephus. The truth lies somewhere between

is not obtained without considerable alterations. He inserts the 20 years before mentioned. He deducts 8 years from the interregnum and transfers them to *Abdon*: Vol. I. p. 102. "The only alteration here made in the present text of Josephus is the insertion of *Tola* and his 23 years, which are inadvertently omitted. To *Abdon* no years are assigned by Josephus, perhaps designedly. But we may easily reconcile Josephus with Scripture by only deducting 8 years from the 18 years' interregnum after *Joshua*, which will give *Abdon* his quota of years." This is not to restore Josephus, but to remodel him. The 621 years may be nearly the true period, but they are scarcely the period of Josephus.

<sup>g</sup> Acta XIII. 18—21.

<sup>h</sup> *David* in reality reigned 40 years and 6 months; namely, 7 years and 6 months in Hebron, and 33 years in Jerusalem: 2 Sam. II. 11. V. 5. Joseph. Ant. VII. 15, 2. βασιλεύσας ἑπτὰ

μὲν ἐν Χεβρώνι τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας τρία καὶ τριάκοντα. But his reign is called 40 years: 2 Sam. V. 4. 1 Kings II. 11. because *Solomon* began to reign before the death of *David*: 1 Kings I. 32—40. The 40 years therefore of *Solomon* (1 Kings XI. 42) might begin six months before the death of his father, and the 80 years of these two reigns may be divided thus: *David* 40<sup>y.</sup> 6<sup>m.</sup>, *Solomon* 39<sup>y.</sup> 6<sup>m.</sup>. See the remark of Usher Annals p. 39.

<sup>i</sup> Ὡς τεσσαρακοναετῇ χρόνῳ ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ καθελὼν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν κατεκληροδότησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἑτὶσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔδωκε κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου. This passage, and especially the expression μετὰ ταῦτα, refutes those who have supposed that the 450 years of the Apostle are to be dated from the exodus.

<sup>k</sup> That is, 390 years of the Judges and 40 years of *Eli*. See p. 303.

these points. We may assume 612 years as the most probable; which will give 27 years to one of the two undefined periods<sup>l</sup> and 32 years to the other<sup>m</sup>. The rest of the outline, 40 years of *Moses*, 390 years for the judges, 40 for *Eli*, and 83 for *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, is supplied by the testimony of Scripture. If any should object that 27 years are too short a space for *Joshua* and the elders, it may be answered, first, the terms of the Apostle, ὡς ἔτεσιν ὡ', expressing round numbers, do not fix the amount to a single year, and would be equally true if there were five or six years more than that number. Secondly, the 390 years of the judges are composed of 17 periods; and it is not at all likely that all these were complete years without a deficiency. Many of them might be current years, wanting some months of the complete period; as in the kings many reigns wanted some months to complete the years expressed. And as the first 98 years in the kings of Israel were in reality no more than 93 years, so the 390 years of the judges might be in reality only 384 or 385. The 450 years, then, of the Apostle, commencing at the 47th year from the exode and ending at the death of *Eli*, might contain 25 or 30 years of that undefined period which preceded the first servitude<sup>n</sup>.

This extended term of 612 years is inconsistent with the date in the book of Kings<sup>o</sup>, which reckons the foundation of the temple in the 4th year of *Solomon* to be *in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt*. But the computation of St. Paul delivered in a solemn argument before a Jewish audience, and confirmed by the whole tenour of the history in the book of Judges, outweighs the authority of that date; and we may agree with Jackson and Hales in rejecting it<sup>p</sup>. A term of 300 years mentioned by *Jeph-*

<sup>l</sup> Between the death of *Moses* and the first servitude.

<sup>m</sup> Between the death of *Eli* and the election of *Saul*.

<sup>n</sup> Among the computations of modern chronologers the following may be noticed: 1. Usher *Annals* p. 39. reckons 480 years, or rather 479<sup>v</sup>. 16<sup>d</sup>. Pref. p. 3. He strikes out all the space between *Joshua* and *Othniel*, and makes the 40 years of *Othniel* commence at the 47th year after the exode. He omits all the six servitudes with Eusebius, including them in the judges; and he reckons only 21 years to *Samuel*. 2. Petavius obtains 519 years. He allows to *Joshua* and the elders after the division of the lands 18 years. He admits the first four servitudes, but excludes the 5th and 6th. The 6th he divides between *Samson* and *Eli*, allowing 20 years to each. He omits *Samuel* altogether, who is included in the years of *Saul*. 3. De Tournemine reduces the time to 500 years, which he thus obtains, in Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 444. He agrees with Petavius in inserting the first four servitudes and omitting the two last. He omits *Samson*, but gives 40 years to *Eli*. He strikes out 20 years from *Ibzan*, *Elon*, and *Abdon*, whom he makes contemporary with *Eli*. He gives *Samuel* 20 years and *Saul* 20. 4. Mr. Greswell vol. I. p. 392—394. fixes the period to 549 years, and adapts St. Paul to this amount by

dating the 450 years from the exode, contrary to the meaning of the Apostle; and by supposing that the term "*about 450 years*" may express in round numbers either 426 or 466. 5. Jackson vol. I. p. 145. supposes the 450 years of St. Paul to include *Samuel*, and assigns the 579 years mentioned at p. 312. as the period. 6. Serrarius enlarges the period to 680 years; which he thus obtains. He reckons the space from the division of lands to the first servitude 71 years, interpolates 9 years of anarchy after the death of *Gideon*, and gives 41 years to *Samuel* between *Eli* and *Saul*. 7. Pezron reckons 962 years. He gives after the division of Canaan 61 years to *Joshua* and the elders, and he inserts 10 periods of anarchy amounting to 322 years after the several judges. By this enormous computation *Othniel* survives his marriage with *Caleb's* daughter 177 years. 8. Des Vignoles, tom. I. p. 6. 172., who gives 648 years, follows the Scripture dates; and in the two chasms, *Joshua* and *Samuel*, where the Scripture is silent, he adopts Josephus. He improperly computes the 20 years of *Samson*. If these are retrenched, his period becomes 628 years, the corrected number arising from Josephus.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Kings VI. 1.

<sup>p</sup> See Jackson vol. I. p. 163. 164. Hales vol. I. p. 17. vol. II. p. 287. considers that number 480 as spurious. Petavius reckoned the 480



*thah*<sup>q</sup>, which commenced at the 39th year from the exode and terminated at his own time, may be reconciled with the 612 years, if we understand it in round numbers<sup>r</sup>. The actual period to the election of *Jephthah* would be 347 years; which might here be called 300, as the term 430 years is on another occasion called 400 years<sup>s</sup>.

The kings of *Judah*, from *Rehoboam* to *Zedekiah* both inclusive, reigned 393<sup>9</sup>. 6<sup>m</sup>. according to the current years marked in Scripture, but 389<sup>9</sup>. 1<sup>m</sup>. in actual computation. This space may be divided into five periods. The first period extends to the accession of *Athaliah* and *Jehu*<sup>t</sup>; the second to the death of *Amaziah*<sup>v</sup>; the third to the 6th year of *Hezekiah* and 9th of *Hoshea*<sup>w</sup>; the fourth to the death of *Josiah*<sup>x</sup>; and the fifth to the destruction of the temple<sup>y</sup>.

The reigns of *Rehoboam* and *Jeroboam* began in the same year. The reigns of *Athaliah* and *Jehu* also began together. The first six reigns therefore in *Judah* were equal to the first eight in *Israel*. "But," Dr. Hales<sup>z</sup> remarks, "it appears that the six of *Judah* amount to 95 years, and the eight of *Israel* to 98. Consequently three years must be retrenched from the latter, to reduce them to an equality with the former." Accordingly he "subtracts one year from each of the reigns of *Baasha*, *Ela*, and *Omri*, which are thereby reduced from current to complete years. And this reduction is warranted by the correspondences; for *Baasha* began to reign in the 3rd of *Asa*, and *Ela* in the 26th of *Asa*; which gives *Baasha* 23 years complete. *Ela* was slain in the 27th of *Asa*. He reigned therefore only one year complete, and *Zimri* and *Omri* reigned in succession from the 27th to the 38th of *Asa*, or only 11 years complete." All this is very manifest. But for similar reasons we must deduct two years from the 95 of *Judah*, which were only 93. For the collected reigns of *Jehosaphat* and *Jehoram* were in reality only 31 years complete instead of 33<sup>a</sup>.

years current from the death of *Moses*: whence he obtained  $480 + 40 = 520$  years current. Mr. Greswell vol. I. p. 400. endeavours to reconcile that date with the true history by computing its beginning from a still lower point. The opinion of Hales seems the most probable, that "the period of 480 years is a forgery, foisted into the text."

<sup>q</sup> Judges XI. 26. *Art thou any thing better than Balak the son of Zippor king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever fight against them, while Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns, and in Aroer and her towns, and in all the cities that are along by the coasts of Arnon 300 years?*

<sup>r</sup> Hales vol. II. p. 318. observes, "From the conquest of the lands of *Sihon* and *Og* to the election of *Jephthah* were 356 years [which is the number resulting from his dates], corresponding with the general statement of 300 years in round numbers, judiciously rendered by *Josephus* Ant. V. 7. 9. *ὡς περὶ τριακόσια ἔτη*. This is inconsistent with the shorter chronology of the Jews, reckoning the interval 293 years; of *Usher*, 265 years; and of *Petavius*, 238 years only." The Jewish period is founded upon erroneous numbers, which are exhibited by Hales vol. I. p. 16. *Usher* Annals p. 31.

makes the interval 264 years, namely, A. M. 2553—2817. But *Petavius* reckons 326 years, since he places the 39th year from the exode at B. C. 1492 and the accession of *Jephthah* at B. C. 1166: R. Temp. I. I. 5. 6. and the same term is produced by his collected numbers in *Du Fresnoy* Tablettes tom. I. p. 444. *Petavius* therefore is with us; and concurs in reckoning the 300 years to stand in round numbers for a larger period.

<sup>s</sup> See above p. 297.

<sup>t</sup> This is related in 20 chapters, 1 Kings XII. 2 Kings IX. six of which (XVII—XXII) treat of the reign of *Ahab*; and in 13 chapters of *Chronicles*, 2 Chron. X—XXII. 9. three of which (XIV—XVI) describe the reign of *Asa*, and four (XVII—XX) the reign of *Jehosaphat*.  
<sup>v</sup> Described 2 Kings X—XIV. 2 Chron. XXII. 10—XXV.

<sup>w</sup> In 2 Kings XV—XVIII. 2 Chron. XXVI—XXIX.

<sup>x</sup> In 2 Kings XVIII. 13—XXIII. 30. 2 Chron. XXIX—XXXV.

<sup>y</sup> Related in 2 Kings XXIII. 31—XXV. 30. 2 Chron. XXXVI. 1—21.

<sup>z</sup> Vol. II. p. 403.

<sup>a</sup> See the Table at the end of this chapter, at the year 915.

Some dates within this period require notice. 1. The "36th of *Asa*." This is examined in the following Table at B. C. 941. 2. Forty-two years for the age of *Ahaziah*<sup>b</sup> are wrong on account of another passage<sup>c</sup>, where it is given "twenty-two years;" and on account of the age of his father, who died at forty. 3. For the "17th of *Jehosaphat*" see the Table at the year 896. 4. The "18th of *Jehosaphat* was the 1st of *Joram*<sup>d</sup>." This is evidently impossible; for between the accession of *Jehosaphat* and the accession of *Joram* son of *Ahab* are 18 years complete of *Ahab* and two years of *Ahaziah*. 5. For the "2nd of *Jehoram*<sup>e</sup>" see the Table at 895. 6. The phrase "*Jehosaphat* being then king of *Judah*<sup>f</sup>" we may perhaps explain thus: *Jehoram* began to reign while his father was yet living (as in the accession of *Solomon*), and *Jehosaphat* died at the commencement of the 25th year, which is therefore the 1st of *Jehoram*<sup>g</sup>.

In the second period are three reigns and a space of 75 years, from the accession of *Athaliah* to the death of *Amaziah*, and the corresponding reigns in *Israel* give the same amount<sup>h</sup>. Within this period the "37th of *Joash*<sup>i</sup>" is inconsistent with the other dates. Usher<sup>k</sup> here again solves the difficulty by supposing the son to be taken into consortship with the father. For this, however, there is no authority; and, if this had been so, the 16 years of *Jehoash* would still have been sole years and distinct from the years of his father's reign. The Septuagint, however, has the "39th year<sup>l</sup>;" which might be the true reading.

In the third period the only difficulty consists in adjusting the reign of *Jeroboam II.* to the corresponding reigns in *Judah*; and the question to be decided is this, whether the death of *Amaziah* was followed by an interregnum of 12 years in *Judah* and the death of *Jeroboam II.* by an interregnum of 23 years in *Israel*, or whether there was no interregnum after *Amaziah*

<sup>b</sup> 2 Chron. XXII. 2.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings VIII. 26.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Kings III. 1.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Kings VIII. 16.

<sup>g</sup> The scheme of Usher for these reigns is this: Annals p. 46—49.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Kings I. 17.

17 Jehosaphat.	1 Joram	21 Ahab	1 Ahaziah, in the 17th Jehosaphat.
18 .....	2 .....	22 .....	2
19 .....	3 .....	1 Jehoram	"latter end of 18th Jehosaphat and 2nd Joram."
20 .....	4 .....	2	
21 .....	.....	3	
22 .....	Joram 1	4	
23 .....	2	5	["Jehosaphat makes his son consort in the 5th Jehoram."]
24 .....	3	6	
25 .....	4	7	
5.....	.....	8	
6.....	.....	9	
7.....	.....	10	
8.....	.....	11	
Ahaziah "12th Jehoram"	12		

By this distribution he adjusts the apparently discordant dates. But this is done at the expense of many conjectural alterations of the plain meaning of the Scripture narrative. He supposes three beginnings of the reign of *Joram* king of *Judah*. He supposes four of the 8 years to have been connumerary with the years of *Jehosaphat*. He gets rid of the reign of *Ahaziah* king of *Israel*, which is nearly included in that of *Ahab*. But for all these suppositions there is

no authority. If *Joram* reigned with his father at all, his eight years are still the years of his sole reign. And *Ahaziah* and his acts are clearly marked to be subsequent to the death of *Ahab*.

<sup>h</sup> In *Judah*  $6 + 40 + 29 = 75$ . In *Israel* we may compute  $28 + 16\frac{1}{2} + 16 + 14\frac{1}{2} = 75$ .

<sup>i</sup> In 2 Kings XIII. 10.

<sup>k</sup> Annals p. 51.

<sup>l</sup> 4 Reg. XIII. 10. ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ ἐνάτῃ τῇ ἰωάν βασιλεῖ ἰοβὰ.



and only 11 years interregnum after the death of *Jeroboam*. Hales<sup>m</sup> argues for the double interregnum in the following manner: "*Jeroboam II.* began to reign in the 15th year of "*Amaziah*, and reigned 41 years. He died therefore in the 16th of *Uzziah*. But *Zachariah* "his son succeeded him in the 38th of *Uzziah*; consequently the interregnum in *Israel* lasted "38—16=22 years. *Amaziah* survived *Joash* 15 years. He died therefore in the 16th of "*Jeroboam*. But *Uzziah* did not begin to reign till the 27th of *Jeroboam*; therefore from "the death of *Amaziah* to the accession of *Uzziah* there was an interregnum of 27—16=11 "years." If that date, the 27th of *Jeroboam*<sup>n</sup>, is genuine, there was undoubtedly an interregnum of 12 years (rather than 11) in *Judah*, and of 23 (rather than 22) in *Israel*. Accordingly Du Fresnoy and Le Brun Desmarettes<sup>o</sup>, like Hales, suppose the double interregnum of 11 and 22 years. But this interregnum of 11 or 12 years in *Judah* is not to be discerned in the Scripture narrative<sup>p</sup>; and an interregnum of 23 years' duration in *Israel* between *Jeroboam* and his son is not probable. And Josephus<sup>q</sup>, who knows no *interregna*<sup>r</sup>,

<sup>m</sup> Vol. II. p. 409.    <sup>n</sup> In 2 Kings XV. 1.

<sup>o</sup> See Du Fresnoy Tablettes tom. I. p. 432. 447—451.

<sup>p</sup> Compare 2 Kings XIV. 17. 2 Chron. XXV. 27. for the death of *Amaziah*, and 2 Kings XIV. 21. 22. 2 Chron. XXVI. 1. 2. for the succession of *Uzziah*.

<sup>q</sup> Ant. IX. 10, 3.

<sup>r</sup> Dr. Hales vol. II. p. 410. misrepresents Josephus, and supposes him to acknowledge the interregnum: "That he was no stranger to the

"chasm of 32 years in *Israel* we may infer from "his taking into account the 11 years of interregnum in *Judah*, necessary to complete his "amount of the whole period, from the foundation to the destruction of the temple, 441 "years. See vol. I. p. 102." Josephus, however, is so far from taking into account this supposed interregnum in *Judah*, that he neglects even the two *interregna* which did actually occur in *Israel*. His account of the double line of kings is as follows:

Saul .....	40	VI. 14, 9.
David .....	40	
Solomon .....	(80) 40	
Rehoboam .....	17	VIII. 10, 4.
Abijah .....	3	VIII. 11, 3.
Asa .....	41	VIII. 12, 6.

Jehosaphat .....	25	IX. 3, 2.
Jehoram .....	8	IX. 5, 3.
Ahaziah .....	1	IX. 6, 3.
Athaliah .....	6	IX. 7, 1.
Joash .....	40	IX. 8, 4. 7, 2.
Amaziah .....	29	IX. 9, 3.
Uzziah .....	52	IX. 10, 4.

Jotham .....	16	IX. 12, 1.
Ahaz .....	16	IX. 12, 3.
Hezekiah .....	29	X. 3, 1.
Manasseh .....	55	X. 3, 2.
Amon .....	2	X. 4, 1.
Josiah .....	31	X. 5, 1.

Jehoahaz .....	3 <sup>m</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> .	} 22 <sup>y</sup> . 6 <sup>m</sup> . 20 <sup>d</sup> . {	X. 5, 2.
Jehoiakim 11.			X. 6, 3.
Jehoiakin .....	3 <sup>m</sup> . 10 <sup>d</sup> .		X. 6, 3.
Zedekiah 11.			X. 8, 2. 5.
		513 <sup>y</sup> . 6 <sup>m</sup> . 20 <sup>d</sup> .	

Jeroboam .....	22	VIII. 11, 4.
Nadab .....	2	VIII. 11, 4.
Baasha .....	24	VIII. 12, 3.
Elah .....	2	VIII. 12, 4.
Zimri 7 days .....	—	VIII. 12, 5.
Omri .....	12	VIII. 12, 5.
Ahab .....	22	VIII. 13, 1.
Ahaziah .....	2	IX. 2, 1.
Joram .....	12	IX. 2, 2.
Jehu .....	27	IX. 3, 1.
Jehoahaz .....	17	IX. 8, 5.
Joash .....	16	IX. 8, 6.
Jeroboam .....	40	IX. 10, 1.
Zachariah 6 months ...	—	IX. 11, 1.
Shallum 30 days .....	—	IX. 11, 1.
Menahem .....	10	IX. 11, 1.
Pekaiah .....	2	IX. 11, 1.
Pekah .....	20	IX. 11, 1.
Hoshea .....	9	

—————239<sup>y</sup>. 7<sup>m</sup>. 7<sup>d</sup>.

reads "the 14th year of *Jeroboam*:" Ὀζίας ὁ τοῦ Ἀμασίου υἱός, ἔτος ἦδη τέταρτον πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βασιλεύοντος Ἱεροβοάμου, τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐβασίλευσεν. We may concur, then, with Jackson, Des Vignoles, and Mr. Greswell<sup>s</sup>, in rejecting that date, the 27th of *Jeroboam*, as corrupt.

He calls the reigns in *Judah* X. 8, 4. 514<sup>y</sup>. 6<sup>m</sup>. 10<sup>d</sup>. (see above p. 306. g), and the reigns in *Israel* IX. 14, 1. 240<sup>y</sup>. 7<sup>m</sup>. 7<sup>d</sup>. ἔτη ἐστὶ διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα μῆνες ἐπὶ ἡμέραι ἐπτά. In each case, as it seems, computing current years for complete. In the reigns of *Judah* he concurs throughout with Scripture. In two reigns of *Israel*, *Jehu* and *Jeroboam II.*, he has two years less than the Scripture account. But both in the sums total and the detail it is clear that he acknowledged no *interregna* in either line. Hales in vol. I. p. 103., to which he refers, had said, "The inter-  
"sertion of the 11 years' interregnum is war-  
"ranted by Scripture, and is also necessary to  
"fill up the outline of the period of Josephus." p. 100. "From the subtraction of the genuine  
"period of 621 years from the entire period of  
"1062 years, we get 441 years; the correct pe-  
"riod from the foundation to the destruction of  
"the temple." But this period of 441 years is a  
number created by Hales himself, who subtracts 621 from 1062. Josephus X. 8, 5. merely says: ἐνεπρήσθη ὁ ναὸς μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἀπ' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη· τῇ δ' ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μεταναστάσει τοῦ λαοῦ τότε ἦν ἔτη χίλια ἐξήκοντα δύο μῆνες ἕξ ἡμέραι δέκα. The first number, 470 years, for the duration of the temple is confessedly corrupt, and perhaps arises from the computation of 80 years to *Solomon*. The second, according to the account of Josephus himself for the Jewish reigns, is rather to be divided thus: 514—84=430+632=1062; and will give 632 years from the exode to the temple, and 430 from the foundation of the temple to the destruction.

<sup>s</sup> Jackson vol. I. p. 181. "*Uzziah* began to  
"reign in the 15th year of *Jeroboam II.* as the  
"numbers plainly shew. Josephus says that he  
"began to reign in the 14th (ending) of *Jero-*  
"*boam II.* Yet by a strange error of numbers  
"it is said 2 Kings XV. 1. that he began to  
"reign in the 27th year of *Jeroboam*. This error  
"is so evident that nothing more need be said  
"to confute it." Vignoles in his Table given by  
Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 453. adopts the same ar-  
rangement. *Uzziah* succeeds in the 14th of *Je-*  
*roboam*, and the first interregnum in *Israel* is 11  
years instead of 23. Greswell vol. III. p. 240.  
"I conclude that 2 Kings XV. 1. the 27th of  
"*Jeroboam* is a corruption of the text for the  
"15th. There are no means of avoiding this  
"inference except by supposing an interregnum  
"between the death of *Amaziah* in the 15th

"*Jerob.* and the accession of *Uzziah* in the  
"27th; a supposition which some commentators  
"have accordingly made, but for which there  
"appears so little reason that I consider the  
"other assumption (that of error in the text,  
"27 for 15) on every account to be preferred.  
"Nothing can be clearer than that *Uzziah* was  
"made king at 16 years old immediately on the  
"death of his father." The two schemes are  
these:

29 Amaz. slain 14 Jer. II.

1	Interregn.	15
2	.....	16
3	.....	17
4	.....	18
5	.....	19
6	.....	20
7	.....	21
8	.....	22
9	.....	23
10	.....	24
11	.....	25
12	.....	26
1	<i>Uzziah</i> .....	27
2	.....	28
3	.....	29
4	.....	30
5	.....	31
6	.....	32
7	.....	33
8	.....	34
9	.....	35
10	.....	36
11	.....	37
12	.....	38
13	.....	39
14	.....	40
15	.....	41
16	.....	1 Interregn.
17	.....	2
18	.....	3
19	.....	4
20	.....	5
21	.....	6
22	.....	7
23	.....	8
24	.....	9
25	.....	10
26	.....	11
27	.....	12
28	.....	13
29	.....	14
30	.....	15
31	.....	16
32	.....	17
33	.....	18
34	.....	19
35	.....	20
36	.....	21
37	.....	22
38	.....	23
39	.....	Zachar. 6 <sup>m</sup> .

29 Amaz. slain 14 Jer. II.

1	<i>Uzziah</i> ....	15 ending
2	.....	16
3	.....	17
4	.....	18
5	.....	19
6	.....	20
7	.....	21
8	.....	22
9	.....	23
10	.....	24
11	.....	25
12	.....	26
13	.....	27
14	.....	28
15	.....	29
16	.....	30
17	.....	31
18	.....	32
19	.....	33
20	.....	34
21	.....	35
22	.....	36
23	.....	37
24	.....	38
25	.....	39
26	.....	40
27	.....	41 ending
28	.....	1 Interregn.
29	.....	2
30	.....	3
31	.....	4
32	.....	5
33	.....	6
34	.....	7
35	.....	8
36	.....	9
37	.....	10
38	.....	11
39	.....	Zachar. 6 <sup>m</sup> .



It is said of *Ahaz* that his accession was at twenty years of age. Josephus has the same numbers. But as *Hezekiah* was 25 at his accession and *Ahaz* 36 at his death, these dates suppose *Ahaz* to be only 11 at the birth of his son. The reading of the Septuagint, 25 for 20<sup>t</sup>, removes the difficulty, and makes *Ahaz* 41 at his death and 16 at the birth of his son *Hezekiah* <sup>v</sup>.

The amount of the fourth period is clearly marked in Scripture and in Josephus. But the ages of the five last kings of *Judah* may require some notice. *Josiah* was 8 years old at his accession. He could not be more, because his father *Amon* died at 24 years of age. But *Josiah* died at 39, leaving *Eliakim* 25 years of age, *Jehoiachaz* 23, and *Zedekiah* 10. *Eliakim* again died at 36, leaving *Jeconias* 18 years of age; the years therefore of *Eliakim* cannot be abridged. The following numbers result from these ages :

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Amon} \text{ was } 16 \\ \textit{Josiah} \dots 14 \\ \textit{Eliakim} \dots 18 \end{array} \right\} \text{at the birth of } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Josiah} \\ \textit{Eliakim} \\ \textit{Jeconias} \end{array} \right.$$

We may assume that *Amon* was 22 complete and *Josiah* 8 complete at their respective accessions; and that *Eliakim* was only entering his 25th year and *Jeconias* commencing his 18th. This will lessen the difficulty. *Josiah* might be 15 at the birth of his son <sup>w</sup>.

The six months of *Zachariah* began in the 38th and ended in the 39th of *Uzziah*. It is plain, then, that if that number, "the 27th of *Jeroboam*," be admitted, there will arise an interregnum of 12 years in *Judah* and 23 years in *Israel*. And this interregnum, by interposing 12 years, will derange every preceding epoch; throwing back every date preceding the accession of *Uzziah* 12 years too high. Usher *Annals* p. 52. 53. has recourse to the usual expedient of supposing *Jeroboam* to reign in consortship with his father 11 years, and the 27th year of his reign to describe the 16th year from the death of his father. But according to this hypothesis *Jeroboam* would only reign 30 years after the death of his father, and if his 27th year was the 1st of *Uzziah*, his 41st would be the 15th of *Uzziah*; and there would be left an interregnum of 23 years in *Israel* instead of 11, to which Usher reduces it p. 55. Mr. Greswell vol. III. p. 236. very justly remarks that with regard to this method of solution (the associating the son with the father), it appears so very questionable, that without the most demonstrative evidence it ought never to be entertained; that there is no proof that any one of the children of the monarchs of *Judah* or *Israel* were associated with them, or, if they were, that the notices of their reigns were dated from that association, and not from the actual death of their predecessors; that *Jehoram* and *Uzziah* are cases in point,

for, though the former was struck by disease two years before his death, and the latter for probably a longer time was a leper, there is no mention of their sons being associated with them. And he lays it down as a rule that no king's reign bore date except from the demise of his predecessor. In these remarks we shall agree. We shall not, however, concur in another hypothesis, by which Mr. Greswell vol. III. p. 232. vol. I. p. 207. (after Reland) supposes that the lengths of reigns were reckoned by one rule and the synchronisms by another; that the former were referred to some nominal *ἀρχή*, the latter to the true; that the reign of every king was supposed to begin from *Nisan*, but that no synchronisms are ever referred except to the true date of the reigns. This scheme, which Mr. Greswell affirms to be an obvious possibility, is, however, so very improbable, that we cannot accept it without direct evidence. Nor does it solve the difficulties; for the difficulties lie in the synchronisms, and these Mr. Greswell admits are still to be adjusted by the true accessions; and many dates remain which he acknowledges to be corruptions of the text.

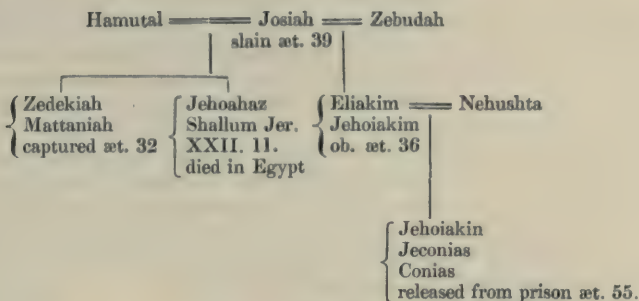
<sup>t</sup> In 2 Chron. XXVIII. 1.

<sup>v</sup> Dr. Hales vol. II. p. 453—463. makes no remark, and finds no difficulty in the ordinary reading.

<sup>w</sup> The genealogy stands thus :

The amount of the fifth period from the death of *Josiah* to the destruction of the temple is determined by Usher<sup>x</sup> to about 22<sup>y</sup>. 0<sup>m</sup>. 25<sup>d</sup>. In this period the positions of all the preceding epochs are first ascertained, by measuring the dates of Scripture with profane testimony. The fourth year of *Jehoiakim* was still current 70 years before the 1st of *Cyrus* (according to Scripture reckoning) at Babylon<sup>y</sup>. We are enabled, however, to bring Scripture and profane accounts to a still nearer coincidence, by comparing the history of *Zedekiah* and *Jehoiakin* with the dates assigned to the Babylonian kings by the Astronomical Canon.

The 37th year of *Jehoiakin's* captivity in the 25th day of the 12th month fell within the 1st year of *Evil-Merodach*<sup>z</sup>. This 25th day of the 12th month was in reference to the months of the Hebrew year<sup>a</sup>, and marked the month of February. But as the 1st of *Evil-Merodach* was dated from Jan. 11. B. C. 561, this would be February B. C. 561. And as *Zedekiah* began to reign about June<sup>b</sup>, the captivity of *Jehoiakin* necessarily commenced in June, and consequently his 37th year in June B. C. 562, since it was still current in February following. But if his 37th year commenced in June B. C. 562, his captivity is fixed to June B. C. 598; the 11th year of *Zedekiah* was completed in June B. C. 587, and the month *Ab*, in which the temple was destroyed, was in July B. C. 587: which refutes the date of Usher, B. C. 588<sup>c</sup>, for the burning of the temple, because, if this event had occurred in that year, the 37th of *Jehoiakin's* captivity would have commenced in June B. C. 563, and the 12th month and 25th day would have fallen in February B. C. 562, before the accession of *Evil-Merodach*. Again, it refutes the date of Jackson and Hales, B. C. 586, because in that case the 37th year would have commenced in June B. C. 561, and February of that 37th year would have fallen in B. C. 560, which would rather belong to the second year of *Evil-Merodach*<sup>d</sup>.



The sons of *Josiah* are differently stated in 1 Chron. III. 15. namely,

1. The first born *Johanan*
2. *Jehoiakim*
3. *Zedekiah*
4. *Shallum*

But this account is refuted by Jerem. XXII. 11.

<sup>x</sup> See F. H. III. p. 375.

<sup>y</sup> See F. H. II. p. 301.

<sup>z</sup> 2 Kings XXV. 27. Jerem. LII. 31.

<sup>a</sup> See F. H. III. p. 375.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Usher Annals p. 87—91.

<sup>d</sup> It may be said that the reign of *Evil-Merodach* or *Ilvarodamus* in the Canon might have

commenced three or four months later than Jan. 11. B. C. 561, and therefore that February B. C. 560 might have fallen within his first year. But it is manifest from the Scripture narrative that *Evil-Merodach* released *Jehoiakin* from prison in the beginning of his reign; that this was one of his first acts, and was not delayed till the close of the first year. We may accordingly conclude that his accession really occurred soon after Jan. 11th, and that February of the 37th year was the month following. And it must also be observed that the 25th day of the 12th Hebrew month *Adar* would most probably fall in the beginning of March; which makes it still less likely that this should be *Adar* of B. C. 560.



The captivity of *Zedekiah* being determined to June B. C. 587, the accession of *Rehoboam*, 389<sup>y</sup>. 1<sup>m</sup>. before, is fixed to May B. C. 976; and we ascend from thence to the dates of all the preceding epochs, as exhibited in the following Table :

B. C.	A. M.	y.
[4138]	<i>Adam</i> .....	1656
[2482]	1656. The Deluge .....	352
[2130]	2008. Birth of <i>Abraham</i> .....	75
[2055]	2083. The Call .....	430
[1625]	2513. The Exode .....	40
[1585]	2553. Death of <i>Moses</i> .....	[27]
[1558]	[2580] First Servitude .....	430
[1128]	[3010] Death of <i>Eli</i> .....	[32]
1096.	[3042] Election of <i>Saul</i> (May or June <sup>e</sup> ) .....	40
1056.	[3082] <i>David</i> (40 <sup>y</sup> . 6 <sup>m</sup> . <sup>f</sup> ) .....	40
1016.	[3122] <i>Solomon</i> (39 <sup>y</sup> . 6 <sup>m</sup> .) .....	40
976.	[3162] <i>Rehoboam</i> (May) .....	389 <sup>y</sup> . 1 <sup>m</sup> .

B. C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
976	1	<i>Rehoboam</i> æt. 41. 17 years : 1 Kings XIV. 21. Joseph. Ant. VIII. 10, 4. 'Ροβόαμος—ἐτελεύτησε βιώσας ἔτη πενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ βασιλεύσας δ' αὐτῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα.	<i>Jeroboam</i> 22 years : 1 Kings XIV. 20. It appears from 1 Kings XII. 12. that the accession of <i>Rehoboam</i> was prior to that of <i>Jeroboam</i> . Hence the 1st of <i>Jeroboam</i> was conumerary partly with the 1st and partly with the 2nd of <i>Rehoboam</i> , and so successively. The 4th of <i>Asa</i> commenced before the 21st of <i>Jeroboam</i> was ended, and the 1st of <i>Nadab</i> before the 2nd of <i>Asa</i> was ended : hence it follows that the 22nd of <i>Jeroboam</i> was not complete. The 1st again of <i>Baasha</i> commenced before the 3rd of <i>Asa</i> was ended ; which shews that the 2 years of <i>Nadab</i> were not complete. These two first reigns in <i>Israel</i> , instead of being 24 years, were less than 23.
974	3	Three years of good conduct : 2 Chron. XI. 17. Joseph. Ant. VIII. 10, 1. ἠΐξησαν ἐπ' ἔτη τρία.	
972	5	Invasion of <i>Shishak</i> , 5th <i>Rehob</i> . 1 Kings XIV. 25. 2 Chr. XII. 2. Josephus VIII. 10, 2. πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς 'Ροβοάμου βασιλείας ἐπιστρατεύεται.	
959	18	<i>Abijah</i> 3 years, 18th <i>Jerob</i> . 1 Kings XV. 1. 2. Josephus VIII. 10, 4. διεδέξατο 'Αβίας, ὅγδον ἤδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος 'Ιεροβοάμου τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύοντος. VIII. 11, 3. 'Αβίας—ἔτη βασιλεύσας τρία.	The 18th of <i>Jeroboam</i> conumerary with the 1st and 2nd of <i>Abijah</i> .

<sup>e</sup> See above p. 306. h.

<sup>f</sup> See above p. 312. h.

B. C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
957	20		20th of <i>Jeroboam</i> conumerary with the 3rd of <i>Abijah</i> and 1st of <i>Asa</i> .
956	21	<i>Asa</i> 41 years: 1 Kings XV. 10. Josephus VIII. 12, 6. Ἀσανος—τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑν ἔτος εὐμύρως ἀπέθανε. 20th of <i>Jerob</i> . 1 Kings XV. 9. that is, before the 20th of <i>Jeroboam</i> was ended: conf. a. 976.	
955	22	The 2nd of <i>Asa</i> conumerary with the 22nd of <i>Jerob</i> . and 1st of <i>Nadab</i> .	(22) <i>Nadab</i> 2 years, 2nd of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XV. 25.
954	23	The 3rd of <i>Asa</i> conumerary with the 2nd of <i>Nadab</i> and 1st of <i>Baasha</i> .	
953	24		<i>Baasha</i> 24 years: 1 Kings XV. 33. 3rd of <i>Asa</i> : Ibid. XV. 28. 33.
947	30	The 10th of <i>Asa</i> . Tenth year of peace: 2 Chron. XIV. 1. Josephus VIII. 11, 3. τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπέλανσεν ἡ χώρα ἐπὶ ἑτὴ δέκα. According to Josephus VIII. 12, 1. after these years of peace the Ethiopian war followed: ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἔτη βασιλεύοντος, στρατεύει μεγάλη δύναμις Ζαραῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας βασιλεὺς. But the spoil which was offered in the 15th of <i>Asa</i> in the 3rd month (2 Chron. XV. 10. 11) seems to be part of the spoil taken from the Ethiopians; which would fix the victory of <i>Asa</i> to about his 14th year. After this victory <i>Judah</i> had rest: 2 Chron. XV. 15. and no more war: XV. 19. (that is, with the Ethiopians) until the 35th of <i>Asa</i> . The Ethiopian war was followed by a league with <i>Ben-Hadad</i> made in the 16th of <i>Asa</i> and the 36th of the Jewish kingdom, or in his 26th year, a little before the death of <i>Baasha</i> . conf. a. 941.	
942	35	Covenant with God in the 15th of <i>Asa</i> : 2 Chron. XV. 10—12.	
941	36	( <i>Asa's</i> league with <i>Ben-Hadad</i> son of <i>Tabrimon</i> son of <i>Hezion</i> king of Syria: 1 Kings XV. 18. in the 36th year of the reign of <i>Asa</i> : 2 Chron. XVI. 1—3. when he was threatened with war by <i>Baasha</i> : 1 Kings XV. 17. 2 Chron. XVI. 1. As in the 36th of <i>Asa</i> <i>Baasha</i> was dead, we must either correct the numbers to "26th," and place these transactions in the year of the death of <i>Baasha</i> , or we must understand them (with many commentators) to mean the 36th year of the kingdom of <i>Ju-</i>	



B.C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
		<i>dah</i> ; which would place the league with <i>Ben-Hadad</i> in the 16th year of <i>Asa</i> . This is probable, because it is twice asserted 1 Kings XV. 16. 32. that there was <i>war between Asa and Baasha all their days</i> ; which would not be true if war had been delayed till the last year of <i>Baasha</i> .)	
931	46	The 26th of <i>Asa</i> reached the 1st of <i>Elah</i> , which began before the 26th of <i>Asa</i> was ended.	The 24th of <i>Baasha</i> . <i>Elah</i> 2 years, 26th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 8.
930	47	The 27th of <i>Asa</i> conumerary with the 2nd of <i>Elah</i> and 1st of <i>Omri</i> in <i>Tirzah</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 15. 16.	<i>Elah</i> slain in the 27th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 10. <i>Zimri</i> 7 days, in the 27th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 15. <i>Omri</i> 12 years: 1 Kings XVI. 23.
926	51	The 31st of <i>Asa</i> marks the date of the foundation of <i>Samaria</i> by <i>Omri</i> ; which was accordingly commenced in the 5th year of his reign. He reigned in <i>Tirzah</i> till the 6th year.	<i>Omri</i> the 31st of <i>Asa</i> . He reigned over <i>Israel</i> 12 years, 6 years in <i>Tirzah</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 23. <i>Samaria</i> built: Ibid. XVI. 24.
922	55	The 35th of <i>Asa</i> : 2 Chron. XV. 19. <i>And there was no more war</i> [after the defeat of the Ethiopians 2 Chron. XIV. 9—15. about the 14th of <i>Asa</i> : conf. XIV. 10] <i>unto the 35th year of Asa</i> . This appears to mean war with the Ethiopians; with whom therefore in the 35th year war was renewed.	
919	58	The 38th of <i>Asa</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Ahab</i> , who began to reign before the 38th of <i>Asa</i> was ended. Hence it appears that the 12th of <i>Omri</i> was not complete; for, since the 27th of <i>Asa</i> had commenced before the death of <i>Elah</i> (conf. a. 930), it is evident that the 38th of <i>Asa</i> had commenced before the 11th year of <i>Omri</i> was concluded.	<i>Ahab</i> 22 years, 38th of <i>Asa</i> : 1 Kings XVI. 29. Consequently from the accession of <i>Jeroboam</i> to the accession of <i>Ahab</i> were not quite 58 years. But the reigns in <i>Israel</i> are $22 + 2 + 24 + 2 + 12 = 62$ years: whence it is manifest that these reigns were of <i>current</i> years and not <i>complete</i> , and that more than 4 years are to be deducted from their amount. Josephus Ant. VIII. 11, 4—13, 1. describes the first reigns in <i>Israel</i> down to the death of <i>Ahab</i> conformably with Scripture. See above p. 316. r.
918	59	<i>Asa's</i> disease in his 39th year: 2 Chron. XVI. 12.	The 2nd of <i>Ahab</i> commenced in the 39th of <i>Asa</i> .
916	61	Death of <i>Asa</i> in the 41st year of his reign: 2 Chron. XVI. 13.	The 4th of <i>Ahab</i> conumerary with the 41st of <i>Asa</i> and 1st of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> .
915	62	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> 25 years æt. 35. in the 4th of <i>Ahab</i> : 1 Kings XXII. 41. Josephus IX. 3, 2. Ἰωσαφάτης—ἀπέθανε ἥγας μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἐντὺν ἐξήκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε	

B.C.	y.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
		καὶ εἴκοσι. The reigns of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and <i>Jehoram</i> , which were $25+8=33$ years current, were only $24+7=31$ years complete. For <i>Ahab</i> began to reign in the 38th of <i>Asa</i> , and <i>Jehoshaphat</i> in the 4th of <i>Ahab</i> . But the 5th of <i>Joram</i> was the 1st of <i>Jehoram</i> , and the 11th of <i>Joram</i> was the last year of <i>Jehoram</i> . Between the accession, then, of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and the death of <i>Jehoram</i> his son are 18 years of <i>Ahab</i> , 2 of <i>Ahaziah</i> , and 11 of <i>Joram</i> ; making 31 years complete instead of 33.	
913	64	Book of the Law read in the 3rd year of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> : 2 Chron. XVII. 7.	The 7th of <i>Ahab</i> conumerary partly with the 3rd and partly with the 4th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> .
898	79	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> goes out with <i>Ahab</i> against <i>Ben-Hadad</i> king of Syria: 1 Kings XXII. at the close of his 18th year.	<i>Ahab</i> slain in battle by the Syrians: 1 Kings XXII. His 22nd year would be completed in the 19th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> .
896	80	The 19th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> conumerary partly with the 22nd of <i>Ahab</i> , partly with the 1st of <i>Ahaziah</i> . The "17th year" therefore in 1 Kings XXII. 51. is inconsistent with the other coincidences given at the years 916. 915.	<i>Ahaziah</i> 2 years: 1 Kings XXII. 51. Josephus IX. 2, 1. ὁ δ' Ἀχάβιον παῖς Ὀχοζίας ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν — τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἔτος ἥδη δεύτερον ἔχοντος, συνέβη τὸν Ὀχοζίαν — νοσήσαντα πέμψαι κ. τ. λ. IX. 2, 2. διαδέχεται αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώραμος ἅπαις γὰρ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ Ἰώραμος αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα.
895	82	<i>Joram</i> son of <i>Ahab</i> is said 2 Kings I. 17. to have succeeded his brother in the 2nd of <i>Jehoram</i> king of Judah. But, as the 1st of <i>Jehoram</i> king of Judah was the 5th of <i>Joram</i> king of Israel (conf. a. 891), and the 8th of the king of Judah was the 11th or the 12th of the king of Israel (conf. a. 884), this date, "the 2nd of <i>Jehoram</i> ," is evidently wrong.	<i>Joram</i> 12 years: 2 Kings III. 1. Translation of <i>Elijah</i> . He was present at the last sickness of <i>Ahaziah</i> : 2 Kings I. 3—17. and yet was translated before the Moabite war: 2 Kings III. 11. His translation, then, and the succession of <i>Elisha</i> (2 Kings II. 1—15) may be placed in the first year of <i>Joram</i> king of Israel. <i>Elisha</i> continued to prophesy about 60 years: conf. a. 837. <i>Elijah</i> is first mentioned in the beginning of the reign of <i>Ahab</i> : 1 Kings XVII. 1. and may have prophesied 24 years.
894	83	( <i>Jehoshaphat</i> assists <i>Joram</i> against Moab: 2 Kings III. 7. about the 22nd year ending of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and the 2nd beginning of <i>Joram</i> .)	(The Moabite war soon after the death of <i>Ahab</i> : 2 Kings III. 5.)
891	86	(The 25th of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> ); the 1st of <i>Jehoram</i> , æt. 32. 8 years: 2 Chron. XXI. 5. in the 5th of <i>Joram</i> : 2 Kings VIII. 16. 17. Josephus IX. 5, 3. Ἰώραμος — εὐθυσὶς ἀπέθανεν.—ὡς ἰδιώτην ἔθαψαν, βιώσαντα μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσαντα δὲ ἑκτά.	The 5th of <i>Joram</i> is conumerary with the 25th current of <i>Jehoshaphat</i> and the 1st commencing of <i>Jehoram</i> .



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884	93	(The 8th of <i>Jehoram</i> ). <i>Ahaziah</i> æt. 22. one year: 2 Kings VIII. 25. 26. In the 12th of <i>Joram</i> : v. 25—the 11th of <i>Joram</i> : Ibid. IX. 29. <i>Jehoram's</i> death therefore happened before the 11th of <i>Joram</i> was concluded. Josephus IX. 6, 3. 'Ορχύζας—ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτᾷ,—βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.	The 12th of <i>Joram</i> conumerary with the year of <i>Ahaziah</i> . The Syrian war: 2 Kings VIII. 28. <i>Ahaziah</i> went with <i>Joram</i> son of <i>Ahab</i> to the war against <i>Hazael</i> king of <i>Syria</i> —and the <i>Syrians</i> wounded <i>Joram</i> . <i>Hazael</i> had murdered <i>Ben-Hadad</i> : 2 Kings VIII. 15. He smote <i>Israel</i> in the days of <i>Jehu</i> : 2 Kings X. 32. approached <i>Jerusalem</i> in the days of <i>Joash</i> : 2 Kings XII. 17. oppressed <i>Israel</i> all the days of <i>Jehoahaz</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 3. 22. and was succeeded by his son <i>Ben-Hadad II.</i> towards the end of the reign of <i>Jehoahaz</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 3. 24. <i>Hazael</i> might reign cir. B. C. 886—840; about 46 years.
883	94	<i>Athaliah</i> 6 years: 2 Kings XI. 3.	<i>Jehu</i> 28 years: 2 Kings X. 36. Josephus IX. 8, 1. 'Ιηοῦς—ἀπέθανε βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι—τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχὸν 'Ιωάζων τὸν υἱὸν καταλιπών. Contemporary with <i>Athaliah</i> : 2 Kings IX—XI.
877	100	<i>Athaliah</i> slain in the 7th year: 2 Kings XI. 4. 2 Chron. XXIII. 1. Josephus IX. 7, 1. ἔτεσιν ἑξ οἷς ἐβασίλευσε Γοθολία τῶν 'Ιεροσολύμων—τῇ δ' ἐβδόμῃ ἔτει κοινολογησάμενός τισιν 'Ιώδαος κ. τ. λ. <i>Joash</i> æt. 7. reigns 40 years: 2 Chron. XXII. 12. XXIII. 1. XXIV. 1. 2 Kings XI. 21. XII. 1. Josephus IX. 8, 4. 'Ιώαςος—διεφθάρη.—ἐβίωσε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.	The 7th of <i>Jehu</i> is conumerary with the 1st of <i>Joash</i> ; consequently his 28th year is conumerary with the 22nd, and the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> is in the very beginning of the 23rd of <i>Joash</i> .
855	122	The 23rd of <i>Joash</i> coincides with the 1st of <i>Jehoahaz</i> , <i>Jehoiada</i> still living in the 23rd of <i>Joash</i> : 2 Kings XII. 6. 7. He died æt. 130: 2 Chron. XXIV. 15.	<i>Jehoahaz</i> 17 years, in the 23rd of <i>Joash</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 1. Josephus IX. 8, 5. εἰκοστῷ καὶ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς 'Ιωάσου βασιλείας παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν 'Ιωάζος δὲ τοῦ 'Ιηοῦ υἱὸς—καὶ κατέσχευεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσι δέκα καὶ ἑπτὰ. As Josephus gave only 27 years to <i>Jehu</i> , he might place the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> in the 21st of <i>Joash</i> .
839	138	To the 39th of <i>Joash</i> inclusive from the accession of <i>Athaliah</i> there are in <i>Judah</i> 6+39=45 years. In <i>Israel</i> from the same epoch are 28+17=45. The 17th, then, of <i>Jehoahaz</i> coincided with the 39th of <i>Joash</i> . But if the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> was within that 39th year, it follows that the 17th of <i>Jehoahaz</i> was not complete.	The 17th of <i>Jehoahaz</i> not completed. <i>Jehoash</i> 16 years: 2 Kings XIII. 10. In the "39th of <i>Joash</i> ," in some copies of the Septuagint. The Hebrew text has "37th of <i>Joash</i> ;" and Josephus IX. 8, 6. ἑβδομον ἤδη καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος βασιλεύοντος 'Ιωάσου τῆς 'Ιουδα φυλῆς, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ 'Ιώαςος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῶν 'Ισραηλιτῶν—καὶ κατέσχευεν αὐτὴν ἔτεσιν ἑκατάδεκα. Josephus is consistent with himself; since he placed the accession of <i>Jehoahaz</i> in the 21st year: conf. a. 855.
838	139	The 40th of <i>Joash</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Jehoash</i> ending and the 2nd beginning.	The 2nd of <i>Jehoash</i> commencing.

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837	140	<i>Amaziah</i> æt. 25. 29 years: 2 Kings XIV. 2. 2 Chron. XXV. 1. In the 2nd of <i>Jehoash</i> : 2 Kings XIV. 1. Josephus IX. 9, 1—3. δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἰωάσου βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμασίας τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς.—κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν βίον—βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πενήκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι. The reign of <i>Amaziah</i> commenced towards the close of the 2nd year of <i>Jehoash</i> .	The 2nd of <i>Jehoash</i> concluded, and the 3rd commencing. <i>Elisha</i> dies in the reign of <i>Jehoash</i> : 2 Kings XIII. 14. <i>Jehoash</i> after his death thrice defeated <i>Ben-Hadad</i> son of <i>Hazael</i> king of Syria: 2 Kings XIII. 25. as <i>Elisha</i> had predicted to <i>Jehoash</i> at the beginning of his reign: 2 Kings XIII. 14—19. conf. Josephus IX. 8, 6, 7.
823	154	The 15th of <i>Amaziah</i> commenced towards the close of the 16th of <i>Jehoash</i> , and contained the accession of <i>Jeroboam II</i> .	The 16th of <i>Jehoash</i> concluded. <i>Jeroboam II</i> . 41 years, in the 15th of <i>Amaziah</i> : 2 Kings XIV. 23. Josephus IX. 10, 1. πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀμασίας βασιλείας ἐβασίλευσεν—Ἰεροβόαμος ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.
809	168	The 29th of <i>Amaziah</i> . He survived <i>Jehoash</i> 15 years: 2 Kings XIV. 17. 2 Chron. XXV. 25. Josephus IX. 9, 3. ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων φεύγει μὲν εἰς Λάχαισιν πόλιν ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβούλων—διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ὀζίας τοῦνομα.	The 14th of <i>Jeroboam II</i> . ends and the 15th begins in the 29th year of <i>Amaziah</i> ; whence it appears that the 15 years which are said to have elapsed from the death of <i>Jehoash</i> to the death of <i>Amaziah</i> were only current years, and that the 29th of <i>Amaziah</i> was complete.
808	169	<i>Uzziah</i> 52 years, æt. 16: 2 Kings XV. 2. 2 Chron. XXVI. 1—3. His accession is placed in the “27th year” of <i>Jeroboam</i> in 2 Kings XV. 1. but in the “14th” by Josephus IX. 10, 3. See above p. 316. Josephus IX. 10, 4. Ὀζίας—ἀπέθανεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἑκτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας πενήκοντα δύο.	The 1st of <i>Uzziah</i> contained partly the 15th and partly the 16th year of <i>Jeroboam II</i> .
783	194	The 26th of <i>Uzziah</i> contained part of the 40th and part of the 41st year of <i>Jeroboam II</i> .	
771	206	The 38th of <i>Uzziah</i> contained the beginning of the reign of <i>Zachariah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 8. In the 38th year of <i>Azariah</i> did <i>Zachariah</i> the son of <i>Jeroboam</i> reign over Israel in Samaria 6 months.	As the 15th of <i>Jeroboam II</i> . ended in the 1st year of <i>Uzziah</i> , his 41st year ended in the 27th of <i>Uzziah</i> . But as <i>Zachariah</i> began to reign in the 38th, there remains an interregnum in Israel of about 11 years.
770	207	The 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> contained the end of <i>Zachariah</i> , the month of <i>Shallum</i> , and the beginning of the 1st year of <i>Menahem</i> .	<i>Zachariah</i> slain in the 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 10—13. <i>Shallum</i> —slew him and reigned in his stead. <i>Shallum</i> began to reign in the 39th year of <i>Uzziah</i> , and he reigned a full month in Samaria. Slain by <i>Menahem</i> also in the 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> : Ibid. 14—17. <i>Menahem</i> reigns 10 years: Ibid. Josephus IX. 11, 1. Ζαχαρίας ἐξ μῆνας βασιλεύσας—ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Σελλούμου τοῦνομα—ὃς τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν οὐ πλείονα χρόνον ἡμερῶν αὐτὴν κατέσχε τριάκοντα. ὁ



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			γὰρ στρατηγὸς Μανάημος—ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σέλλουμαν, καὶ βασιλέα καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν—ἐπ' ἔτη δέκα σκαίος καὶ πάντων ὠμότατος διέμεινε.
759	218	The 50th of <i>Uzziah</i> coincides with the 1st of <i>Pekaiah</i> .	<i>Pekaiah</i> two years, in the 50th of <i>Uzziah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 23. Josephus IX. 11, 1. ὅσων ἔτεσι μόνους ἤρξεν. Since the 1st of <i>Menahem</i> began in the 39th of <i>Uzziah</i> , his 10th year began in the 48th of <i>Uzziah</i> , and was completed in the 49th; and some short interval must have elapsed between the death of <i>Menahem</i> and the accession of <i>Pekaiah</i> .
757	220	The 52nd of <i>Uzziah</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Pekah</i> .	<i>Pekah</i> 20 years, in the 52nd of <i>Uzziah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 27. Josephus IX. 11, 1. κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φακέας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι.
756	221	<i>Jotham</i> wt. 25. 16 years, in the 2nd of <i>Pekah</i> : 2 Kings XV. 32. 33. 2 Chron. XXVII. 1. Josephus IX. 12, 1. Ἰώθαμος μετέλλαξεν ἔτη βιώσας ἐν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκαταίδεκα.	The 2nd of <i>Pekah</i> conumerary with the 1st of <i>Jotham</i> .
741	236	The 16th of <i>Jotham</i> not complete; for the 1st of <i>Ahaz</i> began in the 17th of <i>Pekah</i> : 2 Kings XVI. 1. <i>Ahaz</i> reigned 16 years, and was 20 years of age: 2 Kings XVI. 2. 2 Chron. XXVIII. 1. Josephus IX. 12, 3. also makes him 20 at his accession: ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτη μὲν βιώσας ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑκαταίδεκα. But the number of the Septuagint better agrees with the age of <i>Hezekiah</i> . See above p. 318.	The 17th of <i>Pekah</i> contained partly the 16th of <i>Jotham</i> and partly the 1st of <i>Ahaz</i> .
738	239	The 4th of <i>Ahaz</i> . In the reign of <i>Ahaz</i> the kings of Damascus were ended by the Assyrians: Isaiah XVII. One dynasty reigned for eleven generations, according to Nicol. Damasc. apud Josephus Ant. VII. 5, 2. Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν—“Τῶν ἐγγυρίων τις Ἀδαβος ὄνομα πλείον ἰσχύσας “Δαμασκῷ τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας, ἕξω Φοινίκης, ἱβασίλευσε· πύλεμον δὲ ἐξενόγκας πρὸς “Δαυὶδην βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις κηθεῖς, ἰστάτῃ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐν “ᾧ ἦντατο [conf. 2 Sam. VIII. 3—6], ἔριστος ἐδοξεν εἶναι βασιλεὺς βόμῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ.” —“τελευτήσαντες δ' αὖτε, οἱ ἀπόγονοι ἐπὶ δέκα “γενεῖς ἱβασίλευον, ἐκάστου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἅμα “τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τοιοῦτα τοῦτο ἐκδεχόμενοι.—μήγι—“στον δὲ πάντων δυνηθεὶς ὁ τρίτος—στρατεύσας “ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους ἐπέβησε τὴν νῦν Σαμαρείην καλοῦ—“μένην [conf. Joseph. l. c. 1 Reg. XX.	The 20th of <i>Pekah</i> , if completed, would contain partly the 3rd and partly the 4th of <i>Ahaz</i> . <i>Pekah</i> is slain in the 20th year of <i>Jotham</i> : 2 Kings XV. 30.

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		"XXII]." Their reigns would occupy about 300 years. But the succession had been interrupted by <i>Hazael</i> : conf. a. 884.	
730	247	The 12th of <i>Ahaz</i> is made the 1st of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVII. 1. But if the 1st of <i>Hoshea</i> commenced at the close of the 12th, his 4th year would commence at the close of the 15th of <i>Ahaz</i> . Hence it appears that the 16th of <i>Ahaz</i> was not complete, because the 1st of <i>Hezekiah</i> began within that 4th year of <i>Hoshea</i> .	<i>Hoshea</i> 9 years: 2 Kings XVII. 1. in the 12th of <i>Ahaz</i> . And, as <i>Pekah</i> was slain in the beginning of the 4th of <i>Ahaz</i> (conf. a. 738), hence it is collected that an interregnum of 9 years current intervened between <i>Pekah</i> and <i>Hoshea</i> .
726	251	The 16th of <i>Ahaz</i> not complete. <i>Hezekiah</i> æt. 25. 29 years: 2 Kings XVIII. 2. 2 Chron. XXIX. 1. Josephus X. 3, 1. ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας—τελευτῆ, πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς ζωῆς διανίστας εἴκοσι δὲ βασιλεύσας καὶ ἐννέα. His accession is placed in the 3rd of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVIII. 1. But this is inconsistent with other dates. The 4th of <i>Hezekiah</i> was the 7th of <i>Hoshea</i> ; the 6th was the 9th. The 1st therefore was in the 4th. Josephus IX. 13, 1. ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς βασιλείας Ὡσήν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἐζεκίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. The 4th of <i>Hoshea</i> commenced at the close of the 15th of <i>Ahaz</i> , and concluded in the beginning of the 1st year of <i>Hezekiah</i> .	
723	254	The 4th of <i>Hezekiah</i> commenced at the close of the 7th of <i>Hoshea</i> .	Samaria besieged in the 4th of <i>Hezekiah</i> , which was the 7th year of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVIII. 9. Josephus IX. 14, 1. Σαλμανασάρης—ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ὡσήν βασιλείας.
722	255	The 5th of <i>Hezekiah</i> at the close of the 8th of <i>Hoshea</i> .	Second year of the siege.
721	256	The 6th of <i>Hezekiah</i> commenced towards the close of the 9th of <i>Hoshea</i> . Samaria therefore was taken in the beginning of the 6th of <i>Hezekiah</i> .	Samaria taken at the end of three years, in the 6th year of <i>Hezekiah</i> , that is, the 9th year of <i>Hoshea</i> : 2 Kings XVIII. 10. compare XVII. 5, 6. Josephus IX. 14, 1. Σαλμανασάρης—ἔτεσι πολιορκήσας τρισὶν εἴλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν, ἕνατον μὲν ἔτος Ὡσήν βασιλεύοντος ἑβδόμον δ' Ἐζεκίου. Demetrius apud Clem. Al. ascribes the capture to <i>Sennacherib</i> : see above p. 288. l.
713	264	In the 14th of <i>Hezekiah</i> , <i>Sennacherib</i> invades Judea: 2 Kings XVIII. 13. Isaiah XXXVI. 1. Josephus X. 1, 1. Ἐζεκίου—τέταρτον ἦδη καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντος, ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Σενναχήριβος στρατεύει—ἐπ' αὐτόν. Sickness of <i>Hezekiah</i> 15 years before his death: 2 Kings XX. Isaiah XXXVIII. Josephus X. 2, 1. ὅτι βιώσεται μετ' αὐτὴν (τὴν νόσον) ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα. His sickness was after the retreat of <i>Sennacherib</i> : 2 Kings XIX. XX. whence we may collect that <i>Hezekiah</i> reigned 29 years complete.	



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697	280	<i>Manasseh</i> æt. 12. 55 years: 2 Kings XXI. 1. 2 Chron. XXXIII. 1. Josephus X. 3, 2. ζήσας οὖν ἔτη ἐξήκοντα ἑπτὰ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε καὶ πενήκοντα.
642	335	<i>Amos</i> æt. 22. two years: 2 Kings XXI. 19. 2 Chron. XXXIII. 21. Josephus X. 4, 1. Ἀμωσος—ἀπέθανε, βιώσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσας δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο.
640	337	<i>Josiah</i> æt. 8. 31 years: 2 Kings XXII. 1. 2 Chron. XXXIV. 1. Josephus X. 4, 1. τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰωσία παραδίδουσιν ὀκταέτη τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντι. X. 5, 1. Ἰωσίας—τελευτᾷ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς—βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τριακονταεννέα βασιλεύσας δὲ τούτων ἑν καὶ τριάκοντα.
628	349	<i>Jeremiah</i> begins to prophesy in the 13th year of <i>Josiah</i> : Jerem. I. 2. XXV. 3.
623	354	The 18th of <i>Josiah</i> commences about May B. C. 623.
622	—	In the 18th year of <i>Josiah</i> the book of the Law read, the Passover solemnly kept, the altar at Bethel destroyed: 2 Kings XXII. 3—XXIII. 23. Josephus X. 4, 2. ὄγον ἦν καὶ δέκατον τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἔχον πέμπε πρὸς Ἑλιακίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. The prophecy in the 1st year of <i>Jeroboam</i> (1 Kings XIII. 2) was now fulfilled: Josephus X. 4, 4. συνέβη δὲ ταῦτα λαβεῖν τέλος μετὰ ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑν. The 18th of <i>Josiah</i> was the 358th year according to the current years of the reigns of <i>Judah</i> marked in Scripture and Josephus, but the 354th according to the complete years. If the 18th year commenced in May B. C. 623, the Passover of that 18th year would fall in March or April B. C. 622.
609	368	Death of <i>Josiah</i> . From the age of his son it is probable that he reigned 31 years complete. See above p. 318. And if his death occurred in May B. C. 609, his accession would be placed in May B. C. 640. <i>Jehoaiah</i> 3 <sup>m</sup> . <i>Jehoiakim</i> 10 <sup>y</sup> . 6 <sup>m</sup> . 15 <sup>d</sup> . from August B. C. 609.
606	371	The fourth year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> , from August B. C. 606. The 23rd from the 13th of <i>Josiah</i> : Jerem. XXV. 3. The deportation of <i>Daniel</i> was in the 3rd year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> : Dan. I. 1. Whence we may place the expedition of <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> towards the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th year, in the summer of B. C. 606. In the 4th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> <i>Baruch</i> writes the book: Jerem. XXXVI. 1. 2.
605	372	The 5th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> commences from August B. C. 605. In the 9th month, in the 5th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> , <i>Baruch</i> reads the book: Jerem. XXXVI. 8—10. = Nov. or Dec. B. C. 605. While the king sat in the winter house: v. 22. Josephus X. 6, 2. μὴν ἑνᾶν τοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰωακίμου βασιλείας ἀνέγνω τὴν βίβλον.
598	379	The 10th year of <i>Jehoiakim</i> is completed in August B. C. 599. The 11th year not complete. <i>Jehoiakin</i> 3 <sup>m</sup> . æt. 18: 2 Kings XXIV. 8. Josephus X. 6, 3. Ἰωάχιμος—ἔβασίλευσε μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας δέκα. from the end of <i>Adar</i> (about the beginning of March) to <i>Thamuz</i> or June B. C. 598. Taken in the 8th year of the king of Babylon: 2 Kings XXIV. 12. which was therefore current (by the Scripture computation) in June B. C. 598. <i>Zedekiah</i> æt. 21. 11 years: 2 Kings XXIV. 18. 2 Chron. XXXVI. 11. Josephus X. 7, 2. Σεδεκίας ἦν μὲν ἑτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑνὸς ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν. His 11 years commenced in June B. C. 598, because they were completed in June B. C. 587.
587	390	The 11th year of <i>Jehoiakin's</i> captivity commences in June B. C. 588. <i>Ezekiel</i> prophesies against Tyre in the 11th year in the 1st day of the month: XXVI. 1. against Egypt in the 11th year in the 1st day of the 3rd month: XXXI. 1. = March and May B. C. 587. The 11th year of <i>Zedekiah</i> is completed in June B. C. 587. Jerusalem is taken on the 9th day of the 4th month: 2 Kings XXV. 2—4. Jerem. XXXIX. 2. LII. 5. 6. Josephus X. 8, 2. ἤρθη ἡ πόλις ἑνδεκάτῃ ἔτει τῆς Σεδεκίου βασιλείας, τοῦ τετάρτου

B. C.	y.	JUDAH.
		<p>μηνὸς τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.=June B. C. 587. The temple burnt on the 10th day of the 5th month <i>Ab</i>=July B. C. 587: Jerem. LII. 12. The 7th day of the 5th month is mentioned 2 Kings XXV. 8. on which <i>Nebuzar-adan</i> came up. But the destruction was completed on the 10th, μηνὶ πέμπτῳ τῇ νομηνίᾳ Joseph. Ant. X. 8, 5. but more correctly ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ Λῶου μηνός. Idem Bell. VI. 4, 5. From this point Usher fixes the accessions of the last four kings in <i>Judah</i>: see F. H. III. p. 375. p. The 12th year of <i>Jehoiakin's</i> captivity commences at the capture of <i>Zedekiah</i>. <i>Ezekiel</i> prophesies in the 5th day of the 10th month: XXXIII. 21.=Dec. B. C. 587. and in the 1st day of the 12th month: XXXII. 1.=February B. C. 586.</p>
573		<p><i>Ezekiel's</i> vision, in the 25th year of our captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the 10th day of the month, in the 14th year after that the city was smitten XL. 1. The 25th year began in June B. C. 574, and the 1st month=March B. C. 573. The city was smitten in June B. C. 587; the 14th year commenced June B. C. 574, and was current till June B. C. 573.</p>
561		<p>The 37th year of <i>Jehoiakin's</i> captivity commenced in June B. C. 562; the 25th day of the 12th month: Jerem. LII. 31. or the 27th day: 2 Kings XXV. 27., <i>Adar</i> or February B. C. 561, fell within the 1st year of <i>Evil-Merodach</i>, whose reign is dated from January 11. B. C. 561. See above p. 319.</p>

y.	y.	y.	B. C.
	<i>Rehoboam</i> .....	17.	976
18.	<i>Abijah</i> .....	3.	959
21.	<i>Asa</i> .....	41.	956
62.	<i>Jehoshaphat</i> ..... (25) .....	24.	915
86.	<i>Jehoram</i> ..... (8) .....	7.	891
93.	<i>Ahaziah</i> .....	1.	884
94.	<i>Athaliah</i> .....	6.	883
100.	<i>Joash</i> .....	40.	877
140.	<i>Amaziah</i> .....	29.	837
169.	<i>Uzziah</i> .....	52.	808 (May)
221.	<i>Jotham</i> .....	(16) .....	756
236.	<i>Ahaz</i> ..... .. (16) .....	15.	741
251.	<i>Hezekiah</i> .....	29.	726
280.	<i>Manasseh</i> .....	55.	697
335.	<i>Amon</i> .....	2.	642
337.	<i>Josiah</i> .....	31.	640 (May)
368.	<i>Jehoahaz</i> .....	3 <sup>m</sup> .	22 <sup>y</sup> . 1 <sup>m</sup> . { 609 (May) 609 (Aug.) 598 (March) 598 (June)
	<i>Jehoiakim</i> .....	11	
	<i>Jehoiakin</i> .....	3 <sup>m</sup> .	
	<i>Zedekiah</i> .....	11	
		(393. 6.)	389. 1.



## VI.

## KINGS OF SPARTA.

Mr. MULLER<sup>a</sup> is of opinion that an authentic account of the years of each Lacedæmonian reign from the return of the *Heraclidæ* to the Olympiad of *Coræbus* had been preserved to the times of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus; and that the chronology of Apollodorus for these reigns can be restored from the Armenian Eusebius<sup>b</sup>. The account of Eusebius is this<sup>c</sup>:

*Lacedæmoniorum reges e Diodori libris. Quoniam a rebus Trojanis usque ad Ol. 1. difficilis temporum notatio est, propterea quod eo intervallo neque Athenis neque aliis in urbibus annui magistratus fuerunt, idcirco nos ad eam rem utimur Lacedæmoniorum regibus. A Trojæ excidio ad Ol. 1. lapsi sunt, uti Atheniensis Apollodorus ait, anni 408; quorum 80 numerantur usque ad Heraclidarum descensum, reliqui occupantur a Lacedæmoniorum regibus Procle, Eurystheo, horumque posteris. Nos vero singulos ex his familiis reges perensemus usque ad Ol. 1. Eurystheus regnum exorsus est anno post res Trojanas 80<sup>o</sup> tenuitque annis 42; post eum Agis anno uno, Echestratus annis 31; quem excepit Labotas annis 37; tum Doryssus 29: his successit Agesilaüs 44, Archelaüs 60, Telechus 40, Alcámenes denique annis 38. In hujus imperantis anno 10<sup>o</sup> prima Olympias comperitur qua vicit stadium Coræbus Eleus. Ex altera pariter domo regnaverunt Procles primo annis 49, tum Prytanis 49, deinde Eunomus 45, deinde Charichus 60; postea Nicander 38, Theopompus 47. In hujus item decimo anno Ol. 1. comperitur. Summa temporis a Troja capta usque ad descensum Heraclidarum anni sunt 80. Secuti sunt Lacedæmoniorum reges.*

	Annis		Annis
<i>Eurystheus</i> .....	42	<i>Procles</i> .....	51
<i>Agis</i> .....	1	<i>Prytanis</i> .....	49
<i>Echestratus</i> .....	35	<i>Eunomius</i> .....	45
<i>Labotas</i> .....	37	<i>Charichus</i> .....	60
<i>Doryssus</i> .....	29	<i>Nicander</i> .....	38
<i>Agesilaüs</i> .....	44	<i>Theopompus</i> } ...	47
<i>Archelaüs</i> .....	60	<i>cujus 10<sup>o</sup> Ol. 1</i> }	
<i>Telechus</i> .....	40	<i>Summa annorum</i>	290
<i>Alcámenes</i> }			
<i>cujus 10<sup>o</sup> Ol. 1</i> }	37		
<i>Summa annorum</i>	325		

The account in the Canon corresponds with this representation of the reigns:

<sup>a</sup> *Dorians* vol. I. p. 151.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. II. p. 510.

<sup>c</sup> *Chron.* I. p. 166.

<i>Anno</i>	
916. <i>Eurystheus</i> .....	42
958. <i>Agis</i> .....	1
959. <i>Echestratus</i> .....	35
994. <i>Labotas</i> .....	37
1031. <i>Doryssus</i> .....	29
1060. <i>Agesilaüs</i> .....	44
1104. <i>Archelaüs</i> .....	60
1164. <i>Teleclus</i> .....	40
1204. <i>Alcamenes</i> .....	37
	—325
1240. <i>Alcamenis</i> 37° <i>Ol. 1.</i>	

It is evident that this was not the account of Apollodorus, according to whom the 328th year, the year of the first Olympiad, is said to be the 10th of *Alcamenes*. But in these accounts the 10th of *Alcamenes*, falling upon the Eusebian year 1213, is only the 298th from the Return. Mr. Muller proposes to bring the numbers to their true amount by inserting 31 years before the reign of *Eurysthenes*, who began to reign according to Mr. Muller in the 32nd year after the Return<sup>d</sup>; and the 30 years which precede Mr. Muller supposes to be the years of his minority. But in this case the reign of *Eurysthenes* would have been called 72 years, and not 42. The years of a king are computed from his accession, and not from his majority. We have many examples of this at Sparta. *Pleistarchus* in B.C. 480, *Pleistoanax*

<sup>d</sup> Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. "The date of Apollodorus can now be completely restored from the Armenian Eusebius p. 166. from which we see that according to Apollodorus Ol. 1. coincided with the 10th of *Alcamenes*. The Canons of Eusebius place Ol. 1. at the 37th of *Alcamenes*; an error which appears to have arisen from Eusebius having taken the first year of *Eurysthenes* as identical with the epoch of the Return of the *Heracidae*; while Apollodorus allowed with the Lacedæmonian public register about a year for *Aristodemus*, and then 30 years for the minority of the brothers. Now the Canon has 324 years from

"the Return to Ol. 1 (916—1240); subtract from this number the 27 years of *Alcamenes*, and 31 years for *Aristodemus* and the minority, and there remain 328 years; doubtless the precise era calculated by Apollodorus." The words "and 31" are perhaps an error of the press for "and add 31." Mr. Muller means this: (324—27=) 297+31=328. The Canon however has 325 years; for those years of Eusebius are both inclusive, and the numbers must be 298+30 to obtain 328. Mr. Muller again in his Table has not distinguished current years. He gives these numbers:

B. C.	
1104.	1. Migration of the Dorians into Peloponnesus—328 years before Ol. 1.
1103.	2. Birth of <i>Eurysthenes</i> and <i>Procles</i> .
1072.	32. <i>Eurysthenes</i> and <i>Procles</i> govern.
786.	318. <i>Alcamenes</i> .
776.	328. Olympiad of <i>Coræbus</i> .

But if the 1st year was 1104 and the 2nd 1103, then 1072 was the 33rd, 786 was the 319th, and 776 was the 329th. Again, if the 1st of *Alcamenes* was in 786, the games in July B. C. 776 were in the 11th year of his reign. Mr. Muller has rightly made the year 328 coincide with B. C. 776, which was doubtless the

meaning of Apollodorus. But to make the other numbers correspond, he should have placed the accession of *Alcamenes* at B. C. 785, the Return at B. C. 1103 (which was the real date of Apollodorus: see p. 125), and should have supplied 30 years instead of 31 to complete the numbers of Eusebius.



in B. C. 458, *Pausanias* in 408, *Agessipolis* in 394, all succeeded in their minority<sup>e</sup>; and yet the reigns of all were computed from their accessions. It is much more likely, then, that the deficient numbers are to be supplied by adding 30 years to the reign of *Agis*, whose reign, contrary to all probability, is reduced to one year by some blunder of Diodorus, whom Eusebius follows.

But the years of the other line are still more defective. Apollodorus, we are told, reckoned the 10th of *Theopompus* the 328th year after the Return. But in that account it is only the 253rd; and there is a deficiency in Diodorus or Eusebius, or in both, of 75 years and at least two reigns<sup>f</sup>. If, however, we compute upwards from the 10th of *Theopompus*, we shall obtain  $10 + 38 + 60 = 108$  years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus* for the 1st year of *Charilaüs*; precisely agreeing with the date of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus for the regency of *Lycurgus*: whence we may collect that the 60 years of *Charilaüs* were computed not from the 30th year of his life but from his birth; and we have another example that the years of minors are dated from their accession.

The dates, then, of Apollodorus, as far as we can trust the numbers in Eusebius, may be probably arranged in the following manner:

y.	y.	y.	y.
1. <i>Eurysthenes</i> .....	42	1. <i>Procles</i> .....	51
43. <i>Agis</i> .....	(31)	52. [ <i>Soüs</i> ] .....	*
74. <i>Echestratus</i> .....	35	* [ <i>Eurypon</i> ] .....	*
109. <i>Labotas</i> .....	37		
146. <i>Doryssus</i> .....	29	127. <i>Prytanis</i> .....	49
175. <i>Agésiläus</i> .....	44	176. <i>Eunomus</i> .....	45
219. <i>Archeläus</i> .....	60	221. <i>Charilaüs</i> .....	60
279. <i>Teleclus</i> .....	40	281. <i>Nicander</i> .....	38
319. <i>Alcámenes</i> first .....	10	319. <i>Theopompus</i> first .....	10
	<hr/>		
	328		

If (as Mr. Muller supposes) an authentic register of the years of these reigns had existed, there would have been less uncertainty in the date of the Trojan war, which might have been ascertained at once; and less variation between Apollodorus and other writers in their accounts of these reigns. We shall see below considerable variations; from whence we may conclude that no complete series of the years had been preserved, but that, although the duration of some reigns might have been remembered and transmitted, yet the years of others were obtained by conjecture, and inferred from a comparison of facts<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> See F. H. II. c. 3.

<sup>f</sup> See above p. 144. z.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. Lewis Philolog. Mus. vol. II. p. 46. well observes, "Plutarch says that Eratosthenes" and Apollodorus calculated the date of *Lycurgus* by the successions of the Spartan kings: "that is, by assuming a certain average number

"of years for every reign; which they would hardly have done, if there had been an accredited chronology of those reigns founded on contemporary registers." We must add, however, that, although we reject the years assigned, there is not the same reason for rejecting the facts.

## AGIDÆ.

2. EURYSTHENES. We have seen above p. 112. m. that according to Lacedæmonian accounts *Aristodemus* himself lived to reign at Sparta, and have assumed as probable that the twins might be born about the fifth year after the Return. Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. conjectures that *Apollodorus* took into account the reign of *Aristodemus*, and allowed him one year. But this is by no means certain. We shall see other instances in which the chronology of *Apollodorus* is at variance with Spartan accounts, and it might be so in this. *Herodotus* attests the guardianship of *Theras* and his migration from Sparta after the minors had assumed the government: see above p. 86. l. 131. n.

*Eurysthenes* and *Procles* both survived *Temenus*, and lived till *Æpytus* son of *Cresphontes* was grown to manhood: *Pausan.* IV. 3, 5. ὁ δὲ Αἴπυτος—περιγίνεται μόνος τοῦ οἴκου [see p. 111. k], καὶ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, οἱ Ἀρκάδες κατάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς Μεσσήνην· συγκατήγαγον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν Δωριέων οἳ τε Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες καὶ Σίμος [Ἰσθμῖος Bekk. Κεῖσος Siebel.] ὁ Τημένου. *Apollodorus* apud *Diod.* assigns to *Eurysthenes* only 42 years; but as *Procles* reigned 51, *Eurysthenes* according to the tradition preserved by *Cicero* reigned 52.

The twin brothers were said to have married twin sisters: *Pausan.* III. 16, 5. (τάφοι δὲ εἰσιν)—Λαθρίας καὶ Ἀναξάνδρας· αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ τε ἦσαν δίδυμοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφᾶς οἳ τ' Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες, ἅτε ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ δίδυμοι, λαμβάνουσι· θυγατέρες δὲ ἦσαν Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀγαμιδίδα, βασιλεύοντος μὲν Κλεστανναίων [Κλεωναίων Kuhn.] τετάρτου δὲ ἀπογόνου Κτησίππου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.

3. AGIS. Subdued the Helots: *F. H.* II. p. 405. z. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 31. conjectures that the Helots were an aboriginal race subdued at a very early period, and that they immediately passed over to the Dorians as slaves. But this conjecture is at variance

## PROCLIDÆ.

2. PROCLES. Was more eminent than his brother, and died one year before him: *Cic.* Div. II. 43. *Procles et Eurysthenes Lacedæmoniorum reges gemini fratres fuerunt. At hi nec totidem annos vixerunt; anno enim Procli vita brevior fuit, multumque is fratri rerum gestarum gloria præstitit.* This tradition invalidates the chronology of *Apollodorus*, who makes *Procles* live 9 years longer than his brother.

The two brothers were hostile to each other: *Herodot.* VI. 52. τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτούς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ὄντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν. *Pausan.* III. 1, 6. δίδυμοι δὲ ὄντες διάφοροι τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν. προεληλυθότες δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἀπεχθείας ὅμως ἐν κοινῷ Θήρα τῷ Αὐτεσίανος ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὄντι Ἀργείας, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο ἐς ἀποικίαν. To this enmity we may refer the narrative in *Polyænus* I. 10. Προκλῆς καὶ Τύμενος Ἡρακλεῖδαι Εὐρυσθεΐδαις κατέχουσιν τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπολέμουν κ.τ.λ. The *Εὐρυσθεΐδαι* will mean “*Eurysthenes* and his “party;” for each of these kings was supported by foreign adherents: *Ephorus* apud *Strab.* VIII. p. 366. ἐπήλυδας ἀνθρώπους δεξάμενοι δι' ἐκείνων ἐδυνάστευσαν. For the institutions of *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* in Laconia, described by *Ephorus*, see *F. H.* II. p. 404. z.

It would seem from *Thucyd.* V. 16. that the memory of the ceremonies observed at the first occupation of Laconia was preserved at Sparta: τοῖς ὁμοίοις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καταγαγεῖν ὥσπερ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον Λακεδαιμόνα κτίζοντες τοὺς βασιλεῖας καθίσταντο. These ceremonies would belong to the occupation of Sparta by *Aristodemus*.

3. SOÛS. Since *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* died within a year of each other, *Agis* and *Soüs* were contemporary. This is marked by *Plutarch* *Lycurg.* c. 2. who ascribes the war with the Helots to the reign of *Soüs*: τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ [sc. *Lycurgi*] μάλιστα ἐθαυμάσθη



## AGIDÆ.

with Theopompus apud Athen. VI. p. 265. b. who affirms that the Lacedæmonians, when they conquered the Achæans, and the Thes-salians, when they conquered the *Perrhæbi* and *Magnetes*, were the first who reduced to slavery the former occupiers of the country. But this account would not be true, if the Achæans themselves some generations before the Trojan war had reduced to this kind of slavery the *aborigines* of Laconia.

From *Agis* the kings of this line were called *Agidæ*: Pausan. III. 2, 1. Εὐρύσθενει πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων ὄντι ἡλικίαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν υἱὲν Ἀγιν' ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τὸ γένος τὸ Εὐρύσθενους καλοῦσιν Ἀγίδας. See Ephorus in a mutilated passage of Strabo VIII. p. 366.

The migration of *Grais* was referred to his reign: Pausan. III. 2, 1. ἐπὶ τούτου συνήραντο Γραῖ κ. τ. λ. See p. 103. k. Lesbos was occupied about 51 years after the Return: see p. 105. 140. which would sufficiently agree with the beginning of the reign of *Agis*.

It is evident that Pausanias did not limit the reign of *Agis* to a single year, and the acts ascribed to *Agis* render so short a reign very improbable. Wherefore we may here supply the deficient years which are required to complete the period of Apollodorus, as already remarked at p. 332.

4. ECHESTRATUS. Pausan. III. 2, 2. ἐπὶ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Κυνηρέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάτους, αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκόντες ὡς τὴν Ἀργολίδα συγγενῶν σφίσιν ὄντων Ἀργείων λησταί τε ἐκ τῆς Κυνηριακῆς κακουργούεν κ. τ. λ.—ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον εὐ πολλοῖς [not long after the conquest of Cy-nuria] Λαβῶτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν.

## PROCLIDÆ.

Σόος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἐποιήσαντο δούλους οἱ Σπαρτιάται καὶ χώραν προσεκτήσαντο πολλὴν Ἀρκάδων ἀποτεμνόμενοι. He proceeds to relate a war with the Clitorians in this reign: λέγεται δὲ τὸν Σόον ἐν χωρίῳ χαλεπῷ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ Κλιτορίων ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν δορίκτητον γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀφήσειν εἰ πίοι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς πλησίον πηγῆς κ. τ. λ.

4. EURYPON or EURYTION. Plutarch Lycurg. c. 2. remarks that, notwithstanding the eminence of *Soüs*, οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν οἰκίαν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ προσηγόρευσαν Εὐρυτιωνίδας· ὅτι δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυτίων τὸ ἄγαν μοναρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς. Pausan. III. 7, 1. Προκλῆς ὁ Ἀριστοδήμου τῷ παιδί ὄνομα τίθεται Σόον. Εὐρυπῶντα δὲ τὸν Σόον φασιν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι δόξης ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην Εὐρυπωντίδας ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, Προκλίδας ἐς ἐκείνον καλουμένους. A long war with the Arcadians of Mantinea occurred in his reign: Polyæn. II. 13. Εὐρυτιῶν βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίαν, ὁρῶν τὴν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πόλεμον μηχανόμενον, στάσιν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιῆσαι μηχανώμενος κήρυκα ἔπεμψεν ἀγγέλλοντα, “Λακεδαιμόνιοι παύονται πολεμοῦντες, ἐάν γε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἐξελάσητε,” τούτους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς Αἰγιναν ἡρηκότας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ φόνου τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοντες, προσδοκῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διωχθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμίαν, κ. τ. λ.—οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦ δήμου φρονοῦντες ἡττηθέντες, πρὸς μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους καταφυγόντες, τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδέξαντο. οἱ δὲ κατέσχον τῇ στάσει Μαντίνειαν, ἥς τῷ πολέμῳ κρατεῖν οὐκ ἔδυναντο. From this narrative it appears that Mantinea was already under a popular government.

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5 LABOTAS. The Argive war is placed in this reign: Pausan. III. 2, 3. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ πρῶτον τότε ἔδοξεν ἄρσθαι πρὸς Ἀργεῖους πόλεμον· ἐποιοῦντο δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα τήν τε Κυνοურიκὴν ἐλόντων αὐτῶν ἀποτέμεσθαι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, καὶ τοὺς περιόικους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὄντας ἀφιστάναι. τότε μὲν δὴ παρὰ οὐδετέρων πολεμησάντων ὁμως μνήμης ἄξιον πραχθῆναι φασιν οὐδέν.

On the error in the text of Herodotus, where the nephew of *Lycurgus* is made the son of *Labotas*, see p. 144. b.

6. DORYSSUS. Pausanias III. 2, 3. differs from Apollodorus in the duration of this and the next reign: τοὺς ἐφεξῆς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Δόρυσσον τὸν Λαβῶτα καὶ Ἀγησίλαον Δορύσσου δι' ὀλίγου σφᾶς τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους. Apollodorus followed different authorities, since he assigned (according to Diodorus apud Euseb.)  $29 + 44 = 73$  years to these two reigns.

7. AGESILAÛS. The account of Pausanias is that *Agesilaüs* reigned only a short time

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5. PRYTANIS. Pausan. III. 7, 2. Εὐρυπῶντος δὲ υἱὸς γίνεται Πρύτανις. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τὸ ἔχθος τε Λακεδαιμονίους ἤρξατο τὸ ἐς Ἀργεῖους, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τούτου πρότερον [sc. in the reign of *Echestratus*] Κυνουρεῦσιν ἐπολέμησαν. Pausanias had already referred this Argive war to the reign of *Labotas*. These two kings were therefore contemporary. This war with the Argives in the reigns of *Labotas* and *Prytanis*, and the wars with the Arcadians in the preceding reigns of *Agis* and *Soüs* and *Eurypon*, are those to which Aristotle refers: see p. 143. w. and by which the Lacedæmonians were prepared for the discipline of *Lycurgus*: Aristot. Ibid. σχολάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν παρεῖχον τῷ νομοθέτῃ προαυδοπεποιημένους· διὰ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον.

6. EUNOMUS or POLYDECTES. See p. 144. z. The two reigns are thus described in Pausanias III. 7, 2. τὰς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ γενεᾷς Εὐνόμου τε τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου βασιλευόντων ἐν εἰρήνῃ διετέλεσεν οὕσα ἡ Σπάρτη. Plutarch. *Lycurg.* c. 2. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνεσεως [in the reign of *Eurypon*] τοῦ μὲν δήμου θρασυνομένου, τῶν δ' ὕστερον βασιλέων τὰ μὲν ἀπεχθανομένων τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς τὰ δὲ πρὸς χάριν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑποφερομένων, ἀνομία καὶ ἀταξία κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον. ὕφ' ἧς καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Λυκούργου [sc. *Eunomus*] βασιλεύοντα συνέβη τελευτῆσαι. διερύκων γὰρ ἀψιμαχίαν τινὰ μαγεirikῇ κοπίδι πληγὴς ἀπέθανε, τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ παιδὶ Πολυδέκτῃ καταλιπὼν τὴν βασιλείαν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ τούτου μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἔδει βασιλεύειν, ὡς πάντες ᾔδοντο, τὸν Λυκούργον, κ. τ. λ. Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 481. Λυκούργον ὁμολογεῖσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἔκτον ἀπὸ Προκλέους γεγονέναι.—ἀδελφὸς ἦν πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Λυκούργου Πολυδέκτης. No distinct acts are ascribed to these two kings. Their reigns are said to have been short and peaceful. That there was a cessation of foreign war between the time of *Prytanis* and the legislation of *Lycurgus* may be collected from σχολάσαντες in Aristotle already quoted.



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(see DORYSSUS), and that the legislation of *Lycurgus* fell within his reign (see p. 143). But here again Apollodorus differed, according to whom *Agesilaüs* reigned 44 years, and died 110 years before Ol. 1; or two years before the birth of *Charilaüs*. Clemens Strom. I. p. 327. A. refers to this reign: 'Απολλόδωρος (ζησὶ φέρεσθαι Ὅμηρον) μετὰ ἑτη ἑκατὸν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας, Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Δορυσσαίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύοντος, κ. τ. λ. See p. 146. According to the dates in Eusebius *Agesilaüs* began to reign in the 115th year after the Ionic migration and died in the 159th; which may be reconciled with Clemens. Apollodorus probably placed the birth of *Homer* at 100 years after the Ionic migration (see p. 146), and his ἀκμή in the reign of *Agesilaüs*.

8. *ARCHELAÛS*. Contemporary with *Charilaüs* (see p. 143), with whom he took Ægys: see p. 143. v. and F. H. II. p. 405. z. Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 5. places them together: αἱς που καὶ λέγεται συμβασιλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαυιάζοντας τὸν νεανίσκον εἰπεῖν, "πῶς ὁ ἄν οὐκ εἴη Χαρίλαος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς οὐδὲ " τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπὸς ἐστί;" Plutarch however in *Mor.* p. 55. E. does not name *Archelaüs*: τὸ τοῦ Λάκωνος ἔχειν πρόχειρον, ὃς, ἐπαινουμένου Χαρίλλου τοῦ βασιλέως, "πῶς οὗτος," ἔφη, "χρη- " στός, ὃς οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς πικρός ἐστί;" and in p. 218. B. he gives the saying to *Archidamidas*: Ἀρχιδάμιδας πρὸς τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα Χαρίλαον ὅτι πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως πρῶος ἦν, "καὶ πῶς τις," ἔφη, δικαίως ἂν ἐπαινοῖτο, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς πρῶος εἴη;" where Wytttenbach observes, *Hoc si vere Archidamidæ tribuitur, ponendus sit in ætate Lycurgi*. This is not necessary. *Archidamidas* might have lived after *Hecataeus* (*Ibid.*), and yet have remarked upon *Charilaüs*. The first passage of Plutarch shews that in his opinion *Archelaüs* was the colleague of *Charilaüs*. They are also joined together in the oracle apud *Ænomaum*: Euseb. *Præp.* V. 32. p. 226. D. διὰ τί δὲ, ὃ σο- σῶτατι ('Απολλων), Χαρίλαος καὶ Ἀρχέλαος οἱ

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From the mutilated account in Eusebius it may be suspected that Apollodorus agreed with Simonides, as in the order, so in the number of these reigns. The father of *Charilaüs* has a short reign in Pausanias, but 45 years in Eusebius; and only 75 years remain to complete the period of Apollodorus between the death of *Procles* and accession of *Prytanis*. These might have been distributed between *Soüs* and *Eurypon*.

7. *CHARILAÛS*. Apollodorus places the beginning of his reign and life 108 years before the olympiad of *Coræbus*. Sosibius gives him 64 years and places his accession only 97 years before that epoch: see F. H. II. p. 409. *Charilaüs* participated in the acts of *Lycurgus*: Plutarch. *Lycurg.* c. 5. μετεῖχε τῶν πραττομένων, φύσει πρῶος ὧν. The testimonies of Aristotle concerning *Charilaüs* have been given at p. 143. w. For the testimonies to his war with Tegea see F. H. II. p. 417. e. In that war *Charilaüs* was taken prisoner: Pausan. VIII. 5, 6. 48, 3.

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Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς,

εἴ κεν ἐπικτήτου μοίρης λάχος Ἀπόλλωνι

ἡμῖν δάσσωνται, πολὺ δῶν ἔσσεται αὐτοῖς;

perhaps referring to their joint conquest of Ægys.

9. TELECLUS. Pausan. III. 2, 5, 6. Ἀγχιλαίου δὲ παῖς ἐγένετο Ἀρχέλαος.—Ἀρχελαίου δὲ ἦν Τήλεκλος. For the acquisitions in his reign see F. H. II. p. 405. z. The war with Amyclæ—ὁ πρὸς Ἀμυκλαεῖς πόλεμος—was noticed by Aristotle ἐν τῇ Λακωνῶν πολιτείᾳ: Schol. Pindar. Isthm. VII. 18. *Teleclus* was slain by the Messenians: Ephorus apud Strab. VI. p. 279. ἐπολέμουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Μεσσηνίοις ἀποκτείναντι τὸν βασιλέα Τήλεκλον εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀφικόμενον ἐπὶ θυσίαν. Pausan. III. 2, 6. οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων [not long after the conquest of Amyclæ] ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλεκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῶν. IV. 4, 2. ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις τοῖς Μεσσηνίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καλουμένης Λιμνάτιδος, μετείχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἳ τε Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ φασιν ὡς—τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἀποκτείναντι—Τήλεκλον Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ Ἀγχιλαίου τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λαβῶτα τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἀγίδος.

The inscription on a shield bearing the name of *Teleclus* and his ancestors up to *Agis*, which Wesseling quotes ad Herodot. VII. 204., is pronounced to be spurious by Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 81. 82.

10. ALCAMENES. Pausan. III. 2, 7. Τηλέκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἀλκαμένης ἔσχεν ὁ Τηλέκλου τὴν ἀρχήν. In his reign Helos was finally subdued: see F. H. II. p. 405. z. According to Pausanias IV. 5, 3. *Alcamenes* commanded in the first expedition of the Messenian war: ἔξοδον νύκτωρ ἐποιοῦντο ἐπὶ Ἀμφειαν, Ἀλκαμένην τὸν Τηλέκλου τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἀποδείξαντες. But before the fifth year he was dead: IV. 7. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετὰ τῆς Ἀμφείας τὴν ἄλωσιν—τοὺς Μεσσηνίους παρέτασεν ὁ Εὐφάης—ἐνιαυτῶν δὲ ὕστερον—ἡγοῦντο οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀμφοτέρω Θεόπομπος τε ὁ Νικάνδρου καὶ Πολύδωρος ὁ Ἀλκαμένους. Ἀλκαμένης δὲ οὐκέτι περιῖν. According to this account the earliest date of his death was B. C.

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8. NICANDER. Pausan. III. 7, 4. μετὰ δὲ Χάριλλον τελευτήσαντα Νικάνδρος ὁ Χαρίλλου διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνίων ἐς Τήλεκλον τὸν τῆς ἐτέρας βασιλείας οἰκίας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λιμνάδος συμβάντα ἐπὶ Νικάνδρου γίνεται βασιλεύοντος. ἐσέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὁ Νικάνδρος στρατιᾷ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐκάκωσε τῆς χώρας. Three apophthegms of *Nicander* are in Plutarch Mor. p. 230. B. the first of which refers to the Argives.

*Nicander* has 39 years in Sosibius, 38 in Apollodorus and in Suidas v. Λυκοῦργος.

9. THEOPOMPUS. The first Messenian war began in the reigns of *Alcamenes* and *Theopompus*: Pausan. IV. 4, 3. βασιλεύοντος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοῦ Εὐνόμου [see p. 144. z] τοῦ Πρυτάνιδος τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος. Apollodorus gives to *Theopompus* 47 years, which are placed at B. C. 785—739, since his 10th year is current in July B. C. 776. Sosibius places his accession 15 years lower, at B. C. 770: F. H. II. p. 409. The date of Apollodorus is refuted by the incidents of the Messenian war. *Theopompus* survived the conclusion of that war upon the testimony of Tyrtæus:



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742. In Apollodorus he has 38 years, and the 10th is current in July B. C. 776. The last year therefore falls upon B. C. 748, and Apollodorus places his reign at least six years too high. If *Alcamenes* reigned 38 years, they are placed by the date of the Messenian war at about B. C. 779—742. In Eusebius *Alcamenes* has 37 years: and Eusebius or Diodorus by an error in the numbers (as already observed p. 332) placed his death yet 28 years higher, at B. C. 776, and 33 years before the beginning of the war in which he bore a part. See p. 145. f.

Wytttenbach animadv. ad Plutarch. tom. I. p. 1160. repeats the date of Larcher for *Alcamenes*: *Cujus obitus incidit in Olympiadum initium A. C. 776 juxta rationes Larcheri et Meursii*. But in that very passage of Plutarch p. 216. F. is a plain allusion to the Messenian war, which commenced under the auspices of *Alcamenes* in B. C. 743.

11. POLYDORUS. According to Pausanias already quoted he succeeded *Alcamenes* between B. C. 743 and 739. That he was contemporary with *Theopompus* is attested by Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 6, and that he survived the foundation of Crotona B. C. 710 is related by Pausanias III. 3, 1. See F. H. II. p. 410. u. Pausanias III. 3, 2. mentions his death: διαπολεμημένου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνὴν πολέμου, —ἔχοντες δὲ ἤδη Πολυδώρου λαμπρὸν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὄνομα, Πολίμαρχος—φονεύει τὸν Πολυδωρον.

12. EURYCRATES. Pausan. III. 3, 3. ἐπὶ μὲν δὲ Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου βασιλεύοντος Μεσσηνίαι τε ἠρείχοντο ὑπὲρ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων ὄντες.

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see the Tables B. C. 723: and probably lived till B. C. 718: Ibid. B. C. 718. If, then, he reigned 47 years, they would commence in B. C. 765, and the date of Sosibius is nearer the truth. *Theopompus* however might begin to reign in B. C. 770, where Sosibius places him, six years after the Olympiad of *Coræbus*; and might reign 52 years, till about B. C. 718.

*Theopompus* instituted the Ephori according to the testimonies in F. H. II. p. 405. a. The date in Eusebius, *Anno* 1259 *Ol.* 5. 4 [B. C. 757]. *Primus Lacedæmone fit Ephorus*, may fall upon the 14th year of *Theopompus*. Herodotus I. 65 (who is followed by Satyrus apud Laert. I. 68) ascribes the institution to *Lycurgus*: τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τοῦτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας, ἔστησε Λυκούργος. And Xenophon Lac. Pol. 8, 3. Stobæus Serm. 44, 37. Plato Epist. VIII. p. 354. Λυκούργος—δείσας περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως ἅμα καὶ γένους φάρμακον ἐπήνεγκε τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἐφόρων δασμὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον. This difference may be reconciled, if we suppose the Ephors to have existed in the time of *Lycurgus* but to have received their powers in the time of *Theopompus*. That *Theopompus* was the founder of their political importance is determined by the superior authority of Aristotle.

A saying of *Theopompus* marking his moderation is recorded by Plutarch Pol. Præc. p. 816. E.

10. ZEUXIDAMUS. Grandson of *Theopompus*: Pausan. III. 7, 5. Ἀρχίδαμον Θεοπόμπου ζῶντος ἔτι ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν· οὐ μὲν ἄταις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, Ζευξίδαμον δὲ ἀπολιπὼν υἱόν. IV. 15, 1. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Θεοπόμπου προαπέθανε τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐς Ζευξίδαμον υἱοῦν ὄντα ἡ Θεοπόμπου περιῆλθεν ἀρχή. He might succeed his grandfather about B. C. 718 (see the Tables, 718. 2) a few years before the death of *Polydorus*. He was therefore contemporary partly with *Polydorus* and partly with *Eurycrates*.

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13. ANAXANDER. Pausan. IV. 15, 1. ὅστερον τρίτῃ γενεᾷ τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ τόνδε [the second war: see p. 251. b] ἐπολέμησαν ἀποδείκυσί τε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ συνεχὲς βασιλεύοντας τηνικαῦτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἀνάξανδρον Εὐρυκράτους τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τῆς δὲ οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Ἀναξιδάμου Ζευξιδάμου τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. According to Pausanias IV. 16, 5. *Anaxander* commands against *Aristomenes*: conf. III. 14, 4. and still directed affairs in the last year of the war: Idem IV. 22, 3. Probably Pausanias had no other authority for this than his own interpretation of Tyrtæus: see p. 252. which was, however, the right interpretation.

14. EURYCRATES II. Pausan. III. 3, 5. Ἀναξάνδρου δὲ υἱὸς Εὐρυκράτης γίνεται, Εὐρυκράτους δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Λέων. ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλευόντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγεάτας πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξανδρίδου τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπικρατέστεροι Τεγεατῶν γίνονται τῷ πολέμῳ.

15. LEON. Contemporary with *Agesicles*, and in the generation preceding *Cræsus*: Herodot. I. 65.

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11. ANAXIDAMUS. Pausan. III. 7, 5. Ζευξιδάμου δὲ Ἀναξίδαμος ὁ παῖς ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου Μεσσηνιοὶ φεύγουσιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πολέμῳ τὸ δεύτερον κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν. He is accordingly contemporary with *Anaxander*, and survives B. C. 668.

12. ARCHIDAMUS. Pausan. III. 7, 6. Ἀναξιδάμου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἀρχίδαμος, Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ Ἀγασικλῆς· καὶ σφισιν ὑπῆρξεν ἀμφοτέροις τὸν βίον διατελέσαι πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ. That this was not true of *Agesicles* appears from Herodot. I. 65. and from Pausanias himself III. 3, 5.

13. AGESICLES. Herodot. I. 65. ἐπὶ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἠγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεάτας μόνους προσέπταιον.

ANAXANDRIDES and ARISTON probably began to reign about B. C. 560<sup>b</sup>. Their predecessors *Leon* and *Agesicles* may accordingly be referred to about B. C. 590 or 600. According to the dates of Pausanias for the first Messenian war the five reigns from *Polydorus* to *Leon* inclusive occupied about 180 years, or 36 years to each; the five contemporary reigns from *Theopompus* to *Agesicles* 210 years, or 42 years to each reign: a proportion exceeding the usual amount, as already observed<sup>i</sup>. But as the date of Pausanias for the first Messenian war is confirmed by the time of *Polycharès*<sup>k</sup>, the reigns of this period seem to belong to those cases in which an average proportion is not to be applied. The average proportion is obtained when the longer reigns of some are compensated by the shorter reigns of others. But this compensation only happens in long tracts of time, comprehending all the vicissitudes of turbulent and quiet periods, or of longer and shorter lives, such as will be found in a long series of reigns. An average will be true of twenty or thirty successive reigns, and yet may not be true of five<sup>l</sup>. But it will be said that in the preceding times the Spartan reigns exceed the

<sup>b</sup> See F. H. II. p. 207.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 206.

<sup>k</sup> See the Tables B. C. 764.

<sup>l</sup> See the Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 87. Five kings of France of the House of *Bourbon* reigned A. D. 1589—1792, 204 years; giving an average of 50 $\frac{1}{2}$  years to each. Six kings of England

A. D. 1199—1399 occupy 200 years, or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  years to each reign; being exactly equal to generations. An average proportion is still more inapplicable to any one particular reign; and an average obtained from the collective amount of 20 or 30 reigns may not exhibit the actual amount of a single reign in the series.



average proportion. From the Return to *Alcamenes* inclusive 10 reigns of the *Agidæ* occupy by the reduced date of Callimachus 307 years, giving  $30\frac{2}{3}$  years to each; and 8 reigns to *Nicander* inclusive in the line of the *Proclidæ* have 278 years, or  $34\frac{3}{4}$  to each. The whole series of 18 reigns to the death of *Leonidas* B. C. 480 gives in 568 years  $31\frac{1}{2}$ , and of 13 reigns to the death of *Agesicles* cir. B. C. 560 gives in 488 years  $37\frac{1}{2}$  to each. We may answer, that an average rule which is founded on the successions in elective governments, as the Roman or German emperors, and especially on elective under peculiar circumstances, as the popes of Rome, is not to be applied to hereditary successions; and that even hereditary reigns, where no cases of disputed succession occur, are not to be measured by a standard obtained from cases of disturbed succession. In applying, then, an average standard<sup>m</sup>, the particular circumstances of the history are to be considered; and in these Spartan reigns from *Aristodemus* to the Persian wars we may admit the argument of Hales<sup>n</sup>, that, there being one minority in the *Agidæ* and two minorities<sup>o</sup> in the *Proclidæ*, the reigns may be taken as equal to generations.

## VII.

### GREEK POETS.

THE early epic poetry of the Greeks may be distributed into three classes; in the first we may place the *ὑμνοὶ* or *τελευταί*, in the second the *Epic cycle*, and in the third the works ascribed to *Hesiod*, together with those poems which, although not included in the Epic cycle, yet described the same subjects.

<sup>m</sup> Newton had assumed the mean length of reigns to be 19 years. Hales vol. I. p. 304. gives a list of ten cases from which he obtains  $22\frac{1}{4}$  years as the average standard. The first three, however, of the cases adduced are taken from periods of fabulous history; his 9th is taken from the German emperors, who are elective.

These being rejected, and the inquiry being limited to known times and hereditary successions, a larger average may be obtained.

In the following Table the first three examples are taken from Hales; the fifth, from Blair and Du Fresnoy:

	Reigns.	Years.	To each.
1. Kings of France A. D. 987—1792 .....	32	806	25
2. ——— Spain A. D. 1027—1788 .....	32	761	24
3. ——— Scotland A. D. 938—1625 .....	33	687	21
4. ——— England A. D. 1066—1819 .....	32	754	$23\frac{1}{2}$
5. ——— Portugal A. D. 1089—1577 .....	17	489	$28\frac{1}{4}$
6. <i>Agidæ</i> from B. C. 560 to B. C. 265 .....	11	295	27
7. <i>Proclidæ</i> B. C. 560—240 .....	12	320	$26\frac{2}{3}$
Mean length of reigns in hereditary successions ...	169	4112	$24\frac{1}{4}$

<sup>n</sup> Hales vol. I. p. 30. But when he adds that we are warranted in considering these 17 generations as equivalent to 19, he assumes more than we can readily admit.

<sup>o</sup> Perhaps three minorities; for it is possible that *Zeuxidamus* grandson of *Theopompus* was also a minor at his accession.

Of the early composers of ὕμνοι or their works nothing satisfactory can now be known. They were referred, however, to the earliest times. *Olen* was the most ancient composer of hymns<sup>a</sup>. The poet *Linus* also preceded *Orpheus*. *Orpheus* himself was an Argonaut. *Musæus* was his contemporary; but of *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and *Musæus*, no genuine works remained. The poems which were circulated under their names were spurious compositions, the productions of aftertimes<sup>b</sup>. *Pamphos* was accounted earlier than *Ho-*

<sup>a</sup> *Olen* is thus mentioned by Pausanias IX. 27, 2. Λύκιος δὲ Ὀλῆν, ὃς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἐποίησεν Ἑλλήσιν, οὗτος δ' Ὀλῆν ἐν Εἰλειθυίας ὕμνῳ [Idem I. 18, 5. θούσι τε Εἰλειθυίᾳ Δῆλιοι καὶ ὕμνον ᾄδουσιν Ὀλῆνος] μητέρα Ἐρωτος τὴν Εἰλειθυίαν φησιν εἶναι. Ὀλῆνος δὲ ὕστερον Πάμφως τε ἔπη καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐποίησαν. X. 5, 4. Βοῶδ' δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνὴ ποιήσασα ὕμνον Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀφικόμενους ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὀλῆνα τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μαντεύσασθαι πρῶτον καὶ ἔσται πρῶτον τὸ ἐξάμετρον. πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ Βοῶδ' τοιαύτῃ

ἐνθα τοι εὐμνήστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο  
παῖδες Ἑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ διὸς Ἀργιεύς.  
ἐπαριθμοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ἑπερβορέων ἐπὶ τελευτῇ  
τοῦ ὕμνου τὸν Ὀλῆνα ὀνομάσεν.

Ὀλῆν θ' ὃς γένητο πρῶτος Φοῖβοιο προφάτας,  
πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτόνας" αἰοδάν.  
Idem V. 7, 4. πρῶτος ἐν ὕμνῳ τῇ ἐς Ἀχαιῶν ἐποίησεν Ὀλῆν Λύκιος, ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἐς Δῆλον ἐκ τῶν Ἑπερβορέων τούτων. on what follows conf. Siebel. ad loc. Bekker. Pausan. tom. I. p. 307. Pausan. II. 13, 3. Ὀλῆνι δὲ ἐν Ἑρας ἐστὶν ὕμνῳ πεποιημένα παρῆναι τὴν Ἑραν ὑπὸ Ὀλῆν, εἶναι δὲ οἱ παῖδας Ἀρην τε καὶ Ἡβην. His hymns were ancient in the time of *Herodotus*: *Herodot.* IV. 35. φασὶ τὴν Ἀρην τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπιν ἐούσας παρθένους ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων—ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον κ. τ. λ.—καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφί τὰς γυναικάς, ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφί Ὀλῆν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε· παρὰ δὲ σφένον μαθόντας ἡσιώστας τε καὶ Ἰωνας ὑμνεῖν Ὀπίν τε καὶ Ἀρην—οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὀλῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιούς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δῆλῳ. Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 134, who gives these passages, adds Suidas: Ὀλῆν Δυμαῖος ἢ Ἑπερβορείος ἢ Λύκιος, ἐποποιός· μᾶλλον δὲ Λύκιος ἀπὸ Εἰάνθου, ὡς δηλοῖ Καλλιμάχος [in Del. 304], καὶ ὁ Πολύστρω ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυκίας. Πολύστρω he explains to mean *Alexander Ephesius*. *Cornelius Alexander Polyhistor* wrote περὶ Λυκίας, and this may be added to the fragments in F. H. III. p. 539. But *Alexander Ephesius* was a different person: *Ibid.* p. 540.

<sup>b</sup> Three of the name of *Linus* are described by *Eudocia* and *Eustathius*. *Eudocia* p. 277. *Eustathius* ad *Iliad*. σ'. p. 1163, 54. and the Scholiast on *Homer* II. σ'. 570. draw from the same sources and concur in the same account: λίνος εἶδος ῥῆος κατὰ Ἀρίσταρχον, ἢ ὕμνον· ὡς καὶ ὁ παῖς καὶ ὁ διθυράμβος [Athen. XIV. p. 619. b. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀττικαῖς φησι λέξεσιν—"λίνος καὶ αἰλι-

νος οὐ μόνον ἐν πένθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ μολπῇ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην"]. ὀνόμασται δὲ λίνος τὸ τοιοῦτον ῥῆϊκόν εἶδος, ἢ ὡς μετὰ λίνου ἦτοι χορδῆς ᾄδόμενος, ἢ ἀπὸ τινος λίνου ἀνδρὸς ἥρωος. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιημάτων τι ἐπὶ τῇ λίνῳ εἶναι ὃ σφαῖρα μὲν καλεῖται εἰς Ὀρφέα δὲ ἀναφέρεται *Eustath.* λίνος Οὐρανίας υἱός, ῥῆος τινος εὐρετής· ὃν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀπόλλων ἐπεὶ τὸν λίνον καταλύσας χορδαῖς ἐνέτεινεν ὄργανον.—Φιλόχορος φησιν [ἢ κατὰ λίνον ἱστορία παρὰ Φιλόχορον ἐν τῇ ιβ' καὶ παρὰ Μελανιππίῃ *Schol.*] ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀναμειβῆναι διότι πρῶτος τὸν λίνον καταλύσας χορδῇ ἐχρήσατο εἰς μουσικῆς ὄργανον *Eudoc. Eustath.* φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Θήβαις ταφῆναι καὶ τιμηθῆναι θρηνηθεῖν ῥῆαῖς, ὥς λινφθίας ἐκάλεσαν. ἔστι δὲ μέλος θρηνητικὸν ὃ λίνος μετὰ ἰσχυροφωνίας ᾄδόμενος *Schol.* ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν θρηνηθεῖσιν ἀπαρχαῖς· εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον·

ὃ λίνε, πάντα θεοῖσι τετιμένε, σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκαν  
ἀθάνατοι πρῶτα μέλος ἀνθρώποις ἀείδειν  
ἐν ποδὶ δεξιτερῇ· μῦσαι δὲ σε θρήνεον αἰτὰι  
μυρόμεναι μαλπῆσιν ἐπεὶ λῖπες ἡλίου αὐγᾶς.  
καὶ Ἡσιόδος·

Οὐρανὴ δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε λίνον πολυήρατον υἱόν·  
ὃν δὴ ὅσοι βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἀοιδοὶ καὶ κιθαρισταὶ  
πάντες μὲν θρηνοῦσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις τε χοροῖς τε.  
ἀρχόμενοι δὲ λίνον καὶ λήγοντες καλέουσιν.

ὃ μέντοι τὸν Ἑρακλῆα διδάσας μουσικὸς λίνος [μουσικὴν *Schol.*] ἔτερος παρὰ τούτων ἐστὶν *Eudoc. Eustath. Schol.* The Scholiast adds, ἀνθρώποισι φωναῖς λινυραῖς ἀεῖσται· Φοῖβος δὲ σε κότῃ ἀναίρει, which might supply another line in the epigram:

ἐν φωναῖς λινυραῖσι· κότῃ δὲ σε Φοῖβος ἀναίρει.  
and a third fragment, which, as Heyne *Hom. tom.* VII. p. 803. remarks, is of a later date:

κρύπτω τὸν θεὸν ἄνδρα λίνον Μουσῶν θεράποντα,  
τὸν πολυθρήνητον λίνον Αἴλινον· ἢ δὲ πατρίδα  
Φοιβείος βέλεσι γῇ κατέχει φθιμένοι.

*Eustathius* proceeds to give what *Eudocia* a century before him had collected from the same sources: οὗ Θεόκριτος μέμνηται, ὃ καὶ ἱστορήσας [XXIV. 103] ὅτι τὸν Ἑρακλῆα γράμματα "λίνος ἐξεδίδαξεν" ὅτι ὁ λίνος Ἀπόλλωνος. φασὶ δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ὅτι λίνῳ ἀντὶ χορδῆς τῶν παλαιῶν χρωμένων πρὸς τὴν κιθάραν, ὕστερον μείναντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἢ χορδῇ λίνον καλεῖται *Eudoc. Eustath.* ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν λίνον οὕτω συντομώτερον φράζουσιν· ἄγροικος νεανίας ὃ λίνος ῥῆος τινος εὐρετής, Οὐρανίας υἱός· ὃν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀπόλλων ἐπεὶ τὸ λίνον καταλύσας χορδαῖς ἐνέτεινεν ὄργανον *Eustath.* Ἡρόδοτος δὲ λέγει ὅτι παρὰ Αἰγυπτίους λίνος τις ἀεῖδεται· καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐκεῖνός φησι τὸν λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα. λέγει δὲ



καὶ ὅτι κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους βασιλεῖς παῖς ἐκείνης μονογενὴς ἦν· ἀποθανὼν δ' αὖρος θρήνους ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίαν ἐτιμήθη, καὶ αὐτὴ αὕτη καὶ μὴν σφίσιν ἐγένετο [sc. Herodot. II. 79]. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναφαίνεται ὅτι κυρίως αἰλίνας ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Λίνῳ αἰαγμός, εἰ καὶ ἄλλως διαφορεῖται τῇ σημασίᾳ κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον εἰπόμενος ὡς ἐν γάμοις μὲν ὥδῃ κ. τ. λ. [sc. XIV. p. 619. b].—ἡ δὲ ἱστορία καὶ τρεῖς παραβιβάσει Λίνους, τὸν τῆς Καλλιόπης, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Χαλκιδέως, καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον *Eudoc. Eustath.* The preceptor of *Hercules* is mentioned by *Diod. III. 66.* from *Dionysius*: φησὶ τοῖνυν παρ' Ἑλλῃσι πρῶτον εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι Λίνον ῥυθμῶν καὶ μέλους ἔτι δὲ, Κάδμου κομισάμενος ἐκ Φινίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταθεῖναι διάλεκτον κ. τ. λ.—τὸν δὲ Λίνον ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ μελῳδίᾳ θαυμασθέντα μαθητὰς σχεῖν πολλοὺς, ἐπιφανεστάτους δὲ τρεῖς, Ἡρακλέα, Θάμυρον, καὶ Ὀρφέα· τούτων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέα—ὑπὸ τοῦ Λίνου πληγαῖς ἐπιτιμηθέντα διοργισθῆναι καὶ τῇ κιθάρᾳ τὸν διδάσκαλον πατάξαντα ἀποκτείνειν. *Ælian V. H. III. 32.* τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὁ Λίνος ἔτι παῖδα ὄντα κιθαρίζον ἐκείκεν κ. τ. λ.—ὁ δὲ ἀναγκτήσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς—ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. *Clemens Strom. I. p. 323. B.* οἱ περὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Λίνον τὸν Ἡρακλέους διδάσκαλον. where he places them in the generation after *Acrisius*. *Apollod. I. 3, 2.* Καλλιόπης καὶ Οἰάγρου, κατ' ἐπικλήσιν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος, Λίνος, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. *Idem II. 4, 9.* ἰδιδάχθη Ἡρακλῆς κιθαριδεῖν ὑπὸ Λίνου· οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ὀρφέου, ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Θήβας καὶ Θεβαῖος γενόμενος ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τῇ κιθάρᾳ πληγῇς ἀπέθανεν. *Alcidamas Ulysses p. 186, 31.* μουσικῇ δὲ Λίνος ὁ Καλλιόπης, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς φονεῖν. where two MSS. apud *Bekker.* have Λίνος, confirming *Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 443.* who restores Λίνος for Τένος. *Eusebius Chron. II.* places *Orpheus* and *Linus* together 85 years before the fall of *Troy*: *Anno 749 Orpheus Thrac cognoscebatur, cuius discipulus Musæus Eumolpi erat. Anno 750 Linus magister Herculis cognoscebatur.* In *Theodoret Serm. II. p. 741.* *Linus* is later: Ὀρφεὺς γενεῇ μὲν πρεσβύτερος τῶν Τρωϊκῶν Λίνος δὲ καὶ Μουσαῖος ἀμφὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ἐγενέσθη, καὶ Θάμυρις μετὰ τούτων, καὶ Φιλάμμου ὡσαύτως. *Suidas v. Λίνος* and *Eudocia p. 282.* Λίνος Χαλκιδεὺς, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Τερψιχόρης· οἱ δὲ, Ἀμφιμάρου καὶ Οὐρανίας. οἱ δὲ, Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Οὐρανίας. λέγεται δὲ πρῶτος οὗτος ἀπὸ Φινίκης γράμματα εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἀγαγεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων, καὶ τῆς λαμπρῆς μούσης πρῶτος γενέσθαι ἡγεμόν. Λίνος ἑτερος, Θεβαῖος, νεώτερος [νεώτερος ποιητῆς *Eudoc.*]. *Herselides apud Plutarch. Mus. p. 1132. A.* mentions *Linus*: Ἡρακλιδέως—τὴν κιθαριδίαν καὶ τὴν κιθαριδεῖν ποιῆσιν πρῶτον φησιν Ἀμφίωνα ἐπινοῆσαι—κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ Λίνον τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας θρήνους ἀποπαύσαντος λέγει. *Tacitus Ann. XI. 14. Quidam Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibus Trojanis Palamedem Argivum memorent sedecim literarum formas—repperisse. Laërt. proem. 3.* παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίους γέγονε Μου-

σαῖος παρὰ δὲ Θεβαίους Λίνος. καὶ τὸν μὲν Εὐμόλπου παῖδά φασι—τὸν δὲ Λίνον παῖδα εἶναι Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μούσης Οὐρανίας—τὸν δὲ Λίνον τελευτήσασιν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος. *Pausanias* also distinguishes three *Lini*: *II. 19, 7.* τάφοι δὲ εἰσιν, ὁ μὲν Λίνου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ψαμάθης τῆς Κροτάπου, τὸν δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λίνου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ ἔπη. *Idem I. 43, 7.* ἐπὶ Κροτάπου λέγουσιν ἐν Ἀργεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην τὴν Κροτάπου τεκεῖν παῖδα ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος κ. τ. λ. This son of *Psamathe* would be seven generations before *Orpheus* and *Hercules*. He describes another *Linus IX. 29, 3.* λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὁ Λίνος οὗτος παῖς μὲν Οὐρανίας εἴη καὶ Ἀμφιμάρου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, μεγίστην δὲ τῶν τε ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι πρότερον ἐγένοντο λάβει δίδαν, ἐπὶ μουσικῇ, καὶ ὡς Ἀπόλλων ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτὸν εξισούμενον κατὰ τὴν ᾠδὴν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Λίνου τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος διήλθεν ἄρα καὶ ἄχρι τῆς βαρβάρου πάσης, ὡς καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις ἔσμα γενέσθαι Λίνον—Παμφῶς δὲ, ὅς Ἀθηναίους τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις, οὗτος ἀκμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ Λίνῳ τοῦ πένθους Οἰτόλινον ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν. And a third the preceptor of *Hercules*: *Ibid.* Θεβαῖοι δὲ λέγουσι παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι τὸν Λίνον.—λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ Θεβαίων, ὡς τοῦ Λίνου τούτου γένετο ὕστερον ἕτερος Λίνος καλούμενος Ἰσμηνίου, καὶ ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον μουσικῆς ὄντα. ἔπη δὲ οὕτε ὁ Ἀμφιμάρου Λίνος οὕτε ὁ τούτου γενόμενος ὕστερον ἐποίησαν· ἡ καὶ ποιηθέντα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα οὐκ ἦλθε. *Conon Narr. 19.* relates the death of *Linus* son of *Psamathe*, also told in *Statius Theb. I. 589.* and referred to by *Ovid Ibis 482.* *Quique Crotopiaden diripuerunt Linon.* conf. *Ibid. 575—578.* But *Conon* ascribes to this *Linus* what *Pausanias* attributes to another: οὕτως ἦν ἐκπρεπὴς ὁ ἐπὶ Λίνῳ θρήνος ὡς ἀπ' ἐκείνων καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα ποιηταῖς παντὸς πάθους παρενθήκη Λίνος ἄδεται, μὴνὰ τε ὠνόμασαν ἀρνεῖον ἔτι ἀρνάσι Λίνος συνανετράφη, καὶ θυσιαν ὄγουσι καὶ ἑορτὴν Ἀρνίδα [ἡμέρας Ἀρνηίδας *Ælian. H. A. XII. 34.*], κτείνοντας ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ κυνῶν ὅσους ἂν εἴρωσι. And the *Schol. on Iliad. σ'. 570.* λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν αἶδε· ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ Λίνῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος παιδί ᾠδὴν ὄντι νηπίῳ καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν διασπασθέντι πρῶτην φθεῖσαν.

We may distinguish at least three *Lini*:

1. *Linus Psamathe et Apollinis*; who belongs to the tenth generation before the Trojan war: *Pausan.*, *Conon*, *Statius*, *Ovid.* celebrated in the *linos*: *Conon. Schol. Iliad. σ'.*

2. *Linus Urania*, slain by *Apollo* in *Eubœa*: *Laërt.* buried at *Thebes*: *Pausan.* *Eudoc. Eustath. Schol. Hom.* celebrated in the *linos*: *Hesiod. Pausan.*

3. *Linus Calliopes et Cæagri vel Apollinis*: *Apollod. Ismenii*: *Pausan.* *Apollinis*: *Theocrit.* The preceptor of *Hercules*, by whom he was slain. *Tacitus* and *Dionysius* apud *Diod.* seem to consider *Linus II.* and *Linus III.* as the same person. *Menagius ad Laërt. proem. 3.* confounds all the three *Lini*. *Heyne ad Apol-*



lod. p. 328. *Linum Orphei fratrem ediderat Apollod.* Debut tamen is qui Herculem erudit esse senior alter ut bene Thebani contendebant apud Pausan. But the preceptor of Hercules was not later than Orpheus; and Pausanias and the Thebans only distinguished him from the son of Urania. Siebelis ad Pausan. IX. 29. p. 93. confounds this third Linus with the first: *Pausanias de Linis duobus:—posterior Ismenii, seu ex vulgari fama Apollinis et Psamathe, apud Apollod. Calliopes, filius, ab Hercule interfectus esse dicitur.* But Pausanias describes three Lini. Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 110. after Suidas takes the son of Urania, the son of Psamathe, and the preceptor of Hercules, for the same person, and distinguishes the son of Ismenius, who was in reality the preceptor of Hercules. Hauptmann, who has written upon this subject, as I learn from Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 111., questions the account of Pausanias, according to Harles p. 112. r. *Linum Ismenii filium a Lino Apollinis filio male distingui a Pausania animadvertit Hauptmannus.* But Pausanias rightly (with a view to the mythological account) distinguishes him from the son of Amphimarus. He mentions no Linus son of Apollo except the son of Psamathe, who perished in his infancy.

The works which bore the name of Linus were ascribed to the second Linus, son of Urania, by Hesiod apud Eustath. He is noticed again in Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 281. A. Ἡσίοδος τὸν κιθαριστὴν Δῖον παντοίας σοφίας διδασκόμενα εἰπών. Heraclides apud Plutarch. and Laërtius also refer them to the son of Urania. Sextus Empiricus p. 259. mentions among those who preceded Homer Δῖον τε καὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον. Celsus apud Origen. I. 16. affirms Δῖον καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Ὀρφέα—εἰς βίβλους κατατεθείσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν δόγματα. but Pausanias already quoted IX. 29. denies that any works of Linus existed, and consequently rejected these works as spurious. The poet-musician is called the son of Apollo by Virgil Eclog. IV. 57. and perhaps by Hyginus fab. 161. *Apollinis filius Linus ex Urania musa;* but he is taken for the son of Psamathe by Servius ad Virgil. l. c. and by Propertius II. 13. 8. *Inachio notior arte Lino;* which is contrary to the fables already noticed concerning Psamathe. Nonnus Dionys. XLI. p. 707. calls the poet Linus Φοιβήϊος Ἀρκὰς ἀλγής; and, as Linus appears among the sons of Lycæon (see above p. 89), it seems probable that some legends reckoned this to be the poet. The other varieties in Suidas and Eustathius appear to refer themselves to the three Lini above mentioned. Δῖος Καλλιόδης Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Τερψιχόρης is Linus III. Δῖος Καλλιόπης and Linus ex Urania Musa in Hygin. fab. 161. is Linus II. Δῖος Νάρκισσος is probably Linus I.

In the preceding testimonies where the accent Δῖος occurs it has been given, since the remark of Servius ad Virgil. l. c. shews that this accent was added. But that this was the wrong accent is evident from Homer, Hesiod, and Nonnus.

Orpheus is mentioned by Aristophanes Ran. 1032. in B. C. 405. He is then mentioned by Isocrates Busir. p. 223. 229. and by Plato Leg. III. p. 677. where he is named as of high antiquity: χίλια ἀφ' ὧ γέγονεν ἡ δὲς τὰ αὐτὰ ἔτη τὰ μὲν Δαίδαλῳ καταφανῇ, τὰ δὲ Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Παλαμῆδει, τὰ δὲ περὶ μουσικὴν Μαρσύᾳ καὶ Ὀλύμπῳ. Ibid. VIII. p. 829. μήδ' ἂν ἡδίων ἢ τῶν Θαμύρου τε καὶ Ὀρφέων ὕμνων. Ion. p. 533. b. ὅστις περὶ μὲν Ὀλύμπου δεινός ἐστιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ περὶ Θαμύρου ἢ περὶ Ὀρφέως ἢ περὶ Φημίου τοῦ Ἰθακησίου βασιφιδεύ. Protag. p. 315. a. κηλῶν ὅσπερ Ὀρφέως. p. 316. d. πρόσχημα ποιῆσθαι—τοὺς μὲν ποιήσιν, οἷον Ὀμηρὸν τε καὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Σιμωνίδην, τοὺς δ' αὖτε τελετὰς τε καὶ χρησμοδίας, τοὺς ἀμφὶ τε Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον. He is mentioned again with Thamyris Rep. X. p. 620. Plato Cratyl. p. 402. b., after quoting Homer and Hesiod, adds, λέγει δὲ πού καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὅτι

Ὀκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλιβήϊος ἦρθε γάμοιο,

ὃς βα κασσηνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθύν ὕπνεν.

But all the works ascribed to Orpheus were rejected by Aristotle as spurious: Cic. N. D. I. 38. *Orpheum poetam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse, et hoc Orphicum carmen Pythagorei ferunt cujusdam fuisse Cercopis.* The forgery was imputed by some to Onomacritus: Clemens Strom. I. p. 332. D. Ὀνομάκριτος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃ τὰ εἰς Ὀρφέα φερόμενα ποιήματα λέγεται εἶναι. Sextus Empir. p. 135. Ὀνομάκριτος ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς. If they were forged by a Pythagorean, they were probably composed after the time of Onomacritus; for Onomacritus was contemporary with Pythagoras himself. Herodorus imagined two Orphei before the Trojan war. Others increased the number: see the passages in Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 355—357. But, as he justly remarks, *Hi Bisaltii et Odrysi Orphei inventi sunt ad componenda veterum scriptorum dissidia, quorum alii Orpheum Aristæi æquale faciunt, alii Argonautis aggregant.*

Musæus is the teacher of Orpheus: Clemens Strom. I. p. 332. D. Ὀρφεὺς ὁ συμπλεύσας Ἡρακλεῖ, Μουσαῖον μαθητὴς, or the disciple: Syncell. p. 156. D. Ὀρφεὺς Θράξ ἐγνωρίζετο. τούτου μαθητὴς Μουσαῖος ὁ Εὐμόλπου υἱός. Pausan. X. 7. 1. Ὀρφέα σεμνολογία τῇ ἐπὶ τελεταῖς καὶ ὑπὸ φρονήματος τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ Μουσαῖον τῇ ἐς πάντα μιμήσει τοῦ Ὀρφέως. Suidas: Μουσαῖος—ἐποποιός, μαθητὴς Ὀρφέως, μᾶλλον δὲ πρεσβύτερος. Diod. IV. 25. Μουσαῖον τοῦ Ὀρφέως υἱοῦ. His works are mentioned with those of Orpheus by Aristophanes Ran. 1033. but the works ascribed to him were forged, or at least interpolated, by Onomacritus: Herodot. VII. 6. Πεισιστρατιδῶν εἰ



*merc.* *Olympus* was referred to the age of *Orpheus*; but the works ascribed to him belonged to a later *Olympus*, whose time may be determined with better certainty, and who may be placed about 50 years after the Olympiad of *Coræbus*<sup>d</sup>.

ἀναβιβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα—ἐχόντες Ὀνομάκριτον [B.C. 485] ἄνδρα Ἀθηναίων χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου.—ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστρατίδου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἀλοῦς ὑπὸ Λάσσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως ἐμποιέον ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμῶν—διὰ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος ταμάλισσα. *Onomacritus* was banished before B.C. 514, when *Hipparchus* died. But *Clemens Strom.* I. p. 332. D. places him too high: Ὀνομάκριτος κατὰ τὴν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἀρχὴν περὶ τὴν πεντηκστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Although we restore the correct date πεντηκστὴν πέμπτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, yet this will still be too early for the time of *Onomacritus* who was living in B.C. 485. *Pausanias* I. 22, 7. mentions *Onomacritus*: ἐγὼ δὲ ἔπη μὲν ἐπελεξάμην κ. τ. λ. See the testimony quoted in the Tables B.C. 566. 3. Conf. IV. 1, 4. ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα. The *Λυκομίδαι* were an old Athenian family: *Plutarch.* Themist. c. 1. ὅτι τοῦ Λυκομηδῶν γένους μετίχθε δὴλόν ἐστι κ. τ. λ. *Hesych.* Λυκομίδαι: γένος Ἰθαγενῶν. They also sang the hymns ascribed to *Orpheus*: *Pausan.* IX. 30, 6.

It is not clear that *Linus* as a person was known to *Homer*, who mentions *λίνον*. It also seems probable that the author of the Hesiodic verses knew nothing of *Linus* son of *Psamathe*, since he makes the son of *Urania* the subject of the mournful song; but those lines indicate an early belief in the existence of a poet of the name of *Linus*. The allusions of *Aristophanes* and the forgeries of *Onomacritus* shew that *Orpheus* and *Musæus* were believed to be ancient poets in the age of *Hipparchus*, and that this was still believed in the time of the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>c</sup> *Pamphos* is mentioned with *Orpheus* and *Musæus* by *Philostratus* Heroic. p. 693=98. (ὁ Ὅμηρος) Ὁρφέα ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν ὑπερβρε, Μουσαῖον δὲ ἐν ψάδαις χρησμῶν. καὶ μὴν καὶ Παμφῶ, σοφῶς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντος ὅτι Ζεὺς εἶη τὸ ζωογονοῦν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἀνίσταται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα, εὐχθέστερον δὲ χρησάμεναι τῇ λόγῳ καὶ καταβιβλημένα ἔπη ἐς τὸν Δία ἥσαντος ἔστι γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Παμφῶ ἔπη

Ζεῦ κῶβιστε, μέγιστε θεῶν, ἐλλυμένε κόπρη  
μηλείη τι καὶ ἱππείη καὶ ἡμιούνη'

τὸν Ὅμηρον ὁ Πρωτεσιδανὴς φησιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῦ Διὸς ἦσαι ὕμνον

Ζεῦ κῶβιστε κ. τ. λ. [II. β'. 412].

These lines were ascribed to *Orpheus* by others: see *Boissonade* ad *Philostrat.* p. 469. *Lobeck* *Aglaopham.* p. 745. *Pamphos* and *Orpheus* are

joined together by *Pausanias* IX. 27, 2. σφίσιν ἀμφοτέροις πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς Ἑρωτα, ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις Λυκομίδαι [see note b] καὶ ταῦτα ᾄδωσιν. As *Philostratus* believed the reputed works of *Orpheus* and *Musæus* to be genuine, he is no good authority for the genuineness of *Pamphos*. Other hymns, however, of *Pamphos* are quoted by *Pausanias*: VII. 21, 3. Πάμφως, ὃς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ὕμνων ἐποίησεν [see IX. 29, 3. quoted p. 342], εἶναι φησι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα

ἱππῶν τε δαυτῆρα νεῶν τ' ἰθυρηδέμενων.

IX. 35, 1. Πάμφως μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ὃν ἴσμεν ἦσεν ἐς Χάριτας—Ὅμηρος δὲ (ἐμνημόνευσε γὰρ Χαρίτων καὶ ὁδ-  
τος)— VIII. 35, 7. δακεῖν δέ μοι, καὶ Πάμφως μα-  
θὼν τι παρὰ Ἀρκάδων πρῶτος Ἀρτεμιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀνό-  
μασε Καλλίστην. These passages mark the opinion of his antiquity. But he was considered later than *Olen*: see p. 341. a. and yet older than *Narcissus*: *Pausan.* IX. 31, 6. Πάμφως γεγονώς πολλοῖς πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νάρκισσος ὁ Θεσπιεὺς Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρός φησιν ἀρπασθῆναι παίζουσαν καὶ ἄνθη συλλέγουσαν κ. τ. λ. This hymn to *Ceres* is quoted again I. 39, 1. ἐποίησε Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς κ. τ. λ. and I. 38, 3. —αἱ θυγατέρες αἱ Κελεοῦ καλοῦσι δὲ σφῶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ὅμηρος [conf. *Fac.* ad loc.] Διογένειαν κ. τ. λ.

<sup>d</sup> Two *Olympi* are distinguished by *Plutarch* Mus. p. 1133. 1134: Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας [add this to the fragments in F. H. III. p. 539. 13] κρούματα Ὀλυμποι ἐφη πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας κομίσαι—Ἐαγιν δὲ πρῶτον αὐλῆσαι, εἴτα τὸν τούτου υἱὸν Μαρσίαν, εἴτα Ὀλυμπον.—λέγεται τὸν προειρημένον Ὀλυμπον αὐλητὴν ὄντα τῶν ἐκ Φρυγίας ποιῆσαι νόμον αὐλητικὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν καλούμενον Πολυκέφαλον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ὀλυμπον τοῦτον φασιν ἕνα τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Μαρσίου πεποιηκότος [l. cum Wytt. τοῦ πεποιηκότος] εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς νόμους. οὗτος γὰρ [sc. *Olympus* I]—τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἀρμονικοὺς ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἷς τὴν χρόνῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν θεῶν. ἄλλοι δὲ Κράτης εἶναι φασὶ τὸν πολυκέφαλον νόμον, γενομένου μαθητοῦ Ὀλύμπου, ὁ δὲ Πρατίνας Ὀλύμπου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ νεωτέρου τὸν νόμον τοῦτον. τὸν δὲ καλούμενον ἀρμάτιν νόμον λέγεται ποιῆσαι ὁ πρῶτος Ὀλυμπος ὁ Μαρσίου μαθητής.—ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν Ὀλύμπου ὁ ἀρμάτιος νόμος ἐκ τῆς Γλαύκου ἀναγραφῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν μάθοι ἂν τις καὶ ἔτι γνῶη ὅτι Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος—ἡμιμήσατο Ὀλυμπον κ. τ. λ. *Thaletas* also imitated *Olympus*: p. 1134. E. Ibid. Ὀλυμπος δὲ, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος φησιν, ὑπολαμβάνεται ὑπὸ τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦ ἡναρμονίου γένους εὐρετῆς γεγενῆσθαι.—φαίνεται δ' Ὀλυμπος αὐλῆσας μουσικὴν τῇ ἀγένητόν τι καὶ ἀγνούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἔμψωσθεν εἰσαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀρχηγὸς



The *Epic cycle* described by Proclus and referred to by other grammarians commenced at the *Theogony*, proceeded through the heroic times, describing the actions of *Hercules* and

γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς. p. 1136. C. "Ὀλύμπου πρῶτον Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ μουσικῆς [F. H. III. p. 473. f] ἐπὶ τῷ Πύθωνι φησιν ἐπικῆδειον αὐλῆσαι Λυδιστῇ. He is named with *Terpander* p. 1137. B. οὐδὲ δὲ ἄγνοιαν οἱ περὶ Ὀλύμπου καὶ Τέρπανδρον καὶ οἱ ἀκολούθησαντες τῇ τούτων προαιρέσει περιεῖλον τὴν πολυχорδίαν τε καὶ ποικιλίαν. μαρτυρεῖ γοῦν τὰ Ὀλύμπου τε καὶ Τέρπανδρον ποιήματα. The power of his melody is mentioned by Aristotle Rep. VIII. 5, 5.—τῶν Ὀλύμπου μελῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ὁμολογούμενας ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς. which is ascribed to the first *Olympus* by Plato Sympos. p. 215. b. ἂν Ὀλύμπου ᾄδει, Μαρσύου λέγου τοῦτον διδάξαντος. Leg. III. p. 677. e. τὰ περὶ μουσικὴν Μαρσύα καὶ Ὀλύμπου. He is quoted by Aristophanes Equit. 9. Ὀλύμπου νόμον. where the Scholiast (repeated by Suidas v. ξυναυλίαν πενήσωμεν) refers it to the disciple of *Marsyas*: ὁ δὲ Ὀλύμπου μουσικὸς ἦν, Μαρσύου μαθητής. And by the author of the *Minos* p. 318. b. ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ αὐτοῦ Ὀλύμπου ὁ Φρύξ—τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐλήματα θεοτάτα ἐστὶ κ. τ. λ. Suidas: Ὀλύμπου Μαίονος, Μυσός, αὐλητῆς καὶ ποιητῆς μελῶν καὶ ἐλεγείων, ἡγεμῶν τε γενόμενος τῆς κρουματικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν αὐλῶν, μαθητῆς καὶ ἐρώμενος Μαρσύου—ἀκουστοῦ καὶ παιδὸς Ὑάγνιδος· γέγονε δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὁ Ὀλύμπου. Philostratus Vit. Sophist. II. p. 574. Μαρσύας ἦρα Ὀλύμπου καὶ Ὀλύμπου τοῦ ἀδελφῆ. Lucian. tom. IV. p. 138. οὐδ' εἰ Μαρσύας ἢ Ὀλύμπου γενήσεσθαι μέλλοιμι λανθάνων. tom. VIII. p. 6. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Μαρσύου ἢ Ὀλύμπου κτησάμενος (αὐλοῦς) αὐλῆσειεν ἂν μὴ μαθὼν. Clemens Strom. I. p. 306. D. Φρύγες γὰρ ἥστην Ὀλύμπος τε καὶ Μαρσύας. But p. 307. C. he seems to describe the same person: Ὀλύμπου ὁ Μυσός τὴν Λύδιαν ἀρμονίαν ἐφιλοτεχνήσεν. Dio Or. I. p. 44. οὐδὲ Μαρσύας αὐτὸς ἢ Ὀλύμπου. On *Marsyas* and *Olympus* conf. Burman. ad Ovid. Met. VI. 400. Perizon. ad *Ælian*. V. H. XIII. 21. Another *Olympus* is mentioned Suid. Ὀλύμπου Φρύξ νεώτερος, αὐλητῆς, γεγονὸς ἐπὶ Μίδου τοῦ Γορδίου. and a third, Ὀλύμπου ὁ τοὺς νόμους τῆς κιθααρδίας ἐκθεῖς καὶ διδάξας. Eustathius ad *Iliad*. α'. p. 27. ult. names *Olympus* without referring to *Marsyas*: ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐλητῆς ὀνομαζόμενος Ὀλύμπου, ὃς μέμνηται ὁ κωμικός [sc. Equit. 9].

The first *Olympus* is placed by Hyginus fab. 273. with *Orpheus* and *Linus* in the second generation before the Trojan war, in the time of *Acastus* son of *Pelias*, who celebrated games at which vicit *Olympus Marsya discipulus tibiis*, *Orpheus Eagri filius cithara*, *Linus Apollinis filius cantu*, *Æmulpus Neptuni filius ad Olympi tibiis voce*. The Parian Marble N<sup>o</sup>. 10. 14. throws them back to a higher point, placing

*Hyagnis* 297 and *Orpheus* 190 years before the Trojan era. But the testimonies which Plutarch has produced make it clear that the minstrel whose compositions charmed in the time of *Aristophanes* and *Plato* and *Aristotle* was a younger *Olympus*, who flourished in the reign of *Midas*. And the time of *Midas* is determined by Eusebius. The mythological *Midas* preceded the time of *Marsyas*, since he is placed by Eusebius Chron. II. 128 years before the Trojan era: Anno 707 [697 Hieron.] *Midas in Phrygia regnavit*. or was contemporary: Justin. XI. 7. *Post Gordium filius Mida regnavit, qui ab Orpheo sacrorum solemnibus initiatus Phrygiam religionibus implevit*. Clem. Al. Protr. p. 10. B. ὁ Φρύξ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μίδας ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Ὀδρύσου μαθὼν. Conon Narr. I. Ὀρφῆος κατὰ Πιέρειαν τὸ ὄρος ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος. Hyginus fab. 191. *Midas rex Mygdonius filius matris deæ—eo tempore quo Apollo cum Marsya vel Pane fistula certavit: quod cum Timolus victoriam Apollini daret, Midas dixit Marsya potius dandam, &c.* The younger *Olympus* therefore belonged to the time of a later *Midas*, whose reign is fixed by Eusebius Chron. II. Anno 1278 Ol. 10. 3 [B. C. 738]. In *Phrygia regnat Midas*. Anno 1321 Ol. 21. 2 [B. C. 695]. *Midas Phrygiæ rex laurino sanguine epoto mortuus est*. In Hieronymus annis 1280—1320 B. C. 736—696. Perhaps to this *Midas* Hellenicus referred the time of *Terpander*, which Clemens seems to understand of the earlier *Midas*: see the Tables B. C. 676. The dates of Eusebius are confirmed by Strabo I. p. 61. οἷ τε Κιμμέριοι—πολλὰκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες· ἥνικα Μίδαν αἱμά τι ταύρου πίνοντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεῶν. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 79. thinks that Strabo contradicts the date of Eusebius: *Si qua fides Straboni, male hic assignatur mors Midæ, quum Strabo dicat tunc hoc contigisse quum Cimmerici Asiam inundarent anno 939. Sane Mida vetustior est Ol. 1<sup>a</sup> annis plus quam 200, æqualis Homero, quod quidem epigramma illud ostendit, χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί κ. τ. λ. Hoc enim epigramma epitaphio ejus Homerus—condidit*. Scaliger is followed by Menag. ad Laërt. 1. 90. and by Maio ad Euseb. p. 324. *Strabo multo ante contigisse eam rem innuit, nempe sub Cimmericorum incursionem anno 939*. But the Cimmericians frequently invaded Asia within a period of 260 years: see the Tables B. C. 635. 617. and especially within the years B. C. 784—635. a period containing the whole reign of *Midas*. And Strabo does not limit their



*Theseus*, the Theban and Trojan wars, the fortunes of the Grecian chiefs after the fall of Troy, and concluded with the return of *Ulysses* to Ithaca and the adventures of his son *Telegonus*<sup>c</sup>. The poets by whom this series of actions was described were called the cyclic poets, and their works the cyclic poems<sup>f</sup>. All the works, however, in which these subjects were

incursions to a single point. He affirms πολλάκις ἐπέβραμον. The date, then, of Eusebius for the death of *Midas* B. C. 696 is perfectly consistent with Strabo. Eustathius indeed ad *Odyss.* λ'. p. 1671, 20. observes, ἔθνος Σαυθικόν—οὐπερ ἀπόμοιρα λέγεται ποτε μικρόν τι πρὸ Ὀμήρου, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ Κυμμερίου βοσκήρου ὀμνηθεῖσα (Τρῆρις δέ, φασιν, ἐκαλεῖντο) πολλὰν τῆς Ἀσίας καταδραμεῖν καὶ τὰς Σάρδεϊς ἐλεῖν, καὶ τῶν Μαγνήτων δὲ πολλοὺς ἀνελεῖν τῶν κατὰ τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐμβαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Φρύγας ὅτε καὶ Μίδας λέγεται αἷμα ταύρου πινόν, ὡς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔσπερος [Plutarch. Flaminin. c. 20. Themist. c. 31. Aristoph. Equit. 84], εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἀπελθεῖν. But Eustathius has blended together two distinct passages of Strabo, namely I. p. 6. quoted in the Tables B. C. 635, and the present passage. The other argument of Scaliger is founded on the life of *Homer* ascribed to Herodotus c. 11. But those verses are ascribed to *Cleobulus* of *Lindus* by Laërt. I. 90, who adds, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Ὀμήρου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα πολλοῖς ἔτισι προέχοντες (φασί) τὸν Μίδαν, thus confirming the date of Eusebius for *Midas*. Herodotus I. 14. mentions *Midas* who made offerings at Delphi before *Gyges*: ὁ Γόγης πῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίου Φρυγίης βασιλῆα ἀνέθηκε γὰρ διὰ καὶ Μίδης κ. τ. λ. rightly referred to the second *Midas* by Wesseling and Larcher ad loc. for in the time of the first *Midas* Delphi probably had not received offerings. But the time marked by Eusebius is consistent; for *Gyges* began to reign according to these dates in the 23rd year of *Midas*. A third *Midas* occurs in Herodot. I. 35. 45. who lived two generations before *Cræsus*, since *Adrastus* was Ἀδρηστος ὁ Γορδίου τοῦ Μίδου, τοῦ βασιλῆος γένους. If this *Midas* was king of Phrygia (which Herodotus does not affirm), he might begin to reign about B. C. 600, nearly a century after the death of *Midas II.* a period too late for the time of the minstrel *Olympus*, who must accordingly be referred to the reign of *Midas II.*, and his ἀκμή may be placed within B. C. 738—700; about 50 or 60 years before the time of *Terpander*. Mr. Muller *Dor.* vol. I. p. 365. makes them contemporary; for which there is no authority, since this is not said in Plutarch p. 1137. B. already quoted. On the contrary, *Thaletas* who preceded *Terpander* imitated *Olympus*.

<sup>c</sup> See Camubon ad Athen. VII. p. 277. d. in Schweighæuser. tom. IX. p. 21. The account

of Proclus apud Photium Cod. 239. p. 378. Gaisford. is this: διαλαμβάνει περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς μυθολογούμενης μίξεως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῇ καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας γενῶσιν ἑκατοντάχειρας καὶ τρεῖς ἑτέρους ἀποτίκτονσι Κύκλωπας. διεξέρχεται δὲ περὶ θεῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μυθολογούμενα καὶ εἰ ποῦ τι καὶ πρὸς ἱστορίαν ἐξαληθίζεται. καὶ περατοῦται ὁ ἐπικός κύκλος ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος, μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσεὺς τῆς εἰς Ἰθάκην ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Τηλεγόνου ἀγνοοῦντος ὡς πατὴρ εἶη κτείνεται. λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων. λέγει καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τῶν πραγματευταμένων τὸν ἐπικὸν κύκλον. The last eight poems in the series are named in the fragments apud Gaisford. p. 471—489. ἐπιβάλλει [sc. Proclus] τοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίοις φερόμενα ἑνδεκα—ἐπιβάλλει δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις Ἰλιάδα Ὀμήρου—μεθ' ἣν ἐστὶν Αἰθιοπίδος βιβλία ε' Ἀρκίνου Μιλησίου—ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἰλιάδος μικρὰς βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχει Μιτυληναίου—ἔπεται δὲ τοῖς Ἰλίου πέρσιδος βιβλία β' Ἀρκίνου Μιλησίου—συνάπτει δὲ τοῖς τὰ τῶν Νόστων βιβλία ε' Ἀδγίου Τροϊζηνίου—μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν Ὀμήρου Ὀδυσσεΐα. ἔπειτα Τηλεγονίας βιβλία δύο Εὐγάμμωνος Κυρηναίου.

<sup>f</sup> The poets are cyclic: Etymol. Νεκᾶδες: παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς αἱ ψυχὰς νεκᾶδες λέγονται. Schol. Hom. Il. γ'. 242. τ'. 326. ψ'. 346. 660. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς. Il. ψ'. 346. Ὀμηρος μὲν ὀπλῶς κ. τ. λ. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀρπυίας αὐτὸν [sc. *Adrasti equum*] γενεαλογοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ κύκλῳ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἐρινύος. Schol. *Odyss.* λ'. 547. ἡ ἱστορία ἐκ τῶν κυκλικῶν. Hor. A. P. 136. *scriptor cyclicus olim "Fortunam Priami"* &c. The poems are cyclic: Schol. *Odyss.* β'. 120. Μυκήνη Ἰνάχου θυγάτηρ καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ ἧς καὶ Ἀρέστορος Ἄργος, ὡς ἐν τῇ κύκλῳ φέρεται. From Pausan. II. 16. 3. we learn that this was in the Ἠοίαι μεγάλαι: whence it seems that this poem was received into the κύκλος. Schol. *Odyss.* δ'. 285. ὁ Ἀντικλῆς ἐκ τοῦ κύκλου. Schol. Soph. CEd. C. 1375. Athen. XI. p. 465. f. τὴν κυκλικὴν Θηβαίδα. The whole body of poetry was called κύκλος: Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1053. τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ κύκλου ἀφείλκυσται. sc. καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἀναθείη, from the *Ilias parva* of *Iæschus*. Proclus in vita Homeri: οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν κύκλον ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. Schol. Eur. Or. 1376. καθάπερ ἐν κύκλῳ λέγει. where the *Ilias parva* is intended: see the Tables B. C. 765.



treated were not included in the epic cycle. But, although all were not included, the epic cycle differed from the greater part of the poems in the third class only in name. In that cycle, which was probably formed by the Alexandrian critics<sup>g</sup>, it was proposed to exhibit a

<sup>g</sup> The formation of the epic cycle must be referred to a much earlier period if the κύκλος was described under that name by *Dionysius of Miletus*. But the literary history of that *Dionysius*, or rather of three *Dionysii* connected with this subject, requires to be carefully considered. According to Suidas *Dionysius of Miletus*, who flourished in B. C. 520, and *Dionysius of Mytilenë* called *Scytobrachion*, who lived about B. C. 100, treated similar subjects of the mythological period. According to Athenæus, *Dionysius of Samos* composed a κύκλος. Diodorus refers to *Dionysius*, without naming which, for the history of *Bacchus*, the *Amazons*, the *Argonauts*, and the *Trojan war*. The Scholiast upon Apollonius on the affairs of the *Argonauts* names the *Milesian* six times and the *Mytilenæan* twice. The passages of Suidas and of Diodorus have been given in F. H. II. p. 371. III. p. 559. and need not be repeated here. But many eminent critics who have examined these passages have arrived at very opposite conclusions upon them. Jonsius Script. Hist. Phil. p. 251. suspects that the *Dionysius* of Diodorus may be *Scytobrachion*: *Huc forte respexit Diodorus*. Wesseling on the contrary ad Diod. tom. II. p. 537, pronounces that Diodorus referred to the ancient *Milesian Dionysius*, and that his κύκλος ιστορικὸς contained the particulars described by Diodorus. He considers Diod. IV. 41. and Apollodorus I. 9, 19. to be drawn from the *Milesian*: tom. III. p. 495. *Puto Diodorum vestigiis Dionysii Milesii, quo de III. 66., inhæsisse, Herculi Argonautarum principatum contribuentis in Apollod. I. 8 [I. 9], 19.* Again at IV. 48. for Ἰφίτων he reads Ἴφιν, and observes, *meæ correctionis fidem præstabit Dionysius Milesius in Schol. Apollon. IV. 223. Hæc conjecturam affirmant et suspicionem in quam ingressus sum de Dionysio Diodori duce ratam habent.* At IV. 49. Βύζαντος he finds another coincidence: *Id ad hunc locum opportunum est, Dionysium Milesium auctorem esse Byzantii Jasonis et Medææ nuptias fuisse sociatas in Schol. Apollon. IV. 1154.* Heyne ad Apollod. p. 980. pronounces that Apollod. I. 9, 19. refers to the *Milesian*; that the *Milesian* is quoted by Athenæus under the name of the *Samian*; that he composed a κύκλος μυθικὸς, and that this is the work which Diodorus quotes. Wesseling and Heyne have been followed in II. p. 371. and III. p. 559. and many others after their opinion (as Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 378. qq) have held that *Dionysius* the *Milesian*, *Dionysius* the *Samian*, and *Dionysius* quoted by Diodorus, were the same person.

Mr. Bernhardt ad Dionys. Perieg. p. 490. 491. considers the *Milesian* and the *Samian* to be the same person, but contends that the accounts of Diodorus are derived from the *Mytilenæan*: *Quis est quin, etiam Suida colato, Dionysium agnoscat Mytilenæum, cui et studia hujuscemodi convenerint et argutula doctæ Alexandria subtilitas et industria, Milesium vero — ab isto literarum instituto penitus abhorruisse intelligat?* And he concludes that Apollodorus also quoted *Scytobrachion*: *Quæ si vere pronuntiavimus, tum multi loci medicinam expectant, ut Scholiorum in Apollonium, tum Scytobrachion Apollodori tempora excedit.* Mr. Lobeck Aglaophamus p. 990. concurs in the opinion that Diodorus drew from the *Mytilenæan*. He argues with much force that the strain of interpretation applied to ancient fables in Diod. III. 65—69. is such as could not have been written before the time of *Euhemerus*, and that these interpretations consequently proceeded from the later *Dionysius*; that Diodorus IV. 47.—τὸν δὲ παιδαγωγὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κρίον—agrees with Schol. Apollon. IV. 177. quoting Διονύσιος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος. It must be observed, however, that this passage is three times quoted in Schol. Apollon., namely I. 256. II. 1144. and IV. 119. without the addition of Μιτυληναῖος; and that such an interpretation as this of Κρίος was sometimes adopted by early writers appears from Plato Phædro p. 229. c. d. referred to by Lobeck himself. Mr. Lobeck observes that the question is further involved by the mention of another *Dionysius*: *quod Dionysius Olynthius de Homeri ætate disputasse dicitur Tatiano c. 48.*

The arguments of Bernhardt and Lobeck have made it most probable that Diodorus in III. 65—67. follows the *Mytilenæan*. Apollodorus I. 9, 19. supplies no internal evidence to determine from which *Dionysius* he is quoting: Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἡγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γενέσθαι. But the later *Dionysius* was not below his time. He who could quote *Castor* (F. H. III. p. 546) might quote *Scytobrachion*, who probably preceded *Castor*. The Scholiast upon Apollonius might draw from both *Dionysii*, and then the two passages in which Μιτυληναῖος occurs will require no correction. Of *Dionysius Olynthius* it must be remarked that he lived before *Ephorus*: Tatian. p. 106. περὶ Ὀμήρου—προηρηνύσαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι κ. τ. λ.—Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσέως καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλυνθίος μετ' ἐκείνους Ἐφωρος. The



connected series. When two or more poems were found upon the same argument, only one would be received. The compilers of the collection, when a choice was offered, would select that which was most convenient for their purpose. Hence Proclus observes that the poems of this collection were not chosen for their poetical merit, but for their fitness in supplying the connexion. The works, then, which were omitted were not of less authority than the others. The *Theogony* of *Hesiod* was not inferior to the poem of that title which was received into the cycle. The *Ἡράκλεια* of *Cinæthion* and the *Ἡράκλεια* of *Pisander* were of equal value in the eyes of the ancient critics as records of the acts of *Hercules*. The selection of one would be no disparagement to the other. But when this epic cycle was once formed, it would naturally happen that the works contained in it would be more generally read than the others; and the cyclic poems would be preserved while others had perished. Hence the whole collection survived till the time of *Proclus*, and was consequently extant at least as late as A.D. 450, when *Proclus* was forty years of age.

The works included in the cycle were not arranged with reference to the order of time in which they were composed, but solely with reference to the order of events. Before, however, we consider the poets themselves in their chronological order, it will be advantageous to survey the principal ancient poems the titles of which remain; placing them in the order pre-

testimonies to the author of the κύκλος are these: Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1116. Διονύσιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦ κύκλου βύρσαν αὐτὸν [sc. *Argum* πανόπτην] ἠμφιέσθαι φησὶ καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ σῶμα ἕλιν ἑμματοῦσθαι. Schol. Pindar. Isthm. IV. 109. περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἐκ Μεγάρων παιδῶν) διαλλάττουσι Διονύσιος μὲν ἐν πρώτῳ κύκλῳ Θηρίμαχον καὶ Δηϊκόωντα. Clemens Al. Protrept. p. 30. D. πολλοὶ δ' ἂν τάχα πονεῖν μάστιγι εἰ μάστιγι τὸ Παλλὰδιον τὸ διοπετὲς καλούμενον, ὃ Διομήδης καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἱστοροῦνται μὲν ὑφειλέσθαι ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, παρακαταθέσθαι δὲ Δημοφῶντι, ἐκ τῶν Πέλοπος ὁσίων κατεσκευάσθαι—καὶ δὴ τὸν ἱστοροῦντα Διονύσιον ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ μέρει τοῦ κύκλου παρίστημι. Athen. XI. p. 477. d. Διονύσιος ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν κισσύβιον κυμβίον ἔφη, γράφων οὕτως: “Καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔδωκε ταῦτα ποιῶντα πληρώσας τοῦ “ὅσσιν κυμβίον ἔδωκε πιεῖν.” p. 481. e. Διονύσιος ὁ Σάμιος ἐν ἑκτῳ περὶ τοῦ κύκλου—φησὶν ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς πληρώσας κυμβίον ἀκράτου ἔρεξε τῷ Κύκλωπι. Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Opp. p. 15. τὸν παλαιὸν δὲ Ὀμηρον Διονύσιος ὁ κυκλογράφος φησὶν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὑπάρχειν τῶν Θηβαϊκῶν στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως. Idem Chil. XII. 184. ὁ κατὰ Διονύσιον ἄνθρωπος τὸν κυκλογράφον ἐπὶ τῶν δύο στρατειῶν λεγόμενος ὑπάρχειν Θηβαϊκῇ; Ἑλλήνων τε τῆς διὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Διδοῦνός τε σύντροχα λέγει Διονύσιον. Schol. Eur. Or. 988. λέξιμα: ἀκολουθεῖν δοκεῖ τῷ τῇ Ἀλκμαιωνίδῃ πεποιημένῳ εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄρνα, ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ κυκλογράφος φησὶ. There can be no doubt that all these passages refer to the same *Dionysius*. But the last establishes that the κυκλογράφος was not the *Milesian*. For as he remarked upon the *Orestes* of Euripides, he must have written after B. C. 408; more than a century below the first notice of the early historian *Dionysius of Miletus*. And that early historian

wrote in Ionic; but there are no vestiges of this dialect in the short sentence quoted by Athenæus. It follows then that the *Samian Dionysius* author of the κύκλος was a different person from the *Milesian*; and yet distinct from *Scyto-brachion*, who is mentioned by Athenæus on another occasion XII. p. 515. d. We may conjecture that the κυκλογράφος flourished in the times of the Alexandrian critics, and that after they had formed the epic cycle he described the arguments in a work in prose. In the first book he related the tale of *Io*; in the fifth he had arrived at the Trojan war, and in the sixth at the adventures of *Ulysses*. It is not unlikely that κύκλος ἱστορικὸς ἐν βιβλίῳς ἑπτὰ was this very work of the κυκλογράφος, ascribed to the *Milesian* by a mistake of Suidas.

According to Salmasius Exerc. Plin. p. 597. A. B. 602. B. 603. E. Aristotle referred to the epic cycle by the name of κύκλος. Sophist. Elench. tom. I. p. 292. A=p. 171. a. Bekk.=tom. III. p. 558 Buhle: ὅτι ἡ Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως σχῆμα διὰ τοῦ κύκλου. But the term κύκλος is here used by Aristotle in another sense, not in the technical sense which it afterwards acquired; and it will not justify Salmasius in substituting *Eὐμήλεον* for Ὀμήρου. In the expression quoted above from Proclus, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν κύκλον ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς Ὀμηρον, Proclus merely describes by a term familiar in his own time the Ἰλιάς μικρά, Θηβαῖς, Κύπρια, and other poems, which some of the ancients attributed to *Homer*; but it does not follow that these were known to the ancients by the appellation of κύκλος.

scribed by *Proclus*. The following catalogue contains nearly all the titles of the cyclic poems; but as it cannot now be known in every case, when more than one upon the same subject occurs, which was received and which omitted, there are some in this list which did not belong to the cycle.

§. 1. *Θεογονία*. The cyclic *Θεογονία* was distinguished from that of *Hesiod*<sup>h</sup>.

§. 2. *Τιτανομαχία*. Eusebius quoted in note <sup>b</sup>. Athen. VII. p. 277. d. ὁ τὴν *Τιτανομαχίαν* ποιήσας, εἴτ' Εὐμηλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτῖνος ἢ ὅστις δὴποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ οὕτως εἶρηκεν·

ἐν δ' αὐτῇ πλωτοὶ χρυσώπιδες ἰχθύες ἔλλοι  
νύχοντες παίζουσι δι' ὕδατος ἀμβρόσιου.

ἔχαιρε δ' ὁ Σοφοκλῆς τῷ ἐπικῶ κύκλῳ, ὡς καὶ ὅλα δράματα ποιῆσαι κατακολουθῶν τῇ ἐν τούτῳ μυθοποιᾷ<sup>i</sup>.

§. 3. *Γιγαντομαχία*. Euseb. l. c. Schol. Apollon. I. 554. ὁ τὴν *Γιγαντομαχίαν* ποιήσας φησὶν ὅτι ὁ Κρόνος μεταμορφωθείς εἰς ἵππον ἐμίγη Φιλύρᾳ τῇ Ὠκεανοῦ· διόπερ καὶ ἵπποκένταυρος ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χείρων.

These three titles are arranged with certainty. In the next fourteen poems the order is not so evident. Some of them describe contemporary actions; others embrace long periods of time.

§. 4. *Ναυπακτικά*. So named from the author, as the *Κύπρια* were named from the author<sup>k</sup>.

The *Ἡοῖαι μεγάλοι*, which were on the same subject as the *Ναυπάκτια*, will be considered below, among the poems attributed to *Hesiod*.

§. 5. *Φορωνίς*<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Philo Byblius apud Euseb. Præp. I. 10. p. 39. D. ἔθεν Ἡσίοδος οἱ τε κυκλικὸι περιηχημένοι θεογονίας καὶ γιγαντομαχίας καὶ τιτανομαχίας ἐπλάσαν ἰδίας καὶ ἔκτομάς, οἷς συμπεριφερόμενοι ἐξενίκησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

<sup>i</sup> Schol. Apollon. I. 1165. Εὐμηλὸς ἐν τῇ *Τιτανομαχίᾳ* τὸν Αἰγαίωνα Γῆς καὶ Πόντου φησὶ παῖδα, κατοικύντα δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τοῖς Τιταῖσι συμμαχεῖν. To the *Τιτανομαχία* we may probably refer the line in Athenæus occurs as to the author: Εὐμηλὸς ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτῖνος [conf. Schweigh. ad loc.] τὸν Δία ὀρχούμενον που παράγει λέγων

μέσσοισιν δ' ὀρχεῖτο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

<sup>k</sup> Pausan. X. 38, 6. τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ *Ναυπάκτια* ὀνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσποιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλήσιον· Χάρον δὲ ὁ Πύθεω φησὶν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι *Ναυπάκτιον* Καρκίνον. ἐπόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ δόξῃ· τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχει ἀνέπεσον ἀνδρὸς Μιλήσιον πεποιημένους ἐς γυναικας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα *Ναυπάκτια*; Schol. Apollon. II. 299. τοῦτο δὲ φησι καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* (sic) ποιήσας. Perhaps the Milesian to whom some attributed this poem was called *Neoptolemus*. Pausan. IV. 2, 1. πυνθῆσθαι ἐθελήσας οἷτινες παῖδες Πολυκάωνι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τὰς τε Ἡοίας καλούμενας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ *Ναυπάκτια*, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως Κιναιθῶν καὶ

Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν. II. 3, 7. ἔπη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλησι *Ναυπάκτια* ὀνομαζόμενα· πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσωνα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελοῦ θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοικῆσαι κ. τ. λ. Apollod. III. 10, 3. (εὗρον δὲ ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ) Ἰππόλυτον, ὡς ὁ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* συγγράψας λέγει. Herodian. περὶ μὲν. λέξ. p. 15. παρὰ τῇ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* ποιήσαντι·

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο οἰκία ναυετάσκει πολὺβρην, πολυβοώτης.

Schol. Apollon. III. 515. cod. Par. ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος τρεῖς μόνους λέγει ὑποστῆναι ζευξαί τοὺς βόας, ὁ δὲ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* ποιήσας πάντας ἀριθμεῖ τοὺς—ἀριστεῖς. 523. ἐν δὲ τοῖς *Ναυπακτικοῖς* Ἰδμῶν ἀναστὰς Ἰάσωνα κελεύει ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἄθλον. IV. 59. παρὰ τῇ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* πεποιηκῆναι οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ἐξιῶσα ἡ Μῆδεια, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐστίαν καλουμένη κ. τ. λ. IV. 86. ὁ δὲ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* πεποιηκώς—

δὴ τότε ἄρ' Αἰήτη πόνον ἔμβαλε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
Εὐρυλότῃ φιλότῃ μιγήμεναι, ἥς ἀλόχοιο,  
κηδομένη φρεσὶν ἦσιν, ἔπος μετ' ἄεθλον Ἰήσων  
νοστήσῃ οἰκάνδε σὺν ἀγχεμαχῶσι ἐτάροισιν.

ὁ δὲ Ἰδμῶν συνῆκε τὸ γεγονός καὶ φησὶ·  
φευγόμεναι μεγάροιο θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

τὴν δὲ Μῆδειαν τὴν ποδοφοβίαν ἀκούσασαν ἀναστᾶσαν ἐξορμῆσαι.

<sup>l</sup> Schol. Apollon. I. 1129. ὁ τὴν *Φορωνίδα* συνθεῖς, γράφων [γράφει cod. Par.] οὕτως·



§. 6. Δαναΐς<sup>m</sup>.

§. 7. Κορινθιακά. See the Tables B. C. 744.

§. 8. Ἀλκμαιωνίς<sup>n</sup>.

§. 9. Αἰγίμιος<sup>o</sup>.

§. 10. Ἡράκλεια *Cinathonis*. See the Tables B. C. 765.

§. 11. Ἡράκλεια *Pisandri*. See the Tables B. C. 647.

§. 12. Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις<sup>p</sup>.

—ἔθνα γόητες

Ἰδαῖοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι οἰκί' ἔκαιον,  
Κέλμις Δαμναμενεὺς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἀκμων,  
εὐπάλαμμι θεράπωντες ὀρείης Ἀδρηστείης·  
οἱ πρῶτοι τέχνην πελομήτιος Ἡφαίστου  
εἶρων ἐν εὐρείῃσι νάπαις, ἰδόντα σίδηρον,  
εἰς πῦρ τ' ἤρεγκαν καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν.

Strabo X. p. 472. ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα στέψας [γράφας *Casaubonus* aliique] αὐλητὰς καὶ Φρύγας τοὺς Κουρή-  
τας λέγει. Clemens Strom. I. p. 321. A. ὁ τῆς  
Φορωνίδος ποιητὴς εἶναι αὐτὸν [sc. *Phoroneum*] ἔφη  
πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. Idem p. 349. A. γράφει  
γὰρ ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα ποιήσας

Καλλιθέῃ κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης,  
Ἥρης Ἀργείης, ἥ στέμματα καὶ δυσάνοισι  
πρώτῃ κόσμησεν περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης.

<sup>m</sup> Harpocr. αὐτίχθινες:—ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ τὴν  
Δαναίδα πεπονηκώς φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον ἐκ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαί-  
στου φανῆναι. Clem. Al. Strom. IV. p. 522. C.  
λέγει ὁ τὴν Δαναίδα πεπονηκώς ἐπὶ τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων  
εἶναι

καὶ τότε' ἄρ' ἐπλήζοντο θεῶς Δανααῖο θύγατρες  
πρόσθεν εὐβέρειος ποταμοῦ Νείλου ἀνακτος,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

<sup>n</sup> Apollod. I. 8, 5. Τυδεὺς—ἐφυγαδευθῇ, κτείνας—  
ὡς ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα [Ἀλκμαιωνίδα Bentr. ad Mill.  
p. 17] γεγραφὸς τοῖς Μέλανος παῖδας, ἐπιβουλευόντας  
Οἰκίῃ, Φηρία, Εὐρύαλῳ, κ. τ. λ. Strabo X. p. 452.  
ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γράφας Ἰκαρίου τοῦ Πηνελόπης  
πατρὸς υἱεὶς γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀλυξία καὶ Λευκάδιον δύνα-  
στέσθαι δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀκαρνανίᾳ τούτους μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς.  
Schol. Eur. Or. 988. ἀκολουθεῖν δοκεῖ τῇ τὴν Ἀλκ-  
μαιωνίδα πεπονηκῆτι—ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γράφας  
τὸν τοιμὲνα προσαγαγόντα τὸ πῦρ μετὰ Ἀτρεΐ ἀνατο-  
καλεῖ. Athen. XI. p. 460. b. ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα  
δὲ ποιήσας φησὶν

—νέαν δὲ χαμαιστράτους ἐπὶ θυρὸς  
εἰρήνης στιβάδος προέθηκε' αὐτοῖσι θάλασσαν  
δαῖτα ποτήρια τε, στιφάκους τ' ἐπὶ κρασὶν ἔθηκεν.

Schol. Eur. Androm. 678. καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα  
πεπονηκὸς φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Φάκιος

ἔθνα μὲν ἀντίθιος Τελαμῶν τροχιδεῖδι δίσκῳ  
πλήξε κάρη, Πηλεὺς δὲ θεῶς ἀνὰ χεῖρα τανύσσας  
ἀξίῳ ἐχθαίκεν ἐπιπλήγει μετὰ νῦτα.

<sup>o</sup> Athen. XI. p. 503. d. καὶ ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον δὲ ποι-  
ήσας, εἰθ' Ἡσιόδῳ ἐστὶν ἡ Κέρκυρα ὁ Μελήσιος,  
ἔθνα πόν' ἔσται ἰμὸν ψακτῆρον, ὄρχαμα λαῶν.

Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1116. ὁ δὲ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας  
φησὶ

καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοπον Ἄργον ἔει κρατερὸν τε μέγαν τε,  
τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν δρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
ἀκάματον δὲ οἱ ἄρσε θεὰ μένος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος  
πίπτει ἐπὶ βλεφάροις, φυλακὴ δ' ἔχεν ἔμπεδον αὐτόν.

Schol. Apollon. III. 587. ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας διὰ  
τὸ δέρας τὸν Φρίξον αἰθαίρετως φησὶ προσδεχθῆναι. IV.  
816. ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας ἐν δευτέρῳ φησὶν ὅτι ἡ Θέτις  
εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος ζέοντα ἐνέβαλε τοὺς ἐκ Πηλέως γενο-  
μένους αὐτῇ παῖδας, βυλωμένη εἰδέναι εἰ θνητοὶ εἰσιν.  
Steph. Byz. Ἀβάντις. ἡ Εὐβοία. ὡς Ἡσιόδῳ ἐν Αἰγί<sup>\*\*</sup>  
δευτέρῳ [ἐν Αἰγίμου δευτέρῳ Jac. Gronovius] περὶ  
Ἰούς

—νήφον ἐν Ἀβάντιδι δίῃ,  
τὴν πρὶν Ἀβάντιδα κύκλῳσεν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες,  
τὴν τότε' ἐπάνυμον Εὐβοίαν βοὸς ἀνάμασε Ζεὺς.

On the argument of the Αἰγίμιος see Groddeck  
quoted by Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 592.  
If this poem included the return of the *Hera-  
clida* into Peloponnesus, as Groddeck supposes,  
it could scarcely have been a cyclic poem, since  
the κύκλος terminated at the death of *Ulysses*  
about 60 years before.

P Strabo IX. p. 438. ζητοῦσι μάλιστα τίς ἦν ἡ  
ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείους ἀλούσα, καὶ περὶ τίνος συνέγραψεν ὁ ποιή-  
σας τὴν Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν. Generally ascribed to  
*Creophylus*: Strabo XIV. p. 638. Σάμιος δ' ἦν  
καὶ Κρεώφυλος, ὃν φασὶ δεξάμενον ξενίᾳ ποτὲ Ὅμηρον λα-  
βεῖν δῶρον τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ ποιήματος ὁ καλοῦσιν Οἰχα-  
λίας ἄλωσιν. Καλλιμάχος δὲ τοῖναυτίον ἐμφαίνει—ὡς ἐκ-  
εῖνον μὲν ποιήσαντος λεγομένου δ' Ὁμήρου διὰ τὴν λεγο-  
μένην ξενίαν, “Τοῦ Σαμίου πόνος εἰμὶ”—[Epigr. 6].  
See Eustathius ad Il. β'. p. 330. Sextus Empir.  
p. 225. quoted by Tzschutk. ad Strab. l. c. Fa-  
bricius B. G. tom. I. p. 18. Clem. Al. Strom.  
VI. p. 628. B. Πανίας ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς (ὑπερέλε-  
νος) παρὰ Κλεοφύλου (sic) τοῦ Σαμίου τὴν Οἰχαλίας  
ἄλωσιν. Proclus in Vit. Hom. p. 466. λέγουσιν  
Ὅμηρον εἰς Ἴον πλεύσαντα διατρίψαι μὲν παρὰ Κρεω-  
φύλῳ, γράψαντα δὲ Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσιν τούτῳ χαρίσασθαι,  
ἥ τις νῦν ὡς Κρεωφύλου περιφέρεται. Hence Schol.  
Soph. Trach. 266. διαφωνεῖται ὁ τῶν Εὐρυτιδῶν ἀριθ-  
μός. Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν γὰρ δ' φησὶ—παῖδας—Κρεώφυλος δὲ β'.  
Plato Rep. X. p. 600. ὁ Κρεώφυλος ὁ τοῦ Ὁμήρου  
ἐταῖρος. Explained by Photius lex. Κρεώφυλος.  
πολιτείας ἰ. —τοῦτέν τινες καὶ διδάσκαλον Ὁμήρου λέ-

§. 13. Μινυάς 9.

§. 14. Ἀτθίς. That the Ἀτθίς of *Hegesinus* was not in the cycle is probable, because it had perished before the time of Pausanias<sup>1</sup>. But the cyclic Ἀτθίς, if there was a poem of the name in the collection, survived till the time of Proclus, who observes of the cyclic poems, ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται.

§. 15. Θησής. Aristot. Poët. c. 8. ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακλεῖδα καὶ Θησίδα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν. Græfenham ad loc. *Intelliguntur poëtae cyclici, qui ex Schlegelii divisione medium epici carminis ævum representant*<sup>2</sup>.

§. 16. Ἀμαζονία. Mentioned among the poems ascribed to *Homer* by Suidas "Ὀμηρος, p. 682.

§. 17. Ἀργοναυτικά. Although no testimony remains to any early poem bearing this title, yet we may infer that such a poem once existed from *Herodorus*, who lived before Aristotle, and composed an Ἀργοναυτικά (F. H. III. p. 560. k), which was doubtless a narrative in prose of what had been related in verse by some early epic poet<sup>3</sup>.

γενεσι γεγονέναι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ ποίημα Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσης. ἀρχαῖος μὲν ὢν ἰστί, νεώτερος δὲ ἰκανῶς Ὀμήρου. Schol. Platon. p. 421. Bekk. Κρεώφυλος Χίος, ἐποποιός. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν ἰστέρησαν γαμβρὸν Ὀμήρου ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ, καὶ ὅτι ὑποδείξας Ὀμηρον ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ποίημα τῆς Ἰλιάδος, a mistake of the writer for Οἰχαλίας ἀλώσεως. With reference to this poem *Creophylus* is mentioned Schol. Eur. Med. 276. Δίδυμος—παράκειται τὰ Κρεώφυλου ἔχοντα οὕτως· τὴν γὰρ Μήδειαν λέγει διατρίβουσαν ἐν Κερύνη κ. τ. λ. Pausan. IV. 2, 2. de *Æchalia*: τῷ Εὐρύφω λόγῳ Κρεώφυλος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖα πεποίηκεν [Ἡρακλῆα πεποίηκεν Bentl. Porson. ἐν Οἰχαλίᾳ πεποίηκεν Menag. ad Laërt.] ὁμολογοῦντα. Siebelis ad loc. and Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 17. retain Ἡρακλεῖα. Whatever was the reading, the Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσης was the poem intended by Pausanias. The fables concerning *Creophylus* as connected with *Homer* in these passages, and in Heraclid. Polit. p. 206. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 4. are examined by Heyne ad Hom. II. α'. tom. VIII. p. 807.

Since this poem was still extant in the age of *Proclus* A. D. 450, this is one argument that it was included in the epic cycle.

9 Pausan. IV. 33, 7. Προδικος Φωκαεὺς (εἰ δὲ τοῦτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη) προσκεῖσθαι φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Αἰδου δίκην. X. 28, 4. ἡ Μινυάς τε καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι (μνήμη γὰρ ἐν ταύταις καὶ Αἰδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστίν) ἴσασιν οὐδένα Εὐρύνομον δαίμονα. IX. 5, 4. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν Αἰδου δίκην δίδωσιν Ἀμφίον—κατὰ δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔστι ποιήσεως Μινυάδος· ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν Ὀρφέα Θάμυριν. X. 31, 2. de *Meleagri morte*: αἱ Ἡοῖαι τε καλούμεναι καὶ ἡ Μινυὰς ὁμολογήκασιν ἀλλήλαις. X. 28, 1. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Μινυάδι ἐς Θησέα ἔχοντα καὶ Πειρίδιν,

ἐνθ' ἦτοι νέα μὲν νεκνύμβιατον, ἣν ὁ γεραῖος πορθέμευς ἦγε Χάρων, οὐκ ἔλλαβον ἐνδοθεν ὄρμον.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. IX. 29, 1. Ἡγησίνους ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι.

Ἀσκηρ δ' αὖ παρέλετο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,  
ἣ δὲ οἱ τέκε παῖδα περιπλομένων ἑναυτῶν  
Οἰάκλον, ὃς πρῶτος μετ' Ἀλκιόος ἔκτισε παῖδων  
Ἀσκηρην, ἣθ' Ἐλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πιδάκοντα.

ταύτην τοῦ Ἡγησίνου τὴν ποιήσιν οὐκ ἐπελεξάμεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον αἶρα ἐκλελοιπυῖα ἦν πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι· Κάλυππος δὲ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ ἐς Ὀρχομένους συγγραφῇ μάρτυρα ποιεῖται τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Ἡγησίνου τὰ ἔπη.

<sup>2</sup> Another *Θησής* is quoted Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 52. θήλειαν δὲ εἶπε καὶ χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον [sc. *Pindarus*] ἀπὸ Ἰστρίας. ὁ γὰρ *Θησίδας* γράφας τοιαύτην αὐτὴν λέγει καὶ Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμειρεὺς καὶ Φερικύδης. This *Θησής* was probably not a cyclic poem, but the *Θησής* of *Diphilus*, who composed choliambic verses, and was therefore later than *Hippodamarchus* and *Ananias*, by one of whom that metre was invented: Hephæst. p. 30. Schol. Pindar. Ol. XI. 83. ὡς φησι Δίφιλος ὁ τὴν *Θησίδα* ποιήσας ἐν τῇ λαμβεῖν οὕτω·

τρέψας δὲ πόλους ὡς ὁ Μαντινεὺς Σῆμος,  
ὃς πρῶτος ἄρματ' ἤλασεν παρ' Ἀλφειῷ.

Plutarch Thes. c. 28. may quote the cyclic *Θησής*: ἦν γὰρ ὁ τῆς *Θησίδος* ποιητῆς Ἀμαζώνων ἐπανάστασιν γέγραφε, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>3</sup> To the fragments of *Herodorus* upon *Hercules* add the following: *Proclus* ad *Hesiod*. Opp. 41. Ἡρόδωρος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλέα λόγου. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 306. A. quoted by Heinsius ad loc. Ἡρόδωρος τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάντιν καὶ φυσικὸν γενόμενον ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Ἀτλαντος τοῦ βαρβάρου τοῦ Φρυγὸς διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ κόσμου κίονας· αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μύθου τῶν τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπιστήμην μαθήσει διαδέχεσθαι. Plutarch. Thes. c. 29. Ἡρόδωρος μὲν οὐδενός οἶεται τὸν *Θησέα* μετασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοις Λαπίθαις τῆς κενταυρομαχίας. c. 30. Ἡρόδωρος δὲ φησὶ—τοῦ πολέμου συνεστώτος ἥδη τὸν *Θησέα* βοηθοῦντα τοῖς Λαπίθαις παραγενέσθαι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὕψι γνωρίσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, κ. τ. λ.



§. 18. *Εὐραπία*<sup>v</sup>. This and the next three poems we may place in successive order. They relate to *Cadmus*, *Ædipus*, and the Theban wars.

§. 19. *Οἰδιποδία*<sup>w</sup>.

§. 20. *Θηβαΐς*. The first line is given by the author of the contest of *Homer* and *Hesiod* p. 492 (quoted by Bentley ad Mill. p. 62). ὁ δὲ "Ὀμηρος ἀποτυχὼν τῆς νίκης περιερχόμενος ἔλεγε τὰ ποιήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν *Θηβαΐδα*, ἔπη ἑπτὰ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή,

"Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίφιον, ἔνθα ἄνακτες—

εἶτα 'Επιγόνους, ἔπη ἑπτὰ, ὧν ἡ ἀρχή,

τῶν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα, μῦσαι:—<sup>x</sup>

§. 21. 'Επίγονοι. In the judgment of Pausanias the best of the epic poems next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The first line is preserved in the contest of *Homer* and *Hesiod* (see §. 20), which marks this poem as the sequel of the preceding *y*.

<sup>v</sup> On *Europa* the sister of *Cadmus*: Pausan. IX. 5, 4. ὁ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς *Εὐρώπην* ποιήσας<sup>v</sup> ascribed by some to *Eumelus*: Schol. *Iliad*. ζ'. 131. τῆς ἱστορίας [sc. de *Lycurgo* et *Baccho*] πολλοὶ ἐμνήσθησαν προηγουμένως δὲ ὁ τὴν *Εὐρωπαϊαν* πεποικώς *Εὐμηλος*. See Eusebius quoted in the Tables B. C. 761. Clemens Strom. I. p. 349. A. names this poem: ὁ τὴν *Εὐραπίαν* ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ τὸ ἐν *Δελφοῖς* ἄγαλμα 'Απόλλωνος κίονα εἶναι διὰ τῶνδε<sup>v</sup>

ὄφρα θεῶν δεκάτην ἀκροθινιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν  
σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ἐλνηλῶ.

<sup>w</sup> Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1760. οἱ τὴν *Οἰδιποδίαν* γράφοντες:

ἀλλ' ἔτι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἱμερόστατον ἄλλων  
παῖδα φίλον Κρέοντος ἀμύμονος Αἰμῶνα δῖον.

Pausan. IX. 5, 5. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας ὁ *Οἰδιποδία* ὀνομάζονσι [sc. de *Ædipi liberis*]. Perhaps this poem was followed by *Herodorus* in his *Οἰδιποδία* or *Οἰδίου*.

<sup>x</sup> The imprecations of *Ædipus* on his sons are described: Schol. Soph. *Œd.* C. 1375. ταῦτα ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν *Θηβαΐδα* ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ οὕτως:

ἰσχὴν ὡς ἐνόησε, χαμαὶ βάλεν εἶπε τε μῦθον  
ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, παῖδες μὲν ὀνειδίζοντες ἐπεμψαν.  
εἴκτο Διὶ βασιλῆϊ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι  
χερσὶν ἔπ' ἀλλήλων καταβήμεναι "Αἴδος εἶσω.

τὰ δὲ παραπλήσια τῇ ἐπεποίῃ καὶ *Αἰσχύλος* ἐν τοῖς 'Επτὰ ἐπὶ *Θήβαις*. Other imprecations on a similar occasion are in *Athenæus* XI. p. 465. f. ὁ *Οἰδίου* δὲ ἐκπώματα τοῖς υἱοῖς καταράτατο, ὡς ὁ τὴν κυκλικὴν *Θηβαΐδα* πεποικώς φησιν, ὅτι αὐτῷ παρέθηκαν ἔκπωμα ὁ ἀπηγορεύει, λέγων οὕτως:

αἰτάρ ὁ διογνής ἦρας ξανθὸς Πολυνείκης  
πρῶτα μὲν *Οἰδιποδὶ* καλὴν παρέθηκε τράπεζαν  
ἀργυρῆν κάλῳσι θεόφρωνας αἰτάρ ἔπειτα  
χρυσῶν ἐμπλήσεν καλὸν δέπας ἠδέος οἶνου.  
αἰτάρ ἔγ' ὡς φράσθη παρακείμενα πατὴρ εἶσο  
τιμῆντα γέρα, μόγα οἱ κακὸν ἔμπεισε θυμῷ,  
αἶψα δὲ παυσὶν εἶσι μοτ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπαρὰς  
ἀργαλίας ἤρῃτε θάδ' οὐ λάθαις 'Ερινύ'  
ὡς οἱ οἱ πατρί' ἐνοήϊ φιλότῃτος  
δάσσασι, ἀμφοτέροισι ἔ' εἰσι πόλεμοι το μύχαι τε.

Eustathius ad *Odyss.* λ'. p. 1684. refers to both these passages:—πατὴρ ἀράς· ἄν αἴτιον κατὰ τινάς, ὅτι παρέθεντο ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρὶ ἐκπώματα ἅπερ ἐκείνος ἀπηγορεύει· ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖνα, κατὰ τὸν πεποιηκότα τὴν κυκλικὴν *Θηβαΐδα*, "πατὴρ εἶσο τιμῆντα γέρα," τοῦτέστι τοῦ Λαῖου.—ἄλλοι δὲ γε βρωμάτων τινῶν χάριν τὸν *Οἰδίου* καταράσασθαι τοῖς τέκνοις ἰστήρησαν. Schellenberg ad *Antimachi* Fragm. p. 79. aptly compares *Plato* Leg. XI. p. 931. *Οἰδίπους* ἀτιμασθεὶς ἐπεύξατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέκνοις. He distinguishes *Ibid.* p. 23. the other fragments of this *Cyclic Thebais* from the *Thebais* of *Antimachus*: *Apollod.* I. 8, 4. ἔφημεν *Οἰνείδης* *Περίβοιαν*—ταύτην ὁ μὲν γράψας τὴν *Θηβαΐδα* πολεμθείσης 'Ὀλένου λέγει λαβεῖν *Οἰνεία* γέρας. 'Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐξ 'Ὀλένου τῆς 'Αχαΐας κ. τ. λ. Pausan. VIII. 25, 5. who quotes, ἐπάγονται δὲ ἐξ 'Ἰλιάδος ἔπη καὶ ἐκ *Θηβαΐδος* μαρτυρίας—ἐν μὲν 'Ἰλιάδι κ. τ. λ.—ἐκ δὲ τῇ *Θηβαΐδι* ὡς 'Αδραστος ἔφηνεν ἐκ *Θηβῶν*

εἶματα λυγρὰ φέρον σὺν 'Αρίονι κυανοχαίτῃ, and then produces 'Αντίμαχος as a distinct authority. *Idem* IX. 18, 4. τὰ γε ἐν *Θηβαΐδι* ἔπη τὰ ἐς τὴν *Παρθενοπαίου* τελευτὴν Περικλύμενον τὸν ἀνελόντα φησὶν εἶναι. Schol. *Iliad*. ψ'. 346. 'Αρίονα—ἔφ' οὗ [ἔφ' οὗ Schellenberg p. 68. ὃ ἐποχοῦμενος Eustath. ad *Iliad*. p. 1304, 56] μόνος ὁ 'Αδραστος ἐκ τοῦ *Θηβαϊκοῦ* πολέμου διεσώθη, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολομένων. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς, doubtless in this poem. We may add Schol. *Pind.* Ol. VI. 26. ποθέω (the lamentation of *Adrastus*): ὁ 'Ασκληπιάδης φησὶ ταῦτα εἰληφέναι ἐκ τῆς κυκλικῆς *Θηβαΐδος*.

<sup>y</sup> The line referred to by *Aristophanes* Pac. 1269. is ascribed by the Scholiast ad loc. to *Antimachus*, by an error which is refuted by the time of *Antimachus*, as Schellenberg ad *Fragm.* p. 90. remarks. The *Εἰρήνη* was exhibited B. C. 421: see F. H. III. p. 597. *Antimachus* was scarcely known till B. C. 405. *Aristophanes* therefore quotes the early *cyclic* poem the 'Επίγονοι, and confirms the author of the *Certamen*, who has the same line. This poem was sometimes called the *Θηβαΐς*; which might produce the mistake of the Scholiast, confounding it with

§. 22. τὰ Κύπρια<sup>2</sup>. This and the remaining seven poems were on the tale of Troy. They were all in the cycle, and their order is fixed by Proclus.

§. 23. Ἰλιάς.

the Θηβαῖς of *Antimachus*. The Ἐπίγονοι were attributed to *Homer* before the time of *Herodotus*: *Herodot.* IV. 32. 'Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἔστι περὶ Ἱπέρβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοις, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἔντι γε Ὀμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε. A passage justly vindicated by Schweighäuser against the suspicion of Wolf. Hence the author of the *Certamen*, and Tzetzes quoted by Bentley ad *Mill.* p. 54=63 τὴν Ἐπιγόνων μάχην τε γράφει καὶ Θηβαΐδα. This poem is quoted *Schol. Apollon.* I. 308. οἱ τὴν Θηβαΐδα γεγραφότες [συγγράψαντες *Cod. Par.*] φασὶν ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων ἀκροβίνιον ἀνετίθη *Μαντῶ*—εἰς Δελφοῦς πεμφθεῖσα. *Schellenberg* p. 23. suspects that both *Antimachus* and the author of the cyclic Θηβαῖς may be meant: *Utrumque poëtam aut plures intelligas*. But οἱ γεγραφότες will rather mean the authors of the two poems, the Θηβαῖς and the Ἐπίγονοι, which are here considered as one: *Pausan.* IX. 9, 3. ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον [the war of the ἐπίγονοι] καὶ ἔπη Θηβαῖος [Θηβαῖς; *Hemsterh.*]. τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα Καλαῖος, ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὀμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι. Καλαῖν δὲ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι λόγου κατὰ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποιήσιν ταύτην μετὰ γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα. For ΚΑΛΑΙΝΟΣ *Sylburgius*, *Kuhn*, *Salmas.*, and *Burman* all concur in ΚΑΛΑΙΝΟΣ. *Ruhnkenius* reads Καλλίμαχος. *Pausanias* however has in view the Ἐπίγονοι, a poem ascribed by early authorities to *Homer*, and relating the war of the ἐπίγονοι. This poem was therefore sometimes called the Θηβαῖς, like the preceding.

<sup>2</sup> The general plan of this poem is noticed by *Aristotle Poët.* c. 23. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ ἑνα ποιοῦσι καὶ περὶ ἑνα χρόνον, καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ, ὅον ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. τωγαροῦν ἐκ μὲν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας μία τραγῳδία ποιεῖται ἑκατέρας ἢ δύο μόναι, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλαί, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος πλεον ὀκτώ. *Proclus* preserves the argument, given apud *Gaisford.* p. 471—476. repeated by *Græfenh.* ad *Aristot. Poët.* p. 175. where notes are added containing references to many of the fragments of this poem. The fragments themselves shall be here inserted, when they appear to illustrate the argument: τὰ λεγόμενα Κύπρια ἐν βιβλίῳς φερόμενα ἔνδεκα.—Ζεὺς βούλευται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος περὶ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου [*Schol. Π. α'. 5.* ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Στασίῳ τῇ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκῆτι, εἰπόντι οὕτως

ἦν ὅτε μυρία φύλα κατὰ χθόνα \* \*  
πλαζόμενα \* \* \* βαθυστέρνου πλάτος αἴης\*  
Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε, καὶ ἐν πυκιναῖς πραπίδεσσιν  
σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβρότα γαῖαν  
ρίπτας πολέμου μεγάλῃν ἔριν Ἰλιακοῦ,

ὄφρα κενώσειεν θανάτῳ βάρος· οἱ δ' ἐν Τροίῃ  
ἥρωες κτείνοντο—

Hence *Euripides Or.* 1656]. παραγενομένη δὲ Ἐρις εὐαχουμένων τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλέως γάμοις [*Schol. Π. π'. 140.* κατὰ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος γάμον οἱ θεοὶ συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ Πήλιον ἐπ' εὐαχίᾳ ἐκόμιζον Πηλεΐ δῶρα κ. τ. λ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῇ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσαντι] νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν Ἀθηνᾶ, Ἥρα, καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ αἰ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν Ἰδῇ κατὰ Διὸς προσταγὴν ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἄγονται· καὶ προκρίνει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς Ἑλένης γάμοις Ἀλέξανδρος. [*Athen.* VIII. p. 334. c. ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κύπριός τις ἔστιν, ἢ Στασίος, ἢ ὅστις δὴ ποτε χαίρει ὑπομαζόμενος, τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διακομμένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην διὰ τούτων

τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τριτάτῃ Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα βροτοῖσι·  
τὴν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα  
Ζηρὶ θεῶν βασιλῇ τέκε κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.  
φεῦγε γὰρ οὐδ' ἔθελεν μιχθήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃ  
πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίῳ· ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ.  
καὶ Νέμεσις· κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ ἀτρίγεται μέλαν ὕδωρ  
φεῦγε, Ζεὺς δὲ δῶκε· λαβεῖν δὲ λιλαιέτο θυμῷ·  
ἄλλοτε μὲν κατὰ κύμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης  
ἰχθυὶ εἰδομένην πόντον πολὺν ἐξορόθινεν,  
ἄλλοτ' ἂν Ὀκεανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πείρατα γαίης,  
ἄλλοτ' ἂν ἥπειρον πολυβύλακα· γήρηντο δ' αἰεὶ  
θηρί' ὅσ' ἥπειρος αἰνὰ τρέφει, ὄφρα φύγοι νη.]

ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ὑποθεμένης ναυπηγεῖται· καὶ Ἑλένης περὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς προθεσπίζει· καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνείαν συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύει· καὶ Κασσάνδρα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προηλθοῖ. ἐπιβάς δὲ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρος ξενίζεται παρὰ τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρὰ Μελέαν· καὶ Ἑλένη παρὰ τὴν εὐαχίαν δίδωσι δῶρα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μενέλαος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπλεῖ, κελεύσας τὴν Ἑλένην τοῖς ξένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν ἕως ἂν ἀπαλλαγῶσιν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ συνάγει τὴν Ἑλένην τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· καὶ μετὰ τὴν μίξιν τὰ πλεῖστα κτήματα ἐνθήμενοι νυκτὸς ἀποπλέουσι. χειμῶνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφίστησιν Ἥρα· καὶ προσενεχθεὶς Σιδῶνι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν [*Herodotus* II. 117. had not this passage before him: ἐν τοῖσι Κυπρίοις εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων τὴν Ἑλένην, εὐαί τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσης λείῃ, whence *Eustathius* ad *Π. ζ'. p. 643, 2.* ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας λέγει ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης κ. τ. λ. This part of the poem, then, stood differently in the time of *Herodotus*]· καὶ ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Ἴλιον γάμονος τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπετέλεσεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κάστωρ μετὰ Πολυδεῦκος τὰς Ἰῶα καὶ Λυγκίους βοῦς ὑφαιρούμενοι ἐφωράθησαν· [*Schol. Pindar. Nem. X. 114.* Tzetz. ad *Lycophr.* 511. *Idem Chil.* II. 710. παρατίθενται τὸν τὰ Κύπρια γράψαντα οὕτω λέγοντα [*Στασίος* ὁ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκῆς *Tzetz.*].



—αἶψα δὲ Λυγκεὺς

Τῆν γ' ἔπειτα προσέβρισε πρὸς ταχέσσιν πεποιθῆς  
ἀκρότατον δ' ἀναβὰς διεδέρκετο νῆσον ἅπασαν  
Τανταλίδου Πέλοπος, τάχα δ' εἶσθε κύνιδος ἥρας  
δεινῆς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσθ' ὄρουσ' ἄμφω κείλης,  
Κάστρά θ' ἰππιδάμον καὶ ἀεθλοφόρον Πολυδεύκεα.  
νῆξε δ' ἄρ' \* \* \*

καὶ Κάστωρ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰδα ἀναιρεῖται Λυγκεὺς δὲ καὶ  
Ἰδας ὑπὸ Πολυδεύκου, καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐτερήμερον νέμει  
τὴν ἀθανασίαν [Clem. Cohort. p. 19. A. ὁ τὰ Κυ-  
πριακὰ ποιήματα γράψας]

Κάστωρ μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἶσα πέμπεται  
αὐτὰρ δ' ἡ ἀθανάτος Πολυδεύκης, ὅς τις Ἄρης].

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἱρις ἀναγγέλλει τῷ Μενελάῳ τὰ γεγο-  
νότα κατὰ τὸν οἶκον, ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἰλίου  
[f. ἐπ' Ἰλίου] στρατείας βουλευέται μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
καὶ πρὸς Νέστορα παραγίνεται Μενέλαος· Νέστωρ δὲ ἐν  
παρεκβάσει δηγρεῖται αὐτῷ ὥς Ἑκτορὸς φθείρας τὴν Λυ-  
κάωρην [I. Νυκτίης. see above p. 29. q] θυγατέρα  
ἐξεπαυθήθη, καὶ τὰ περὶ Οἰδίπου καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλείους μα-  
νίαν, καὶ τὰ περὶ Θυσίας καὶ Ἀριάδης. [Athen. II.  
p. 35. c. repeated by Suid. ἴδου.

Οἷόν τοι, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον  
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι ἀποκεκέναι μελεδῶνας.

ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων τοῦτό φησι ποιητής, ὅστις ἂν εἴη. Suidas:  
ὁ Κύπριος ποιητής φησὶν “Οἶνον—” ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμό-  
νας ἀθροίζουσιν ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ καίνεσθαι  
προσποιησάμενον τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπὶ τῇ μὴ θέλειν συστρα-  
τεῖσθαι ἐφόρσαν, Παλαμῆδους ὑποθεμένου, τὸν υἱὸν Τη-  
λέμαχον ἐπὶ κώλας ἐξαπαύσαντες. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
συνελθόντες εἰς Αἰλῖδα θύουσι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν δράκοντα  
καὶ τοὺς σερπενθῆς γενόμενα δέκονται καὶ Κάλχας περὶ  
τῶν ἀποβησομένων προλέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔπειτα ἀναχθέντες  
Τευκράνδ' προσίσχουσιν, καὶ ταύτην ὡς Ἰλίου ἐπόρθουν  
Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκ βοηθείας Θέρσανδρον τὸν Πολυνείκου  
κτείνει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως τιτρώσκεται. ἀποπλέουσιν  
δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας χειμῶν ἐπιπύπτει, καὶ διασκεδάν-  
νεται. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ Σκύρῳ προσσχὼν γαμει τὴν Λυκομή-  
δους θυγατέρα Δηιδάμειαν ἔπειτα Τήλεφον κατὰ μαντείαν  
παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἄργος λατὰς, ὡς ἡγεμόνα γε-  
νησόμενον τοῦ ἐπ' Ἰλίου πλοῦ. καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἡθροισμένου  
τοῦ στόλου ἐν Αἰλῖδι, Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπὶ θήραν [f. ἐπὶ θήρᾳ]  
βαλὼν ἄλαφον ἐπερβάλλειν εἶπεν καὶ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν μηνί-  
σασα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἐπέσχεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλοῦ, χειμῶνας ἐπι-  
πέμπουσα. Κάλχαντος δὲ ἐπιπύπτον τὴν τῆς θεοῦ μῆνιν καὶ  
Ἰφολύκειον κελύσαντας θένει τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς ἐπὶ γάμον  
αὐτῇ Ἀχιλλεὺς μεταπεμφάμενοι θένει ἐπιχειροῦσιν [Schol.  
Soph. El. 157. ὁ τὰ Κύπρια (ποιήσας) διαφόρους φησὶν  
Ἰφολύκειον καὶ Ἰφιδάσσαν]. Ἀρτεμὶς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξαπα-  
σασα εἰς Ταύρων μετακαμίζει καὶ ἀθάνατον ποιεῖ, ἔλαφον  
δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κέρης παρίστησι τῇ βομῇ. ἔπειτα καταπλέου-  
σα εἰς Τίνεδον καὶ ἐωκυμένον αὐτῶν Φιλοκτήτης ὑφ'  
ἔλκῳ πληγῆς διὰ τὴν δυσσύναν ἐν Λήμῳ κατελήφθη  
καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἑσπερος κληθεὶς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα  
[Aristot. Rhet. II. 24, 6. διὰ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι δ' Ἀ-  
χιλλεὺς ἐμήνησε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ—συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο  
ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ κληθῆναι. Hence Sophocles derived the  
Ἀχαιοὺν σύλλογος: conf. Plutarch. Mor. p. 74. A.]  
εἰς τὰ ἀπελευθύντας αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἰλίου εἰργασιν οἱ Τρῶες,

καὶ θνήσκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ' Ἑκτορος [Pausan. IV. 2,  
5. ὁ τὰ ἐπη ποιήσας τὰ Κύπρια Πρωτεσίλαον φησὶν, ὅς  
ἔτε κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα ἔσχον Ἕλληνες ἀποβῆναι πρῶτος  
ἐτόλμησε, Πρωτεσίλαον τοῦτον τὴν γυναῖκα Πολυδῶραν  
μὲν τὸ ὄνομα θυγατέρα δὲ Μελεάγρου φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ  
Οἰνέως]. ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτοὺς τρέπεται ἀνελὼν Κύκνον  
τὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναίρουσιν, καὶ διαπρε-  
βύνονται πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ κτήματα  
ἀπαιτοῦντες ὥς δὲ οὐχ ἐπήκουσαν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ  
τειχομαχοῦσιν. ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν ἐπεξελθόντες πορθοῦσι  
καὶ τὰς περιοίκους πόλεις καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς  
Ἑλένην ἐπιθυμῇ θεάσασθαι, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ  
αὐτὸ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Θέτι. εἶτα ἀπονοστειν ὀρμημένους  
τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς κατέχει· κἄπειτα ἀπελαίνει τὰς  
Αἰνεῖου βίας [Pausan. X. 26, 1. Λέσχους καὶ τὰ ἐπη  
τὰ Κύπρια διδῶσιν Εὐρυδίκην γυναῖκα Αἰνεῖα], καὶ Ἀλφει-  
ον καὶ Πῆδασον πορθεῖ [Schol. II. π'. 57. τὴν Πῆδασον  
οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιηταὶ &c. as the place in which  
Briseis was captured] καὶ συγχὰς τῶν περιοικίδων πό-  
λεων, καὶ Τρώϊον φονεῖ· Λυκαόναν τε Πάτροκλος εἰς  
Λῆμνον ἄγων ἀπεμπολῆ· καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀχιλλεὺς  
μὲν Βρισηίδα γέρας λαμβάνει Χρυσήϊδα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων.  
ἔπειτα ἐστὶ Παλαμῆδους θάνατος [Pausan. X. 31, 1.  
Διμηθὼν δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι καὶ Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπιτεξά-  
μενος ἐν ἔτεσιν οἶδα τοῖς Κυπρίοις], καὶ Διὸς βουλὴ ὅπως  
ἐπικουφίσῃ τοὺς Τρῶας, Ἀχιλλεὺς τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς Ἑλ-  
ληνικῆς ἀποστήσας καὶ κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρῶσι συμ-  
μαχησάντων. This poem is quoted on the daugh-  
ters of Anius Tzet. ad Lycophron. 570. μέμνηται  
τούτων καὶ ὁ τὰ Κυπριακὰ συγγραφάμενος. Stob. Serm.  
31, 12. Στασίου·

Ζῆνα δὲ τὸν ῥέξαντα, καὶ ὅς τῷδε πάντ' ἐφύτευσεν,  
οὐκ ἐθέλεις εἰπεῖν· ἦνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς.

Plato Euthyphr. p. 12. a. λέγων γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον  
ἢ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐποίησεν ὁ ποιήσας “Ζῆνα δὲ τὸν θ' ἔρξαντα—  
Clem. Strom. VI. p. 625. C. Στασίου ποιήσαντος  
νῆπιος, ὅς πατέρα κτεῖων παῖδας καταλείπει.

Aristot. Rhet. II. 21, 11. ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναρεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
τὰ τέκνα καὶ μὴδὲν ἀδικούντα· “νῆπιος ὅς—κτείνας—  
“καταλείπει.” Athenæus XV. p. 682. e. preserves  
some lines from the last book of the poem: ἀνθῶν  
δὲ στεφανωτικῶν μέμνηται ὁ μὲν τὰ Κύπρια ἐπη πεποιη-  
κός, Ἡγησίας, ἢ Στασίους· Δημοδάμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασ-  
σεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ Κύπρια, Ἀλι-  
καρνασσέως δ' αὐτὰ εἶδαι φησι ποιήματα· λέγει δ' εὖν  
ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ οὕτως·

εἴματα μὲν χροῖας τότε οἱ Χάριτες τε καὶ Ὀραι  
ποίησαν καὶ ἔβαψαν ἐν ἄνθεσιν ἐλαρινόσιν,  
οἷα φοροῦσ' Ὀραι, ἔν τε κρόκῳ ἔν θ' ὑακίνθῳ,  
ἐν τε ἰρ θαλίῃσι ῥόδου τ' ἐν ἄνθεσι καλῇ,  
ἠδὲ, νεκταρέφ, ἐν τ' ἀμβροσίαις καλύκεσσιν  
ἄνθεσι ναρκίσσου καλλιβρόδου· οἷ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
ὄραις παντοδαύς τεθυμμένα εἴματα ἔστο.

οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὴν τῶν στεφάνων χρῆσιν εἰδὼς φαίνε-  
ται δι' ὧν λέγει·

ἢ δὲ σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι φιλομμελίδης Ἀφροδίτῃ  
πλεξαμένη στεφάνους εὐδῶδας, ἄνθεα γαίης,  
ἀν κεφαλαῖσιν ἔθεντο θεὰ λιπαροκρήδεμνοι,



§. 24. Αἰθιοπὶς<sup>a</sup>. See the Tables B. C. 775.

§. 25. Ἰλιάς μικρά. The author of the Life of *Homer* c. 16. gives the beginning: ("Ομηρος)  
διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ Θεστορίδῃ ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάσσω, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή·

"Ἴλιον αἰδῶ καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπῶλον,

ἧς περί πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ, θεράποντες Ἀργεῶς<sup>b</sup>.

Νύμφαι καὶ Χάριτες, ἅμα δὲ χρυσὴ Ἀφροδίτη,  
καλὸν αἰδύουσαι κατ' ὄρος πολυπίδακος Ἰδης.

This last passage may be referred to the first book, and to the judgment of *Paris* in the beginning of the poem. This poem was early ascribed to *Homer*: *Herodot.* II. 117. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τότε τὸ χωρίον [II. ζ'. 289—292] οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὀμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ, ἀλλ' ἄλλον τινός κ. τ. λ. *Proclus* apud *Photium* p. 378. *Gaisford*. λέγει δὲ [sc. *Proclus*] καὶ περί τινων Κυπρίων ποιημάτων· καὶ ὡς οἱ μὲν ταῦτα εἰς Στασίην ἀναφέρουσιν Κύπριον, οἱ δὲ Ἠγησίαν τὸν Σαλαμῖνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ὀμηρον· δοῦναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς Στασίης. *Tzetzes* *Chil.* XIII. 637. (Ὀμήρου) Θυγάτηρ Ἀρσιφόνῃ δὲ, ἣν ἔγημε Στασίης, Στασίης δὲ τὰ Κύπρια συγγράμματα ποιήσας, Ἄπερ οἱ πλείους λέγουσιν Ὀμήρου πεφυκέναι, εἰς προῖκα δὲ σὺν χρήμασι δοθῆναι τῇ Στασίῃ. See on this poem *Perizon.* ad *Ælian.* V. H. IX. 15. *Hemst.* ad *Polluc.* X. 85.

<sup>a</sup> *Proclus* p. 478. gives the argument: Ἀμαζών Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἀρεως μὲν θυγάτηρ Θρᾷσσα δὲ τὸ γένος, καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσιν Ἀχιλλεὺς οἱ δὲ Τρῶες αὐτὴν θάπτουσι. καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς Θερσίτην ἀναιρεῖ λοιδορηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὀνειδισθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Πενθεσίλειᾳ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου στάσις γίγνεται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ Θερσίτου φόνου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς Λέσβον πλεῖ, καὶ θύσας Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμειδι καὶ Λητοῖ καθαίρεται τοῦ φόνου ὑπ' Ὀδυσσεύς. Μένων δὲ ὁ Ἡοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἠφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων· καὶ Θέτις τῇ παιδί τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μένωνα προλέγει· καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μένωνος ἀναιρεῖται. ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μένωνα κτείνει. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Ἠὼς, παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη, ἀθανάσιαν δίδωσι. τρεψάμενος δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ εἰς τὴν (πόλιν) εἰσπεσὼν ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πτάματος γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης Αἴας ἀνελόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζει, Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀπομαχομένου τοῖς Τρωσίν. ἔπειτα Ἀντίλοχόν τε θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται· καὶ Θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν τάφον χῶσαντες ἀγῶνα τίθεασιν· καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὕπνων Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Λίαντι στάσις ἐμπνέει. That this poem included the death of *Ajax* appears from *Schol. Pindar. Isthm.* IV. 58. ὁ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γράφων περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον φησὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν.

<sup>b</sup> The argument is in *Proclus* p. 481. ἡ τῶν

ὕπνων κρίσις γίνεται, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ βούλησιν Ἀθηναῖς λαμβάνει. [*Schol. Aristoph. Equit.* 1053. διεφέροντο περὶ τῶν ἀριστείων ὁ τε Αἴας καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὡς φησιν ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκὼς· τὸν Νέστορα δὲ συμβουλευσάι τοῖς Ἕλλησι πέμψαι τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὰ τέλχη τῶν Τρῶων, ὡτακουστήσοντας περὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῶν προειρημένων ἡρώων· τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας ἀκοῦσαι παρθένων διαφερομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὃν τὴν μὲν λέγειν ὁ Αἴας πολὺ κρείττων ἐστὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς, διερχομένην οὕτως·

Αἴας μὲν γὰρ αἶερε καὶ ἔκφερε δηϊότητος  
ἦρω Πηλεΐδην, αὐδ' ἤθελε Διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.

τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἀντιπεῖν Ἀθηναῖς προνίκα·  
πῶς ἐπεφνήσῃ; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον εἴπειρ  
ψεῦδος;—]

Αἴας δὲ ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος τὴν τε λείαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν λυμάνεται· καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεὺς λοχίσας Ἐλεον λαμβάνει, καὶ χρήσαντος περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τούτου, Διομήδης ἐκ Λήμνου Φιλακτήτην ἀνάγει. ἱαβείς δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ Μαχάονος, καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κτείνει· καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ Μενελάου κατακισθέντα ἀνελόμενοι θάπτουσιν οἱ Τρῶες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δηϊφόβος Ἑλένην γαμέ· καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκ Σκύρου ἀγαγὼν τὰ ὅπλα δίδωσι τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς· [*Schol. II. τ'. 326. Eustath.* ad II. p. 1187, 16. ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα γράψας φησὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐκ Τηλέφου τοῦ Μυσοῦ ἀναξενγύντα προσορμισθῆναι ἐκεῖ· γράφει γὰρ οὕτω·

Πηλεΐδην δ' Ἀχιλλῆα φέρε Σκύρονδε θέλλαι  
ἐνθ' ὃ γ' ἐς ἀργαλέον λιμέν' ἔκετο νυκτὸς ἐκείνης.

*Schol. Pindar. Nem.* VI. 85. μετάγουσι τὴν ἱστορίαν [sc. de *Achillis* hasta] ἀπὸ τῆς Λέσχου μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος, λέγοντος οὕτως·

— ἀμφὶ δὲ πόρκης

χρυσέος ἀστράπτει, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκροος ἄρδης.]

καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτῷ φαντάζεται. Εὐρύπυλος δὲ ὁ Τηλέφου ἐπίκουρος τοῖς Τρωσὶ παραγίνεται [*Pausan.* III. 26, 7. Μαχάονα δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρύπυλου τοῦ Τηλέφου τελευτῆσαι φησιν ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα], καὶ ἀριστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει Νεοπτόλεμος. καὶ οἱ Τρῶες πολιορκοῦνται, καὶ Ἐπειὸς κατ' Ἀθηναῖς προαίρεσιν τὸν δούρειον ἵππον κατασκευάζει. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ αἰκισάμενος ἑαυτὸν κατασκοπος εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀναγνωριθεὶς ὑφ' Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως συντίθεται· κτείνας τε τινὰς τῶν Τρῶων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Διομήδει τὸ Παλλὰδιον ἐκκομίζει ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου [*Hesych.* Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη:— ὁ δὲ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα (γράφας) φησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παλλὰδιου κλοπῆς γενέσθαι]. ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν δούρειον ἵππον τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάσαντες τὰς τε σκηνὰς καταφλέξαντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Τένεδον ἀνάγονται· οἱ δὲ Τρῶες τὰν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸν τε δούρειον ἵππον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσδέχονται, διελόντες



καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Φωκαΐδα, ἣν φασιν οἱ Φωκαεῖς Ὅμηρον παρ' αὐτοῖσι ποιῆσαι. Of the subject of the Φωκαῖς (on which poem see Wess. ad loc. Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 385) we have no information.

§. 26. Ἰλίου πέρις<sup>c</sup>. This poem of *Arctinus* was a century older than the Ἰλιάς μικρά of *Lesches*: see the Tables B. C. 775. 657.

μέρος τι τοῦ τείχεος, καὶ εὐαχρῶνται ὡς νενικηκότες τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. That this poem proceeded further and included the capture of the city, appears from Aristotle Poët. c. 23. ἐκ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος πλέον ἔκτω (τραγηδία), εἶν, Ὅπλων κρίσις, Φιλακτῆτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εἰρύπυλος, Πτωχεῖα, Λάκαιναί, Ἰλίου πέρις, καὶ Ἀπίπλους καὶ Σῖνον καὶ Τρωάδες. The first four may be traced in Proclus: conf. Græfenh. ad Aristot. Poët. p. 179. 180. The Ἰλίου πέρις, the Ἀπίπλους, and the Τρωάδες describe the capture and its consequences; which were therefore contained in the Ἰλιάς μικρά: conf. Hermann. et Græfenh. p. 181. 182. In the latter part of the poem was contained the meeting of *Menelaüs* and *Helen*: Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 155. ὁ Μενέλαος: τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Λέσχης ὁ Λέσβιος ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ Ἰλιάδι. the fatal night of the capture: see above p. 127. d. also referred to by Eudocia v. Δίσχμος p. 31. αὐτὸς ὁ Σῖνον, ὡς ἦν αὐτῷ συντεθειμένην φρικτὴν ὑποδείξας τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὡς Λέσχης φησὶν, ἦνικα “Νῖξ μὲν ἦν” κ. τ. λ. προσκαλεῖται αὐτοὺς. And the description of the captives: Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1263. Λέσχης ὁ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκὼς Ἀνδρομάχην καὶ Αἰνείαν αἰχμαλώτους φησὶ δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀχιλλεύῳ υἱῷ Νεοπτόλεμῳ καὶ ἀπαχθῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς Φαρσαλίαν τὴν Ἀχιλλεύου πατρίδα. φησὶ γὰρ εὐτῷσι

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱὸς  
Ἐκτεφρὸν ἄλαχον κάταγε κούλας ἐπὶ νῆας  
παῖδα δ' ἔλαιν ἐκ κόλπου εὐπλοκάμοιο τίθηνης  
ῥῆψε πύδς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ πύργου τὴν δὲ πεσόντα  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταῖη.  
ἐκ δ' ἔλειτ' Ἀνδρομάχην ἥϊονον παράκοιτιν  
Ἐκτερες, ἦν τέ οἱ αὐτῷ ἀριστῆες Παναχαῖων  
δῶκαν ἔχειν, ἐπείρην ἀμειβόμενοι γέρας ἀνδρὶ  
αὐτὸς τ' Ἀργεῖος κλυτὸν γόνον ἵπποδάμοιο  
Αἰνείαν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐβήσατο πορτοπύροισιν  
ἐκ πόντων Δαναῶν γέρας ἀγέμεν ἔζονον ἄλλον.

Pausanias X. 25, 2. agrees with this fragment concerning *Asiyanax*: τούτῳ Λέσχειος βιβθῆντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου συμβῆναι λέγει τὴν τελευταίην, οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ δόγματις γι' Ἑλλήνων ἄλλ' ὁδῷ Νεοπτόλεμον αὐτόχειρα ἐβλήσσαι γενέσθαι. Pausanias Ibid. draws from the latter part of the poem the following circumstances: Λέσχη—ἐν Ἰλίου πέριδι—τραβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ταύτῃ [sc. τὴν Μιγῆτα] ἦν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐμαχίσαντο οἱ Τρῶες ἐπὶ Ἀδμήτῳ φησὶ τοῦ Λαγρίου. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Λυκομήδης παρὰ τὴν Μιγῆτα ὁ Κρόαντος ἔχων τραῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ Λέσχειος αὐτῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀργίονος τραβῆναι—Λέσχειος δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴθραν ἐποίησεν, ἦνικα ἦλθοντο Ἴλιον, ἐπεξελθούσας ἐς τὸ στρατιώτεον

αὐτὴν ἀφικέσθαι τὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων γνωρισθῆναι τῶν Θησέως, καὶ ὡς παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος αἰτήσαι Δημοφῶν αὐτὴν ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖν μὲν ἐθέλειν χαρίζεσθαι, ποιῆσειν δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔφη πρὶν Ἑλένην πείσαι ἀποστείλαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κήρυκα ἔδωκεν Ἑλένη τὴν χάριν. It is rightly judged by Heyne ad Virg. *Æn.* II. Hermann and Græfenh. ad Aristot. Poët. c. 23. Siebelis ad Pausan. X. 25, 3. that the Ἰλίου πέρις in this passage is a part of the Ἰλιάς μικρά. or rather that Pausanias gives this name to the latter part of that poem. Græfenh. ad Aristot. p. 181. *Id concludo, facile potuisse fieri ut hæc pars excerpta mox pro singulari carmine haberetur.* It would rather seem that Pausanias merely called this part of the poem Ἰλίου-πέρις as he had just before called a part of the *Odyssey* Μελανοῦς λυδορία, and as particular parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were named from their subjects: conf. *Ælian.* V. H. XIII. 14. Four lines of the Ἰλιάς μικρά are preserved Schol. Eur. Or. 1376. collato Schol. Eur. Troad. 822. e Cod. Vat. See the Tables B. C. 765. From the last testimony it appears that this poem (which was given, as we have seen, by some accounts to *Homer*) was also ascribed to *Cinæthos* and to *Diodorus of Erythrae*.

ἄμπελον, ἦν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν, οὗ παιδὸς ἄποινα,  
χρυσείας φύλλοισιν ἀγαυοῖσιν κομώσαν,  
βότρυσι θ', οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἐπασκῆσας Διὶ πατρὶ  
δῶκε, ὁ δὲ Λαομέδωντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἄντι.

The first line marks the use of the digamma in this poem.

<sup>c</sup> Proclus p. 483. preserves the argument: τὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον οἱ Τρῶες ἐπὶ πτόως ἔχοντες περιστάντες βουλεύονται ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτὸν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν δεῖν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνατεθῆναι καὶ τέλος νικῆ ἢ τούτων γνώμη. τραπέντες δὲ εἰς εὐφροσύνην εὐαχρῶνται, ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πολέμου. ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανέντες τὸν Λαοκῶντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν παίδων διαφθοροῦσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τέρατι δυσφορήσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν ἐπεξῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἰθύν, καὶ Σῖνον τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνίσχει τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πρότερον εἰσεληλυθὰς προσποίητος· οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τενέδου προσπλεύσαντες καὶ οἱ ἐκ δουρείου ἵππου ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνουσι. καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα· Μενέλαος δὲ ἀνευρὰν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κατάγει, Δηϊφῶβον φονεύσας. Κασσάνδραν δὲ Αἴας Ὀϊλῆος πρὸς βίαν ἀποσπῶν συνεφέλκεται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδωκεν· ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθέντες οἱ Ἑλ-



§. 27. Νόστοι. When the Νόστοι without the author's name are quoted, the cyclic poem of *Augias*, described by Proclus, may be understood: Elmsley ad Eur. Med. p. 67. *Poëmatum e quibus constabat cyclus epicus unum Νόστους appellatum esse nemo nescit. Argumentum ejus ex Procli Chrestomathia sumptum—iterum edidit Gaisfordius. Libri fuerunt quinque, auctore Proclo, ab Augia Træzenio scripti. Paucissimi hodie extant versus*<sup>d</sup>.

ληνές καταλεύσαι βούλονται τὸν Αἴαντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀθηναῶς βωμὸν καταφεύγει καὶ διασώζεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου κινδύνου. ἔπειτα ἀποπύθονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ φθορὰν αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀθηναῖα κατὰ τὸ πέλαιος μηχανάται. καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς Ἀστυνάκτα ἀνείλκοντος Νεοπτόλεμος Ἀνδρομάχην γέρας λαμβάνει, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λάφυρα διανέμονται. Δημοφῶν τε καὶ Ἀκάμας Αἶθραν εἰρόντες ἄγουσι μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ἔπειτα ἐμπήσαντες τὴν πόλιν Πολυξέην σφαγιάζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τάφον. Heyne suspected that this last sentence was not a part of the preceding subject, and that it belonged to the other Ἰλίου πέρσις written by *Lesches*. But the different circumstances (which have been partly noticed by Hermann) shew that Heyne was mistaken. *Astyanax* is here slain by *Ulysses*; in *Lesches* by *Neoptolemus*. Here *Demopho* and *Acamas* carry away *Ethra*; in *Lesches* she is placed at the disposal of *Helen*. This is therefore a part of the argument of *Arctinus*. *Lesches* in the conclusion of the *Ilias parva* treated the same subject as had been before treated by *Arctinus* in the Ἰλίου πέρσις; but he handled it in a different manner, both in these points and in another also noticed by Hermann; that in *Arctinus* (whom Virgil follows *Æn.* II. 512) *Priam* is slain by *Neoptolemus* at the altar of *Jupiter*, but in *Lesches* he falls at the gate of his own palace. A fragment of *Arctinus* is quoted Schol. II. λ'. 515. on *Podalirius* and *Machaon*: τοῦτο ἔοικε καὶ Ἀρκτίνος ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει νομίζειν, ἐν οἷς φησὶν

αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατὴρ \* ἐννοσίγαιος  
 παυσιν \* \* \*  
 ἀμφοτέροις, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέρου κυδὶον ἔθηκε  
 τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χεῖρας πόρεν, ἕκ τε βέλεμα  
 σαρκὸς ἐλεῖν τμήξαι τε καὶ ἔλκεα πάντ' ἀκέσασθαι  
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀκριβέα πάντα ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔθηκεν,  
 ἄσκοπά τε γυνῶναι καὶ ἀναλθέα ἰάσασθαι  
 ὅς ρα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε χωρομένοιο  
 ὄμματά τ' ἀστράπτοντα βαρυνόμενόν τε νόημα.

As the ὄπλων κρίσις and the death of *Ajax* were treated in the Αἰθιοπία, it seems probable that the Scholiast has quoted *Arctinus* from the wrong poem, and that these lines belonged to the Αἰθιοπία. *Arctinus* described the *Palladium*, quoted by *Dionysius Ant.* I. p. 172. Καλλίστρατός τε ὁ περὶ Σαμοθράκης συνταξάμενος ἱστορίαν, καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ τοὺς ἀρχαίους μύθους συναγαγόν, καὶ ἄλλοι συγχοί, παλαιότατος δὲ ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ποιητὴς Ἀρκτίνος λέγουσι γούν ὧδε

Χρῆσθην τὴν Πάλλαντος θυγατέρα γημαμένην Δαρδάνῳ κ. τ. λ. p. 174. Ἀρκτίνος δὲ φησιν ὑπὸ Διὸς δοθῆναι Δαρδάνῳ Παλλάδιον ἓν, καὶ εἶναι τοῦτο ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἕως ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο, κεκρυμμένον ἐν ἀβάτῳ· εἰκόνα δὲ ἐκείνου κατεσκευασμένην, μηδὲ ἐν τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ διάφορον, ἀπάτης τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἕνεκα, ἐν φανερίῳ τεθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας λαβεῖν. from which nothing more can be inferred than that *Arctinus* in the beginning of the Ἰλίου πέρσις related the capture of the *Palladium* by *Diomed* and *Ulysses*. See *Lobeck Aglaopham.* p. 1204. 1205.

<sup>d</sup> The argument is in Proclus p. 485. Ἀθηναῖα Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον εἰς ἔριν καθίστησι περὶ τοῦ ἔκπλου. Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν αὖν τὸν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἐξιλασόμενος χόλον ἐπιμένει, Διομήδης δὲ καὶ Νέστορ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν διασώζονται· μεθ' οὗς ἐκπλεύσας ὁ Μενέλαος μετὰ πέντε νεῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραγίνεται, τῶν λοιπῶν διαφθαρείσων νεῶν ἐν τῷ πελάγει. οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχχαντα καὶ Λεοντέα καὶ Πολυπότην πεζῇ πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀποπλεόντων, Ἀχιλλέως εἰδωλὸν ἐπιφανὲν πειράται διακυλίνειν προλήγον τὰ ἀποβησόμενα. εἴτ' ὁ περὶ τὰς Καθηρίδας πέτρας δηλοῦται χεϊμών [Apollo]. II. 1, 4. Ναύπλιος—ἔγχευεν, ὥς ὁ τοὺς νόστους γράψας, Φιλύραν], καὶ ἡ Αἴαντος φθορὰ τοῦ Λαοκροῦ. Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ, Θέτιδος ὑποθεμένος, πεζῇ ποιεῖται τὴν πορείαν· καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Θράκην Ὀδυσσεά καταλαμβάνει ἐν Μαρονείῃ· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνέει τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τελευτήσαντα Φοίνικα θάπτει, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Μιλοσσὺς ἀφικόμενος ἀναγνωρίζεται Πηλεΐ. \* \* Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐπὶ Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἀναιρεθέντος, ἢτ' Ὀρέστου καὶ Πυλάδου τιμωρία, καὶ Μενελάου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνακομιδῇ.

Schol. Aristoph. *Equit.* 1318. et *Arg.* Eur. Med. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἴσανος ὁ τοὺς νόστους ποιήσας φησὶν οὕτως·

αὐτίκα δ' Αἴσωνα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβόντα  
 γῆρας ἀποξέυσας· εἰδυῖσις πραπίδεσσι,  
 φάρμακα πολλὰ ἔψουσ' ἐπὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησι.

In v. 2. ἰδυῖσι Schol. Aristoph. whence Elmsley inserting the digamma reads ἀποξέυσασα εἰδυῖσι. which would indicate the antiquity of this poem. Pausan. X. 28, 4. οἱ νόστοι· μνήμη γὰρ ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἰδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστίν— In Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1123 (1116). ed. Beck. ὁ δὲ τὸν νόστον ποιήσας φησὶ— But Matthiae observes, *Junt. Basil.* ὁ δὲ τὸν \* ποιήσας. *Defectum supplet Aug.* αἶγμν. *Taur.* αἶγμν. The lines that follow accordingly belong to the Αἰγίμνος. See §. 9. p. 350. o.



§. 28. Ὀδύσσεια<sup>e</sup>.

§. 29. Τηλεγονία. A sequel to the Odyssey<sup>f</sup>.

In this catalogue, which, including the Φωκαῖς mentioned in §. 25., exhibits the titles of thirty epic poems, the most ancient composition is undoubtedly the Iliad. The next in antiquity is the Odyssey. Of all the other works of which the time is ascertained the earliest are the Αἰθιοπῖς and the Ἰλίου πέρσις, the author of which flourished in B. C. 775<sup>g</sup>; the latest was the *Telegonia*, which may be placed at B. C. 566<sup>h</sup>. The rest are either poems by unknown authors, or ascribed to poets of uncertain date. The poets whose time is uncertain are considered below<sup>i</sup>. They may be placed within the limits here named, B. C. 775—566. But some of the poems which were composed by unknown authors were probably of early date, for a reason which is given below; and may be assigned a place in the very beginning of this period, next in time to the Odyssey or the works of *Hesiod*.

Although the authors of these works lived some ages after the heroic times, yet they drew from the compositions of poets older than themselves, and poets who were acquainted with many of the facts which they described. By far the greater part of the subjects here named lies within the compass of the heroic age, ascending about three generations above the Trojan war and proceeding downwards to the second generation after it. But from the pictures of heroic manners given to us in the Iliad and Odyssey, we cannot doubt that contemporary bards celebrated the actions of the heroes with whom they lived<sup>j</sup>. Those poets with respect

<sup>e</sup> Casaubon ad Athen. apud Schw. tom. IX. p. 24. Salmassius Plin. Exercit. p. 602. A. and others, who had not seen the fragments of Proclus, supposed that *Homer* was not included among the cyclic poets. They might have suspected, however, that in a collection, which contained the adventures of *Ulysses* and his return to Ithaca, the Odyssey would not have been omitted. The fragments of Proclus now place this matter beyond a doubt; and his account is confirmed by Schol. Odys. ρ'. 25. ὑπολή: ἡ κυκλική "Ἰσθμική." π'. 195. θέλγει: ἡ κυκλική "θέλγεις." Boeckh. ad loc. apud Buttmann. p. 471. ἡ κυκλική videtur esse editio qua in Cyclo h. e. cum poetis cyclicis ceteris circumferebatur. When Proclus observes that the cyclic poems were not selected on account of their poetical merit, he does not mean that they had no poetical merit, but only that they were selected for another reason.

<sup>f</sup> Proclus p. 483. οἱ μνηστορες ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων θάπτονται· καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς θύσας Νύμφαις εἰς Ἥλιν ἀποπλεῖ ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βουκίλια, καὶ ξοιζέται παρὰ Πολυξέην δῶρόν τε λαμβάνει κρατῆρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ περὶ Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἀγαμήδην καὶ Αἰγίαν. ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰθάκην καταπλεύσας τὰς ἐπὶ Τειρεσίῳ βηθείσας τελεῖ θύσας. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς Θισπρυτοὺς ἀφικνέεται [see the Tables B. C. 566] καὶ γαμῇ Καλλιδικῇ βασιλῖδι τῶν Θισπρυτῶν. ἔπειτα πόλεμος συνίσταται τοῖς Θισπρυτοῖς πρὸς Βρύγαι, Ὀδυσσεὺς ἡγουμένον ἐνταῦθα ἄρξας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα τρίπεται, καὶ αὐτῷ εἰς μά-

χην Ἀθηνᾶ καθίσταται· τούτους μὲν Ἀπόλλων διαλέλει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιδικῆς τελευτὴν τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν διαδέχεται Πολυποίτης ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς υἱός, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικνέεται· κἀν τούτῳ Τηλέγονος, ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς πλέων, ἀποβάς εἰς τὴν Ἰθάκην τέμνει τὴν νῆσον· ἐκβοηθήσας δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀναιρεῖται κατ' ἄγροισιν. Τηλέγονος δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τό τε τοῦ πατρὸς σῶμα καὶ τὸν Τηλέμαχον καὶ τὴν Πηνελόπην πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καθίστησιν· ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀθανάτους ποιεῖ, καὶ συνοικεῖαί τὴν μὲν Πηνελόπην Τηλέγονος Κίρκην δὲ Τηλέμαχος.

<sup>g</sup> See the Tables.

<sup>h</sup> See the Tables. That later poets were not admitted into the κύκλος appears from Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 333. C. μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιοῖς τοῖς τοῦ κύκλου ποιηταῖς τιθέασιν.

<sup>i</sup> See No. 9. *Creophylus*.

<sup>j</sup> For the office and importance of the αἰοῖδς see the description of *Demodocus* Odys. VIII. XIII. *Phemius* Odys. I. XVII. XXII. *Achilles* himself Iliad. IX. 186. the αἰοῖδς of Argos Odys. III. 267. with the just remarks of Mitford vol. I. p. 172. Add to these Odys. XVII. 383—386. *Hesiod*. *Erg.* 25. 26. Hymn. Apoll. 165—175. quoted by Wolf Prolegom. Hom. p. 100. who observes, *Homeri ævo ars αἰοῖδων non minus peculiaris fuit quam fabri aut figuli, quam medici aut harioi, honorem autem publice privatimque habuit longe maximum*. This observation does not express all that might be said. The first of the three testimonies produced by Wolf himself con-

to the actors in the scene and the main actions performed were contemporary witnesses; and their evidence was preserved as long as their compositions existed. But when their works came to be superseded by more finished poems, in which their poetry was incorporated, the works of the older bards naturally became obsolete, and ceased to be remembered.

From the testimonies to the time of *Homer* which have been given already<sup>k</sup> we collect three principal opinions concerning his age. The first conjecture supposes him to flourish from 78 to 100 years after the fall of Troy; the second opinion, adopted by Aristotle, places his birth at the time of the Ionic migration, and by consequence his flourishing period would extend from 170 to 200 years and upwards after the fall of Troy. The third conjecture, that of Apollodorus, makes him 100 years later; and according to this opinion he is born 240 years, and his ἀκμὴ will be placed from 270 to 300 years after the Trojan era. This third opinion coincides with Herodotus, who places *Homer* and *Hesiod* together 400 years before his own time.

*Hesiod* supplies a notice of himself. His father inhabited Æolian Cymē, from whence he migrated to Ascræ in Bœotia<sup>l</sup>. And Cymē itself was not founded till 150 years after the Trojan war<sup>m</sup>. *Hesiod* according to some opinions was contemporary with *Homer*; he is placed before him by other accounts, and after him by others<sup>n</sup>. The weight of authorities is in favour of this last opinion<sup>o</sup>.

tributes to shew that the importance of the αἰὼς was not limited to the age of *Homer*, but belonged to the heroic times which preceded him.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 145—148. We may add that according to Proclus p. 6. or Tzetzes p. 15. ad *Hesiod*. *Dionysius* the κυκλογράφος supposed *Homer* contemporary with the Theban and Trojan wars: see p. 348. g. He is contemporary with *Medon* in the Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 493. αὐτὸν ξενισθῆναι φασὶ παρὰ Μεδόντι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀθηναίων—a few years after the Ionic migration. The date which Tzetzes Chil. XII. 192 (which he repeats Chil. XIII. 647). ascribes to Apollodorus, 80 years from the Trojan war, is (as Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 510. observes) a mistake of Tzetzes. That date was not the date of Apollodorus, but of Crates. Heraclides Ponticus placed *Homer* some generations before *Lycurgus*: πολιτ. p. 206. τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν (Λυκούργος) παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων Κρεωφύλου λαβὼν πρῶτος διεκόμεσεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. who is followed by Plutarch *Lycurg*. c. 4.

<sup>l</sup> *Hesiod*. Opp. 631—637.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 105. 140.

<sup>n</sup> Tzetzes Chil. XII. 163.

Ἡσίοδος ὁ πρότερος κατὰ τινὰς Ὀμήρου, κατὰ τινὰς δ' ἰσόχρονος, ὕστερος καθ' ἑτέρους.

Pausanias IX. 30, 2. avoids the question: περὶ δὲ Ἡσίοδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὀμήρου πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐ μοι γράφειν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσῃ τῶν ἐπῶν καθεστήκεσαν.

<sup>o</sup> In the following testimonies *Hesiod* is either contemporary with *Homer* or a little before him. They are made contemporary by Herodotus al-

ready quoted; and by Euthymenes and Archemachus: see p. 146. by Hellanicus, Damastes, and Pherecydes: Proclus in Vita Homeri p. 466. Gaisf. Ἑλλάδικος καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ Φερεκύδης—Μαίονά φασὶ τὸν Ὀμήρου πατέρα καὶ Δῖον τὸν Ἡσίοδου γενέσθαι Ἀπελλίδος κ. τ. λ. [conf. Suid. Ἡσίοδος, Certam. Hom. et Hes. p. 477.] And by Cyril already quoted p. 146. He adds, however, φασὶ δὲ τινες οὐχ ὁμόχρονον Ὀμήρῳ τὸν Ἡσίοδον εἶναι. Niccles apud Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1. βασιφθεῖσθαι δὲ φησὶ πρῶτον τὸν Ἡσίοδον Νικοκλῆς. Ephorus apud Syncellum p. 173. B. Ἡσίοδον Ἐφορος ἀνεψιὸν καὶ σύγχρονον Ὀμήρῳ φησὶ. Gellius III. 11. *Homerum alii minorem scripserunt; in quis L. Attius poeta et Ephorus historiae scriptor* [whence we may correct the opinion of Syncellus]. *Marcus autem Varro in primo de Imaginibus uter prior sit natus parum constare dicit; sed non esse dubium quin aliquo tempore eodem vixerint; idque ex epigrammate ostendi quod in tripode scriptum est qui in monte Helicone ab Hesiodo positus traditur. Attius autem in primo Didascalico levibus admodum argumentis utitur per quæ ostendi putat Hesiodum natu priorem, &c.* Gellius himself XVII. 21. *De Homero et Hesiodo inter omnes fere scriptores constitit ætatem eos egisse vel iisdem fere temporibus vel Homerum aliquanto antiquiorem.* Sextus Empiricus p. 259. οὐχ ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται ποιητῆς ἀρχαιότατος εἶναι Ὀμηρος; ἐνιοὶ γὰρ Ἡσίοδον προέκειν τοῖς χρόνοις λέγουσι. The Parian Marble No. 29. 30. places *Hesiod* about 30 years before *Homer*: ἀφ' οὗ . . . ἰσόδος—ἐτη ἡ ἡ ΔΔΔ . . . —ἀφ' οὗ Ὀμηρος—ἐτη ἡ ἡ ΔΔΔΔ III. The interval is either 27 or 30 years, as the lacuna may be



In assigning the age of *Homer* we have only the choice of conjectures offered to us, and this under the farther disadvantage that the reasons upon which those conjectures are founded

supplied. Proclus ad Hesiod. p. 5. repeated by Tzetzes p. 12. συνημακέναι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ὀμήρῳ φασίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρου προγενέστερον εἶναι διςχυρίζονται. καὶ οἱ μὲν προγενέστερον εἶναι τούτων Ὀμήρου διςχυρίζομενοι ἐν ἀρχαῖς εὐαί φασι τῆς Ἀρξίππου ἀρχῆς Ὀμηρον δὲ ἐν τῇ τέλει. ὁ δ' Ἀρξίππος οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν Ἀκάστου, ἀρξας Ἀθηναίων ἔτη λε' [see p. 132. o]. οἱ δὲ συγχρόνους αὐτοῦς εἶναι λέγοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐβοίας φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ νικηκότα Ἡσίοδον κ. τ. λ. Suidas Ἡσίοδος.—ἦν δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρου κατὰ τινὰς πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους σύγχρονος. Those who believed the tale of the contest with *Homer*: Dio tom. I. p. 76. ἡ οὐκ ἀκήκεας τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ἐλικῶνι τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος;

Ἡσίοδος Μοῖσαις Ἐλικῶνις τόδ' ἀνέθηκεν  
ἔμφρ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὀμηρον.

Philostratus Heroic. p. 194. οἱ δὲ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἐπὶ Ὀμηρὸν τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίοδον ὅτε δι' ἥσας ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι κ. τ. λ. Themistius Or. 30. initio: Ἡσίοδος—εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐκλείας—προῆλθεν ὥστε καὶ Ὀμήρῳ περὶ σοφίας καὶ μουσικῆς ἐν ταφαῖς Ἀμφιδάμαντος εἰς ἀγῶνα ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὴν νίκην ἔχειν. Libanius tom. III. p. 22. ἡγωνισατό ποτε Ὀμήρῳ Ἡσίοδος καὶ τούτο αὐτὸς Ἡσίοδος ἐν ἐπιγράμματι διδάσκει φιλοτιμώμενος καὶ λέγων νικηκέναι τὸν Ὀμηρον. Eustathius ad II. p. 4. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἦρσεν Ὀμηρος Ἡσίοδῳ τῷ Ἀσκραίῳ καὶ ἡττήθη. The author of the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* (written soon after the reign of *Hadrian*, in which the author lived: conf. p. 476) p. 477. εἶναι μὲν οὖν Ὀμηρον προγενέστερον Ἡσίοδου φασὶν εἶναι τινὲς δὲ νεώτερον καὶ συγγενή—τινὲς δὲ συνακμάσαι φασὶν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ὁμίσει ἐν Αἰλίδι τῆς Βοιωτίας.—Γανύκτωρ ἐπιτάφιον τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀμφιδάμαντος βασιλέως Εὐβοίας ἐπιτελὼν πάντας τοὺς ἐπισήμους ἀνδρας—συνέκალσε καὶ οὗτοι οὖν ἐκ τύχης, ὥς φασι, συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλους ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα Ὀμηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος. He repeats the epigram p. 489. The contest of these poets is ridiculed by *Lucian* V. H. II. 22. tom. IV. p. 282. ποιητῶν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ παραπολὺ ἐκράτει Ὀμηρος, ἐν ἰσχυρίᾳ δὲ ἡμῶς Ἡσίοδος. *Plutarch* Sympos. p. 675. A. mentions the tale as told by early grammarians: ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡμῶν ἔωλα παραθήσειν πράγματα, τὰς Οἰολέου τοῦ Θετταλοῦ ταφάς, καὶ τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος τοῦ Χαλκιδέως, ἐν αἷς Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἰστοροῦσιν ἔπεισι διαγωνίσασθαι, καταβαλὼν δὲ ταῦτα τῇ διατεθρολλήσθαι πάντα ἐκ τῶν γραμματικῶν, κ. τ. λ. Idem Sept. Sap. p. 153. P. ἀκούμεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὰς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφάς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἱ δοκιμώταται κηνηταὶ συνῆλθον ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιδάμας ἀνὴρ πολιτικός, καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρὰ τὸν Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Αἰλάντου μάχαις ὅτις ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ παρσκευασμένα

τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔπη χαλεπῶν—ἐποίει τὴν κρίσιν—ἦ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσίοδου πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετὰ αἰδοῦς τοῖς κρίνουσι παρεῖχεν, ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις, καὶ προῖβαλον μὲν, ὥς φησι Λέσχης,

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μῆτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθεν  
μῆτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν—

ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος “Ἄλλ' ὅταν” κ. τ. λ. The lines, however, upon *Amphidamas* in *Hesiod*. Opp. 648—660. are rejected as spurious by *Plutarch* apud *Proclum* p. 304. *Wytenb.* tom. V. p. 790. ταῦτα πάντα περὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος, τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος, καὶ τοῦ ἄθλου, καὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, ἐμβεβλήσθαι φησὶν ὁ Πλάταρχος οὐδὲν ἔχοντα χρηστόν. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀμφιδάμαντα ναυμαχοῦντα πρὸς Ἐρετρίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αἰλάντου ἀποθανεῖν ἄθλα δὲ ἐκ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο τελευτήσαντες παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων νικῆσαι δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενον τὸν Ἡσίοδον—καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τούτῳ θρυλλοῦσι. πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ληρόθῃ λέγων ἐκεῖνος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀρρεταὶ τῶν—“Ἡμῶν” κ. τ. λ. (v. 661). *Wytenbach* ad *Plutarch*. p. 153. E., who refers to all these testimonies, properly remarks that *Plutarch* does not call in question the war with the *Eretrians* (which is attested by *Strabo* X. p. 448), but only rejects the poetical contest: *Homerum et Hesiodum certasse, hunc victorem præmium tripodem abstulisse et inscripto epigrammate consecrasse, fictum nugatoriumque pronuntiat*. We may observe, however, with *Wytenbach* himself that the contest with *Homer* is not alluded to in the verses. *Pausanias* IX. 31, 3., referring to the contest at *Chalcis*, does not name *Homer* as the competitor. It is possible that the lines which *Plutarch* rejects may be genuine, and that in the epigram already given from *Dio* the first line may commemorate a real transaction, and the second may be an addition of the grammarians. *Proclus* in *Vita Homeri* p. 467. retains the verses of *Hesiod*, but rejects the contest with *Homer* and the epigram which records it: ἄθλοις δὲ τὸ αἶνιγμα πλάσαντες ταῦτο “Ἡσίοδος—διὸν Ὀμηρον.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπλανήθησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἡσίοδεων ἡμερῶν ἕτερον γὰρ τι σημαίνει. In *Plutarch* p. 154. A. *Wytenbach* (who reads προῖβαλεν Ὀμηρος ὥς φησι Λέσχης) understands *Lesches* the ancient cyclic poet, who wrote concerning the contest of *Homer* and *Hesiod*. *Reiske* also interprets, teste *Lesche* *proponebant hanc questionem*, and *Xylander* remarks, *poëta hoc nomen est qui Parvam Iliadem scripsit*. But it is very improbable that the tale of this contest should have been invented before the age of *Lesches*, or that *Lesches* should have written upon it. Such subjects belonged to a later age. Wherefore I should rather read with some co-



are not known. I prefer, however, that date for *Homer* which is sanctioned by Aristotle, placing his birth at the time of the Ionian colonies. For *Hesiod* I accept the date supplied by

pies quoted by Wyttenbach προῦβαλον μὲν λίσχας, ὡς φασι.

*Hesiod* is younger than *Homer* in the following testimonies: Philochorus and Xenophanes apud Gell. III. 11. *Alii Homerum quam Hesiodum majorem natu fuisse scripserunt; in quis Philochorus et Xenophanes.* Apollodorus apud Strabon. VII. p. 299. τοὺς ἔτι νεωτέρους Ὀμήρου, Ἡσίοδον μὲν κ.τ.λ. And his argument apud Strab. VIII. p. 370. also supposes *Hesiod* to be the youngest. Eratosthenes apud Strab. I. p. 23. Ερατοσθένης δὲ Ἡσίοδον μὲν ἐκάζει πεπυσμένον περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς πλάνης ὅτι κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν γεγέννηται, πιστεύσαντα τῇ δόξῃ, μὴ μόνον τῶν ἰφ' Ὀμήρου λεγόμενον μεμνησθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ Αἰτνῆς κ.τ.λ. Ὀμηρον δὲ μήτε εἰδέναι ταῦτα— Plutarch. Mor. p. 105. D. δὲ μετὰ τούτων [sc. *Homerum*] καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῇ χρόνῳ—Ἡσίοδος. The Scholiast on *Homer* II. δ'. 59. προσβυτάτην: πλαγιασθεὶς δὲ ἐντεύθεν Ἡσίοδος κ.τ.λ. on II. ε'. 880.—τοῦτο δέδωκεν ἀφορμὴν Ἡσίοδῳ κ.τ.λ. on II. μ'. 22. ὅτι ἀνέγνω Ἡσίοδος τὰ Ὀμήρου ὡς αὐτὸν νεώτερος τούτου. Heraclides Ponticus discussed the question περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσίοδου ἡλικίας (F. H. III. p. 471); and he decided that *Homer* was the elder: see Harles ad Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 95. a. Proclus ad *Hesiod.* Opp. 94. φαίνεται νεώτερος Ἡσίοδος Ὀμήρου. ad Theog. 338. καὶ ἐκ τούτου φαίνεται Ἡσίοδος Ὀμήρου νεώτερος καὶ γὰρ Ὀμηρος Αἰγυπτὸν καλεῖ τὸν Νεῖλον. Cicero, who placed *Homer* 30 years before *Lycurgus* (see p. 146), observes Cat. c. 15. *Homerus qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante sæculis fuit.* Velleius I. 7. *Hesiodus circa CXX annos distinctus ab Homeri ætate, vir—ut tempore tanto viro ita operis auctoritate proximus.* Porphyrius apud Suidam Ἡσίοδος. Πορφύριος καὶ ἄλλοι πλείστοι νεώτερον (Ὀμήρου) ἑκατὸν ἐνιαυτοὺς ὀρίζουσιν ὡς λβ' μόνους ἐνιαυτοὺς συμπροτερεῖν τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. The numbers are exact. Porphyry placed *Homer* 130 years before Ol. 1: see p. 146. Eusebius Chron. II. places *Homer* and *Hesiod* together at the year 1002. But at the year 1210, 30 years before Ol. 1, he records the date of Porphyry; where Hieronymus supplies *Hesiodus insignis habetur, ut vult Porphyrius.* Tzetzes Chil. XII. 166. Prolegom. ad *Hesiod.* p. 15. supposes *Hesiod* 400 years later than *Homer.* See again, ad Opp. 652. Tzetzes Chil. XII. 196. XIII. 650. places him in the 11th Olympiad: Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἤκμαζεν, ὡς εὖρον ἐν ἐτέροις, κατὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην μὲν αὐτὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. According to Proclus p. 7., or rather Tzetzes p. 15., Aristotle placed *Hesiod* in the generation before *Stesichorus*: Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ οἶμαι ὁ τοὺς πέπλους συντάξας, ἐν τῇ

Ὀρχομενίῳ πολιτείᾳ Στησίχορον τὸν μελοποιὸν εἶναι φησιν υἱὸν Ἡσίοδου, ἐκ τῆς Κλυμένης αὐτῷ γεννηθέντα τῆς Ἀμφιφάνους καὶ Γανύκτορος ἀδελφῆς θυγατρὸς δὲ Φηγείας. ὁ δὲ Στησίχορος οὗτος σύγχρονος ἦν Πυθαγόρᾳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀκραγαντίῳ Φαλάριδι· οἱ δὲ Ὀμήρου τετρακοσίοις ἰστέριζον ἔτεσι, καθά φησι καὶ Ἡρόδοτος. This account appears to be corrupted by some errors of Tzetzes. We know from Pausanias IX. 31, 5. 38, 3. Thucydides III. 96. Plutarch Mor. p. 162. E. F. 969. E. Eratosthenes in the author of the *Certamen* p. 491. that *Hesiod* was murdered by some Locrians, and that his bones were afterwards removed to Orchomenus in Bœotia. And we know from Plutarch apud Proclum ad Opp. 631. that this last fact was noticed by Aristotle: ἀνέκρητον δὲ αὐτὰ [sc. *Ascrum*] ὁ Πλούταρχος ἱστορεῖ καὶ τότε εἶναι, Θεσπίῳ ἀνελέοντων τοὺς οἰκούντας, Ὀρχομενίῳ δὲ τοὺς σωθέντας δεξαμένῳ ὅθεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν Ὀρχομενίοις προστάζει τὰ Ἡσίοδου λείψανα λαβεῖν καὶ θάψαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ γράφον τὴν Ὀρχομενίῳ πολιτείᾳ. This work was written by the celebrated Aristotle (conf. Polluc. X. 165), and not by the author of the πέπλος. *Stesichorus* was in some accounts the son of *Hesiod*: Proclus ad Opp. 268. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι υἱὸς Ἡσίοδου Μνασκάς ἐστὶ. Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησίχορον φησὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Κλυμένης ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχιπέπης. Suidas: Στησίχορος Εὐφύρβου ἢ Εὐφρήμον· ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι, Εὐκλείδου ἢ Τέτους ἢ Ἡσίοδου. That this was the opinion of Aristotle may be doubted. Tzetzes in that passage has misrepresented Herodot. II. 53. who makes no mention there of *Pythagoras* or *Phalaris*; and it is not unlikely that he has misrepresented *Aristotle*, whose work περὶ πολιτειῶν he could only quote at second hand. The date of the obsequies of *Hesiod* at Orchomenus we may fix from Pausanias IX. 38, 6. who relates that *Chersias* composed the epitaph inscribed upon his monument, and preserved Pausan. IX. 38, 3. *Certam.* Hes. et Hom. p. 491. Tzet. ad *Hesiod.* p. 7. 16. and (under the name of *Mnasalcas*) in the Antholog. tom. I. p. 126. But *Chersias* flourished in the reign of *Periander*: see below N°. 34. which fixes the inscription to that age. And this is confirmed by Plutarch Sept. Sap. p. 162. F. for in that dialogue, supposed to be held in the reign of *Periander*, he represents the Orchomenidus as then engaged in the search: ἀποκρέμπεται ζητούμενος ὑπ' Ὀρχομενίῳ, ὡς φασι, βουλομένῳ κατὰ χρησμῶν ἀνελεῖσθαι τὰ λείψανα. and, although Plutarch in that dialogue is not always exact in the minute adjustment of particulars (see the Tables B. C. 564), yet for general facts he may be trusted.



Herodotus. These dates, when adjusted to the reduced epochs given above p. B. C. 1127 for the fall of Troy and B. C. 988 for the Ionic migration, will produce the following positions. The ἀκμὴ of *Homer*, taken from the age of 25 to 60 years, will fall within B. C. 962—927, or from 165 to 200 years after the Trojan era. *Hesiod* will be placed 100 years later, according to the account of Porphyry and many others, and his flourishing period will occupy B. C. 859—824, from 268 to 303 years after the era and 400 years before the ἀκμὴ of *Herodotus*, which may be taken at B. C. 459—424 q.

p See p. 140.

q Mr. Mitford vol. I. p. 229—234. concludes that *Homer* lived before the return of the *Heracleidæ* for the following reasons: 1. Because in *Odyss.* α'. 351. "those subjects are preferred" which, being recent, are more interesting." And this would be contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates had happened 400, or even 100 years before him. 2. Because in *Odyss.* θ'. 578. "the fall of Troy" was the subject for future generations." Had the poet lived after the Return, that event would have been more interesting. 3. Because in *Il.* β'. 486. *Homer* says that "he has these things only" from report;" which would be superfluous information, if he had not lived so near the times that it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed among them. 4. Because the most natural interpretation of *Il.* υ'. 308., καὶ παῖδων παῖδες, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένονται, marks precisely the number of generations from *Aeneas* to the poet. 5. Because he is silent upon the return of the *Heracleidæ*, and because "he would" have paid some compliment to the *Heracleidæ* "if in his time they had been lords of Peloponnesus instead of exiles in Doris." But the first three passages are too vague to lead to a definite conclusion. The first is adapted to the situation and circumstances of *Telemachus* the speaker: the second is the natural expression of a poet who had chosen the Trojan war for his theme: Mitford's interpretation of the third is forced and unnatural; its plain meaning would rather refute his conclusion. Upon the fourth passage Heyne tom. VIII. p. 79. remarks, *Ex hoc versu viri docti declarare voluere tertia a Trojæ excidio ætate vixisse Homerum: sic Jortin, Wood, et inde Mitford, quarta ætate. Attamen in poetâ, et multo magis in vaticinio, non tam accurate παῖδων παῖδες dici, sed pro omni posteritate et progenie, existimandum est.* And this might satisfy the question. But even if with Mitford we understand the terms literally (which, however, he inaccurately interprets to express three generations after *Aeneas*, whereas they express only two), a sufficient explanation may be given. *Echelatus* in the Æolic migration, according to Mitford himself p. 340., "made himself master of Troy

"and put a final period to that unfortunate "city." If, then, the descendants of *Aeneas* reigned at all, they reigned till their dynasty was ended by *Echelatus* the grandson of *Orestes*, with whom the grandson of *Aeneas* might be contemporary. This passage, then, if interpreted with precision, as Mitford p. 231. requires, would only shew that the poet marked the dynasty to its extinction in the third generation, but would not prove that the poet himself lived at that period. But he is silent upon the Return (Mitford's fifth argument), which, if he had known it, he would have celebrated. "Had the return "of the *Heracleidæ* preceded the times in which "*Homer* flourished, is it conceivable that he "should never once have alluded to so great an "event?" We answer that he has alluded to it in *Iliad.* δ'. 40. Ὅπποτέ κεν καὶ ἐγὼ μεμαῶς πόλιν ἐξα-  
λαπάξαι Τὴν ἐθέλω κ. τ. λ. 51—53. ἦτοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολὺ φίλτατα εἰσι πόλεις, Ἄργος τε, Σπάρτη τε, καὶ εὐρυάργυρα Μυκῆναι. Τὰς διαπέρσαι ὅταν τοὶ ἀπέχθωνται περὶ κῆρι. Schol. ad v. 40. ἐμφαίνει τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον. Heyne ad loc. tom. IV. p. 561. *Videri potest in his poetâ ad tempora reditus Heracidarum respexisse; quod et Schol. A. suspicatur. Quorsum et referas* ἦτοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς—*Homer* has purposely abstained from more fully noticing this great event. If he was an Ionian, the Dorian conquerors were the enemies of his race. The Æolian and Ionian Greeks, for whom he composed, turned away their eyes from an ungrateful object; and he forbore to celebrate those by whom the *Pelopidæ* and *Nelidæ* had been expelled. Hence the only *Heracleidæ* chief in the *Iliad* (if we except the sons of *Thessalus* once mentioned *Il.* β'. 679) is *Tlepolemus*, who had been driven out by his brethren, and had coalesced with the Æolians or Achæans: see p. 79. q. Mitford observes in conclusion p. 233. "We must add the poet's ignorance of idolatry, "of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of "the division of the Greek nation into Æolian, "Ionian, and Dorian; the form of worship which "he describes, without temples and images; the "little fame of oracles, and his silence concern- "ing the Amphietyons; his knowledge of Sidon "and his silence concerning Tyre; the loss of "his works in Peloponnesus and their preserva-



Of the following poets whose times are known the earliest is *Arctinus*. *Eugamon*, probably the latest of the cyclic poets, came two centuries after him. But during a large portion of these 200 years the first elegiac, lyric, and iambic poets, were contemporary with the epic. *Callinus* flourished 170 years before the last cyclic poet; *Archilochus* 140 years; *Terpander*, *Alcman*, and *Thaletas*, a century before him. These are combined in one list, according to the probable order of time, in the following catalogue.

"tion in Asia. All these circumstances together amount almost to a conviction that he lived "before the Return." But in reply to all this it may be said, first, that some of these things are omitted because the poet describes the manners of the Trojan times, and not the customs of his own; secondly, that some facts, being later than his time, would shew indeed his antiquity, but would not prove that he preceded the Dorian conquest. The last circumstance may be naturally explained; the poems were composed in Ionia and for Ionians; hence they were preserved in Asia before they were known in Peloponnesus.

On an expression in *Il. β. 535.*, Λακρῶν οἱ ναῖ-  
ουσι πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης, Heyne remarks *tom. IV. p. 312. Notabile hoc, quod poetam in insulis vel Asia ora degentem arguit: nam trans, ultra, Eubœam esse Locridem sitam nemo potest dicere qui in Græcia habitat.* πέρην, however, may perhaps mean only "over against." But the simile of the north and west wind, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον *Il. ι. 5.*, could only be composed in *Æolis* or *Ionia*: *conf. Heyn. tom. V. p. 526.* The internal evidence, then, of the *Iliad* confirms, in opposition to *Mitford's* opinion, the more general account, that *Homer* lived after the return of the *Heraclidae* and was an *Ionian*.

The cause why *Homer* was claimed by so many states is properly assigned by *Harles* ad *Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 329.* He was an inhabitant, perhaps a citizen, of several cities. Hence what occurred to others in all ages of Grecian history occurred to him. *Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 141. r.* has given examples of many who were citizens both of a mother-state and of a colony. In *Boeckh Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 845. N<sup>o</sup>. 1720.* is a remarkable case of a person who was a citizen of seven cities: ἡ Νεικομήδεια—Θεόδωτον τὸν ἴδιον πολίτην, τὸν καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφέσιον καὶ Περγαμηνὸν καὶ Ἀντιοχέα τῆς πρὸς Ἀδάφην. The distich in which the seven cities which claimed *Homer* are commemorated is given with variations in the names in *Gell. III. 11. Antholog. tom. II. p. 18. Antip. Sidon. 44. tom. IV. p. 221. incert. 486.* The majority of the accounts is in favour of the Greek settlements in Asia: *Proclus Vit. Hom. p. 465. οἱ μὲν Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσαν, οἱ δὲ Χίον, οἱ δὲ Σμυρναίον, οἱ δὲ Ἰγ-*

*την, ἄλλοι δὲ Κυμαίων.* Auctor Certam. p. 473. "Ομηρον δὲ πᾶσαι, ὡς εἰπεῖν, αἱ πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἔποικοι αὐτῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι" καὶ πρῶτοί γε Σμυρναῖοι—Χῖοι δὲ πάντων τεκμήρια φέρουσιν ἴδιον εἶναι πολίτην αὐτῶν. *Conf. Antip. Sidon. 45. Antholog. tom. II. p. 18. Ibid. tom. IV. p. 221. Incert. 487. 488. Gell. III. 11, 6. Epiphan. tom. I. p. 326. A. B.* From *Epiphanus* it appears that *Aristarchus* reckoned him an *Athenian*: Ἀθηναῖον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον ἀπεφάναντο. He therefore differed from *Aristotle*, and might place the ἀκμὴ of *Homer* where *Aristotle* placed the birth; in which case we must correct the observation made at *p. 147. col. 2.* For memorials of *Homer* at *Smyrna* *conf. Strab. XIV. p. 646. Pausan. VII. 5, 6.* He is of *Chios* in the earliest testimonies: *Hymn. Apollin. 172. Simonides apud Stob. Flor. 98, 29.*

ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χῖος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ  
οἷη περ φύλλων γενεὴ ταῦδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

*Pindar: Vit. Hom. apud Plutarch. p. 1070. Wytttenb. "Ομηρον τοῖνυν Πίνδαρος μὲν ἔφη Χῖόν τε καὶ Σμυρναῖον γενέσθαι, Σιμωνίδης δὲ Χίον.* Heyne *Hom. tom. VIII. p. 777.* supposes *Pindar* the earliest testimony to *Homer*: *Prima et antiquissima memoria extat apud Pindarum Pyth. IV. 493.* *Pindar* refers to *Homer* in that ode in *B.C. 466*; but he had been already mentioned by *Simonides*, who was 38 years older than *Pindar*. *Strabo XIV. p. 645.* refers *Homer* to *Chios*: and *Theocritus VII. 47.* *Alcidas* on the contrary apud *Aristot. Rhet. II. 23, 11.* denied that he was of *Chios*: Πάριος γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμῆκασιν" καὶ Χῖον Ὀμηρον, οὐκ ὄντα πολίτην. He is an *Æolian* of *Cymæ* in the *Pseud-Herodot. c. 1. 37.* This was the opinion of *Ephorus*: *Vit. Hom. apud Plutarch. p. 1058. 1070.* But he is of *Ios* according to *Aristotle*: see above *p. 146. Gell. III. 11, 6. Aristoteles tradidit ex insula Io natum.* *Tzetzes apud Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 330.* τῷ δὲ σάφει Ἀριστοτέλει Ἰήτης τάχα δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ ἐν Ἰφ τετράφθαι. This account is in *Steph. Byz. "Ιος. νῆσος τῶν Κυκλάδων,—ἔθεν ἦν Ὀμήρου μήτηρ, ὡς ὁ χρησμός" "Ἰ"Ὀλβιε" κ. τ. λ. conf. Pausan. X. 24, 2.* His tomb at *Ios* is mentioned *Anthol. tom. I. p. 238. Alcæi 7. Pausan. X. 24, 3. Strab. X. p. 484. Plin. H. N. IV. 12. Solin. c. 11, 17. conf. Salmas. Plin. Exerc. p. 126. A. B.*



1. *Homerus*. [B. C. 962—927.]
2. *Hesiodus*. [B. C. 859—824.]
3. *Arctinus* flourished B. C. 775—740. For his works see §. 24. 26.
4. *Cinæthos* B. C. 765.
5. *Eumelus* B. C. 761—731. See his works §. 2. 7. 18. and in the Tables B. C. 744<sup>r</sup>.
6. *Antimachus of Teos* B. C. 753.
7. *Cercops*<sup>s</sup>.
8. *Asius of Samos*. An early epic poet, quoted by Antiochus, Duris, and Pausanias<sup>t</sup>.
9. *Creophylus*; author of the *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις*. see §. 12. Said to be contemporary with *Homer*<sup>v</sup>. Similar traditions were preserved of other early poets. *Stasinus* was con-

<sup>r</sup> *Eumelus* is quoted on *Callisto*, and on the wife of *Arcas*, by *Apollod.* see above p. 12. e. conf. *Tzetz.* ad *Lycophr.* 480. on the Muses: *Tzetz.* ad *Hesiod.* p. 23. *Εὐμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος τρεῖς φησὶν εἶναι Μούσας, θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος, Κηφισοῦν, Ἀελλωίδα, Βαρυσθενίδα.* on the birth of *Jupiter*: *Lyd. de Mens.* p. 96. *Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἀνδρία τεχθῆναι βούλεται.* on *Sinopé*: *Schol. Apollon.* II. 953. cod. *Par.* κατὰ μὲν οὖν *Εὐμηλον* καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην (ἢ Σινώπην) Ἀσωποῦ θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ. On the *Bugonia* conf. *Scalig. ad Euseb.* p. 71.

<sup>s</sup> Said to be contemporary with *Hesiod*: *Laërt.* II. 46. *ἐφιλανεύειαι—Κέρκωφ Ἡσιόδῳ ζῶντι.* mentioned also *Arg.* *Aristoph.* *Ran.* p. 116. *Kust.* The reputed author of the *Διγήμες*: see §. 9. Quoted de *Theseo* *Athen.* XIII. p. 557. b. *Διγήμεν δὲ ἦν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἀριάδην ὄρκους παρέβη, ὥς φησι Κέρκωφ.* on *Argus* παύτης *Apollod.* II. 1, 3. *ὃν Κέρκωφ (λέγει υἱὸν) Ἄργου καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρὸς.* on *Nauplius* *Apollod.* II. 1, 4. *ἐγρημεν, ὡς Κέρκωφ (λέγει), Ἡσιότῃν.* *Heyne* ad *Apollod.* p. 979. thinks that *Laërtius* is mistaken, and that this might be *Cercops* the Pythagorean, mentioned by *Epigenes* apud *Clem. Strom.* I. p. 333. A. and by *Aristotle* apud *Cic.* N. D. I. 38. We may reject the account which makes him contemporary with *Hesiod*; but this very account, together with the report which ascribes the *Ægimius* to *Cercops*, marks him for an early epic poet, and places him before *Pythagoras*.

<sup>t</sup> *Strabo* VI. p. 265. *δοκεῖ δ' Ἀντίοχος τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν Μένταρον—τὴν τε Μελαρινίαν οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Δίον κομισθῆναι, ἐλέγχειν ἡρῶν τῷ Μετάβου, καὶ Ἄσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φήσαντα ὅτι τὴν Βισατίαν*

*Δίον ἐπὶ μεγάρῳ τέκεν εἰσὶν Μελανίπτην.*

*Athenæus* XII. p. 525. e. *περὶ δὲ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς διόρις ἰστορῶν παρατίθεται Ἄσιον ποιήματα—ἔστι δὲ τὰ τῷ Ἀσίῳ ἴτη αἷτος ἔχοντα*

*οἱ δ' αἷτος φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιοντο εἰς ἥρας τέμνοντες, πεπικασμένοι εἰμασι καλοῖς, χροῖσι χιτῶσι πῶν χροῖς εἰρός εἶχον,*

*χρύσειαι δὲ κόρυμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς· χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμφ χρυσεῖαι ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς· δαιδάλεοι δὲ χλιδῶνες ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίσιν ἦσαν*  
\* \* \* *ἦσαντες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστῆν.*

*Idem* III. 125. b. *κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον “κνισοκόλαξ.”* *Pausanias* VII. 4, 2. quotes him on the first inhabitants of *Samos*: Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὡς Φοῖνικι ἐκ *Περιμήδης* τῆς *Οἰνέως* γένοντο Ἀστυτάλαια καὶ *Εὐδρώπη*, *Ποσειδῶνος* δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων *Δελέγων* Ἀγκαῖον δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ *Μαιάνδρου* Σαμίαν γενέσθαι *Περίλαον* καὶ Ἐνοῦδον καὶ Σάμιον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην, καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτῇ *Παρθενόπην*, *Παρθενόπης* δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαῖου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος *Λυκομήδην* γενέσθαι. Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν ταῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσεν. He mentions IV. 2, 1. *Asius* with *Cinæthos* and the ἔπη *Ναυπάκτια*. He quotes him on *Pelagius*: see p. 14. m. on *Phocus*: see p. 41. k. on *Sicyon*: p. 29. q. on *Alcmena* daughter of *Amphiaraus*: p. 76. m. on *Ptoius*: IX. 23, 3. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ *Θεμιστοῦς* παῖδα τὸν *Πτόων*, ἀφ' οὗ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικλήσις καὶ τῷ ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἄσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκεν. on *Antiope*: II. 6, 2. —ἐποίηκεν Ἄγις [Ἄσιος *Valck.*] ὁ Ἀμφιπολέμου Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε *Ζῆθον* καὶ Ἀμφίονα διὸν Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος, Ζηνὶ τε κνισαμένῃ καὶ Ἐποπείῃ ποιμένη λαῶν.

On *Thestius*: III. 13, 5. *Θέστιον τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἀρείος* [Ἀσιός *Valck.*] *φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλεῦρονος.* *Valckenaer* *Diatrib.* *Eur.* p. 58. remarks that *Pausanias* had read the works of *Asius*, but that *Strabo* and *Athenæus* quote *Asius* at second hand. It appears, however, from *Athen.* III. 125. that *Asius* himself had been read by *Athenæus*. *Wolf* *Prolegom.* *Hom.* p. 70. makes this poet contemporary with *Arctinus*: *Asius, Eumelus, Arctinus, alii, sub primis Olymp. clari.* But he produces no authority. We know that *Asius* was an early poet, but can only conjecture that he flourished in the time of *Arctinus*.

<sup>v</sup> In the *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* p. 497. ὁ ποιητὴς εἰς Ἴων ἔπλευσε πρὸς Κράωφυλον.

temporary with *Homer*<sup>w</sup>; and *Arctinus*<sup>x</sup>. To the same class of tales may be referred the more celebrated account that *Homer* and *Hesiod* were contemporary. *Pisander* was reckoned older than *Hesiod*<sup>y</sup>; *Cercops* contemporary with *Hesiod*<sup>z</sup>: which is not to be supposed a mistake of Laërtius, arising from the cause which Heyne assigns, but rather a tradition of the earlier grammarians whom Laërtius followed. Those accounts, although fabulous, yet establish that these were early poets. The times of *Arctinus* and *Pisander* are known; and we may infer that the others, whose age is not known, flourished near their times, within the period of the cyclic poets; perhaps not earlier than *Arctinus* and yet not later than *Eugamon*. Within these limits we may place the eight epic poets in this list whose age is unknown, from *Cercops* to *Hegesinus* inclusive.

10. *Stasinus* of *Cyprus*; author of the Κύπρια ἔπη. see §. 22. This poem was probably so called from the country of its author, as the Ναυπακτικά were so named because the author was of Naupactus<sup>a</sup>.
11. *Prodicus* of *Phocæa*. Reputed the author of the *Minyas*<sup>b</sup>.
12. *Diodorus* of *Erythræ*. See the Tables B. C. 765.
13. *Augias* of *Træzen*. Author of the Νέστοι<sup>c</sup>.
14. *Hegesinus*. The circumstance that he wrote an Ἀτθίς in epic verse which was quoted as authority, but which was lost before the time of Pausanias (see §. 14), will make it probable that *Hegesinus* belonged to this period, and flourished at least not later than *Eugamon*.
15. *Callinus*. Flourished B. C. 736—712<sup>d</sup>.
16. *Archilochus*. The remaining accounts refer him to B. C. 708—665<sup>e</sup>.
17. *Simonides* of *Amorgus*. Flourished B. C. 693—662.
18. *Tyrtæus* B. C. 683.
19. *Thaletas* B. C. 690—660. See the Tables B. C. 644.
20. *Terpander* B. C. 676—644. See the Tables B. C. 676.
21. *Polymnastus* B. C. 675—644. See the Tables B. C. 644.
22. *Alcman* B. C. 671—631.
23. *Aristoxenus* of *Selinus* B. C. 628.
24. *Lesches* of *Mytilenë* B. C. 657<sup>f</sup>.
25. *Xanthus*. A lyric poet who preceded *Stesichorus*<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> See §. 22. fin.

<sup>x</sup> See the Tables B. C. 775.

<sup>y</sup> The Tables B. C. 647. <sup>z</sup> See No. 7.

<sup>a</sup> See §. 4. <sup>b</sup> See §. 13.

<sup>c</sup> See §. 27. and p. 346. e.

<sup>d</sup> See the Tables B. C. 712.

<sup>e</sup> Tables B. C. 708. 693. 687. 665. 662.

<sup>f</sup> For his works see §. 25.

<sup>g</sup> Athen. XII. p. 512. f. τοῦτον οὖν [sc. *Herculem*] οἱ νέοι ποιηταὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν ληστοῦ σχήματι μόνον περιπορευόμενοι, ξύλον ἔχοντα καὶ λεοντὴν καὶ τόξα καὶ ταῦτα πλάσαι πρῶτον Στησίχορον τὸν Ἱμεραῖον. καὶ Ξάνθος δ' ὁ μελοποιὸς πρεσβύτερος ἂν Στησίχορου, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Στησίχορος μαρτυρεῖ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Μεγακλείδης, οὐ ταύτην αὐτῷ περιτίθῃσι τὴν στολήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν. πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ξάνθου παραπεποίηκεν ὁ Στησίχορος,

ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ὀρεστίαν καλουμένην. *Xanthus* probably lived before the Ἡράκλεια of *Pisander* was composed, since he treated the subject of *Hercules* in the ancient manner. And this agrees with the account that he preceded *Stesichorus*. If *Xanthus* flourished about B. C. 650, he came before *Pisander*, and preceded *Stesichorus* about 45 years. *Ælian* V. H. IV. 26. quotes *Xanthus*: Ξάνθος ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν μελῶν, ἐγένετο δὲ οὗτος πρεσβυτέρως [recte *Perizon*. πρεσβύτερος] Στησιχόρου τοῦ Ἱμεραίου, λέγει τὴν Ἡλέκτραν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος οὐ τοῦτο ἔχειν τοῦνομα πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ Λαοδίκην. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀνιρέθη τὴν δὲ Κλυταιμνήστραν ὁ Αἴγιος ἔγχευε καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἄλεκτρον οὖσαν καὶ καταγερῶσαν παρθένον Ἀργεῖοι Ἡλέκτραν ἐκάλεσαν, διὰ τὸ ἀμοιρεῖν ἀνδρὸς καὶ μὴ πεπειρᾶσθαι λέκτρον.



26. *Pisander of Camira* B. C. 647—623<sup>h</sup>.
27. *Arion* B. C. 625—610.
28. *Mimnermus* B. C. 630—586<sup>i</sup>.
29. *Sappho* B. C. 611—592.
30. *Alcæus* B. C. 611.
31. *Damophylë* B. C. 611.
32. *Erinna* B. C. 611. See the Tables B. C. 595.
33. *Stesichorus* B. C. 608. See the Tables B. C. 611.
34. *Chersias of Orchomenus in Bæotia*. Contemporary with *Periander*: Plutarch. Sept. Sap. p. 156. F. Χερσίας ὁ ποιητής· ἀρεῖτο γὰρ ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας καὶ διήλλακτο τῷ Περίανδρῳ νεασσί, Χίλωνος δεηθέντος. *Periander* reigned B. C. 625—585. If we place *Chersias* in the middle of that period, we shall refer him to B. C. 605<sup>j</sup>.
35. *Solon* B. C. 594.
36. *Sacadas* B. C. 586—578.
37. *Pythocritus* B. C. 574—554.
38. *Eugamon of Cyrenë* B. C. 566.

Concerning the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we should desire to know, if it were possible, whether they were composed without the aid of writing; and if so, at what time they were first committed to writing, and with what degree of accuracy they had been preserved without it. That the Greeks were taught the use of letters by the Egyptians or Phœnicians would be

<sup>h</sup> Quintil. X. 1, 56. *Herculis acta non bene Pisandros?* He is quoted by Pausan. II. 37, 4. on the hydra: Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμυρεὺς, ἵνα τὸ θηρίον τε δικαίῃ φοβερώτερον καὶ αὐτῇ γήγηται ἢ ποιήσις ἀξιόχρεως μάλλον, αὐτὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐποίησε τῇ ὕδρῃ τὰς πολλὰς. VIII. 22, 4. on the Stymphalian birds: Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν [sc. *Herculem*] ὁ Καμυρεὺς ἀποκτεῖναι τὰς ὄρνιθας εἰ φησι κ. τ. λ. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047. οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι τῷ 'Ηρακλεῖ μογήσαντι ἡ 'Αθηναῖα θερμὰ λουτρὰ ἐπαθήκεν· ὡς Πείσανδρος· τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις 'Αθήνη ποίει θερμὰ λουτρὰ παρὰ βηγμῖνι θαλάσσης. Apollod. I. 8, 5. Πείσανδρος δὲ Τυδεία ἐκ Γόργης γενέσθαι λέγει. Schol. Eur. Phœn. 1760. ἱστορεῖ Πείσανδρος κ. τ. λ. on the Sphinx. Ibid. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς 'Ικάστης καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύφλωσιν ἔγχευεν (Οἰκίους) Εὐρυγάνη κ. τ. λ.—ταῦτα φησὶ Πείσανδρος. Schol. Pindar. Ol. III. 52. quotes him on the stag: see §. 15. Schol. Apollon. I. 151. on the mother of *Idas*: Φερεκδῆς 'Αρήνην φησί—Πείσανδρος Πειλιδάρην. ad II. 98. on *Amycus*: 'Επίχαρμος δὲ καὶ Πείσανδρος φασὶν ὅτι ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ποσειδάων. ad II. 1089. on the Harpies: πιθανῶς δὲ ὁ Πείσανδρος τοὺς ὄρνιθας φησὶν εἰς Σκυθίαν ἀποπτῆναι. ad IV. 57. he is quoted with *Hesiod* on *Endymion*: ad IV. 1396. on the serpent *Ladon*: τούτων Πείσανδρος ἐπέλεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γεγενησθαι. ad I. 471. 'Αρήνη πάλιν Πελοποννήσου· ὣν δὲ 'Ιερὰνα λέγεται, ὥς φησι Πείσανδρος. Stobæus Serm. 12, 6. Πεισανδρου

οὐ νέμεσις καὶ ψεύδος ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀγορεύειν. Eratosth. Catasterism. c. 12. Λέων.—τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι 'Ηρακλέους πρῶτος ἄθλος ἦν—λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ Πείσανδρος ὁ 'Ρόδιος, ὅτι καὶ τὴν δαράν αὐτοῦ ἔσχευεν, ὡς ἐνδοξον πεποιηκώς. Schol. ad Germanici Aratea tom. II. p. 52. *Periandrus* [sic] *Rhodius refert eum ob primos labores Herculis memorie causa honorifice astris illatum*.

<sup>i</sup> *Mimnermus* is called the inventor of elegy by *Hermesianax* apud Athen. XIII. p. 597. f.

*Mimnermos* δὲ τὸν ἦδὲν ὅς εὗρετο πολλὴν ἀνατλάς ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεύμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου. Orion p. 58. εὐρετὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου οἱ μὲν τὸν 'Αρχίλοχον, οἱ δὲ Μίμνερμον, οἱ δὲ Καλλίνων παλαιότερον. This may have been said because *Mimnermus* first gave the elegy its amatory character. *Callinus* and *Tyrtæus*, who undoubtedly preceded him, had employed this metre in warlike poetry.

<sup>j</sup> Pausanias IX. 38, 6. quotes *Chersias*: 'Ασπληθόνα [see p. 48] εἶναι νέμφης τε Μιδείας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ ἔφη σφίσιν αἰ ἐποίησε Χερσίας ἀνήρ 'Ορχομένιος·

ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείας 'Ασπληθὸν γένεθ' υἱὸς αὐ' εὐρύχωρον πτολίεθρον. τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι κατ' ἐμὴ μνήμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς 'Ορχομένιους. τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπιγράμμα οἱ 'Ορχομένιοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ησιόδου τάφῳ μνημονεύουσιν. Callippus had also quoted another ancient poet, *Hegesinus*: see §. 14.

probable, even if no tradition remained to confirm it. The inhabitants of Syria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, possessed the use of writing from the remotest period<sup>k</sup>. But from the two last nations the Greeks received many settlers and many of the arts of life; their communications with them began in the earliest ages. The Phœnicians in particular had visited the coasts of the Ægean sea many generations before the Trojan war. It would be probable from the nature of things that the Egyptian or Phœnician settlers would carry with them this art among others. The traditions of the Greeks themselves confirm this, and point to the East as the source from whence they derived the art. The invention of letters is ascribed to *Prometheus* by Æschylus<sup>l</sup>; the introduction of them to *Danaüs* by Anaximander, Dionysius of Miletus, Hecataeus, Pythodorus<sup>m</sup>; to *Cadmus* by Herodotus, Sophocles, Ephorus, Aristotle, and by Dionysius quoted in Diodorus<sup>n</sup>; to *Palamedes* by Stesichorus and Euripides<sup>o</sup>. Others attributed them to *Hermes*, or *Cecrops*, or *Linus*, or *Musæus* P. Mr.

<sup>k</sup> Josephus Apion I. 2. τὰ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους τε καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ Φοίνιξιν (ἐὼ γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνους συγκαταλέγειν) αὐτοὶ δῆπουθεν [sc. Græci] ὁμιλογοῦσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην τε καὶ μονιμωτάτην ἔχειν τῆς μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν. καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἅπαντες οἰκοῦσιν ἡκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος φθοραῖς ὑποκειμένους, καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο πρῶτον αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀμνηστῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς περατομένων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφωτάτων ἀεὶ καθιερούσθαι.

<sup>l</sup> Æschyl. Prom. 469. Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Αἰσχύλος δὲ Προμηθεῖα φησὶν εὐρηκέναι ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι.

<sup>m</sup> Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Πυθόδωρος δὲ ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ στοιχείων—ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ χρόνων πρὸ Κᾶδμου Δαναὸν μετακομίσαι αὐτὰ φασιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοῦτοις καὶ οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς, Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἐκαταῖος, οὓς καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται.

<sup>n</sup> Herodot. V. 58. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὔτοι οἱ σὺν Κᾶδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι—ἄλλα τε πολλὰ—ἐσθήγαρον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ὄντα πρὶν Ἑλληνισί, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν. Sophocles: Hesych. Φοινικίους γράμμασι. Σοφοκλῆς Ποιμήσιν. ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ Κᾶδμος αὐτὰ ἐκ Φοινίκης κεκομμέναι. Ephorus: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 306. D. Κᾶδμος δὲ Φοίνιξ ἦν, ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων Ἑλλήσιν εὐρετής, ὡς φησιν Ἐφορος. Hence in Bekk. Anecd. p. 782. Φοινίκεα τὰ γράμματα ἐλέγοντο, ὡς φησιν Ἐφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐπεὶ Φοίνικες εὗρον αὐτά. Aristotle: Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. τῆς δὲ Φοινίκων εὐρέσεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς (Κᾶδμον) διόσκορον [f. διδάσκαλον] γεγενῆσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι Φοίνικες μὲν εὗρον τὰ στοιχεῖα Κᾶδμος δὲ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Dionysius apud Diod. III. 66. φησὶ τοῖνον—Κᾶδμου κομισάντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα, Δῖον πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν κ. τ. λ. Wolf Prolegom. in Homer. p. 52. 14. with so many others (see above p. 347. g) understands this to be the Milesian: Dionysius Milesius in magno opere, κύκλῳ, laudatur a Diodoro III. 66. But this very passage is a testimony that Diodorus did not quote

from the Milesian, since the Milesian ascribed the introduction of letters to Danaüs.

<sup>o</sup> Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Στησίχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρεστείας Παλαμῆδην φησὶν εὐρηκέναι. Stob. Flor. 81. 7. Εὐριπίδου Παλαμῆδῃ· Τὰ τῆς γε λήθης φάρμακ' ὀρθώσας κ. τ. λ. Lucian. tom. I. p. 64. καὶ ὁ γε πρῶτος ἡμῖν τοὺς νόμους τοῦτους διατυπώσας, εἴτε Κᾶδμος ὁ νησιώτης εἴτε Παλαμῆδης ὁ Ναυπλίου. Others of the later writers who name Palamedes, as Dio Or. XIII. p. 225=tom. I. p. 428. Themist. Or. IV. p. 60. A., οἱ τῆς Κᾶδμου καὶ Παλαμῆδους τέχνης δημιουργοί, are quoted by Hemst. ad Lucian. tom. I. p. 305. Bipont.

P Plato Phædro p. 274. records the Egyptian account which referred the invention to *Theuth*; alluded to again Philebo p. 18. b. Bekker. Anecd. p. 783. Δοσιάδης δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ φησὶν εὐρεθῆναι αὐτά—Μνασέας δὲ Ἑρμῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλον. In what follows, εἰσενέγκαντος Ἀρχίνου παρὰ Θηβαίων ψήφισμα, l. παρ' Ἀθηναίων ψήφισμα. referring to the archonship of Euclides B. C. 403: see F. H. II. p. 86. Tacitus Ann. XI. 14. collects the various opinions: *Ægyptii literarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnices, quia mari præpollebant, intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos tanquam reppererint quæ acceperant: quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phœnicum vectum rudibus adhuc Græcorum populis artis ejus auctorem fuisse. quidam Cecropem Atheniensem vel Linum Thebanum et temporibus Trojanis Palamedem Argivum memorant sedecim literarum formas, &c.* And Pliny H. N. VII. 56. *Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse; sed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius; alii apud Syros repertas volunt. Utique in Græciam intulisse e Phœnice Cadmum sedecim numero; quibus Trojanò bello Palamedem adjecisse quatuor—totidem post eum Simonidem melicum—Aristoteles X et VIII priscas fuisse—et duas ab Epicharmo additas quam a Palamede mavult. Anticlides in Ægypto invenisse quandam nomine Menona tradit XV annis ante Phoroneum*



Mitford<sup>q</sup>, after Montfaucon, truly remarks that the names of the Greek letters sufficiently testify that they came from Phœnicia.

At what time the Greeks received this art cannot be now determined; but there is nothing incredible in the account that they had the knowledge of letters as early as the time of *Cadmus*<sup>r</sup>. The very uncertainty of the Grecian traditions is a proof that this art had been introduced at a period very remote, and beyond the reach of any authentic information. But although known to the Greeks thus early, yet Mr. Mitford<sup>s</sup> has shewn very sufficient reasons why the use of letters made slow progress among them. Letters might be known 130 years before the fall of Troy, but the familiar use was not practised till long after it; and we may admit with Wolf<sup>t</sup> and Heyne that the poems of *Homer* were not committed to writing by their author. If this be so, we are led to inquire when written copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were first made. Wolf refers this to the time of *Pisistratus*. An earlier date, however, may probably be assigned. Letters were known and used even in Peloponnesus in the age of *Lycurgus*, who enacted that his laws should not be committed to writing<sup>v</sup>; an unnecessary provision, if writing had not been practised. Wolf himself acknowledges that the art of writing was practised soon after the beginning of the Olympiads, and affirms that perhaps *Arctinus* and *Eumelus*, but certainly *Archilochus* and *Alcman* and *Pisander*, committed their works to writing<sup>w</sup>. And this is justified by the circumstances. For according to Cicero<sup>x</sup> Greece was filled with poets and musicians before B. C. 750. Fifty years later, *Deioces* delivered his judgments in writing<sup>y</sup>. Indications also remain that the Homeric poems were extensively known and popular in Greece before the time of *Pisistratus*. *Lycurgus* was said by early authorities to have introduced them (or at least the *Iliad*) into Peloponnesus<sup>z</sup>. They

*antiquissimum Græciæ regem; idque monumentis approbare conatur.* This last particular is illustrated in Bekk. Anecd. p. 783. Ἀντικλειδῆς δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ληγουσίους τὴν εὐρεσίαν ἀνατίθησι.

<sup>q</sup> See Mitford vol. I. p. 123. and Montfaucon there quoted.

<sup>r</sup> If we may place *Cadmus* at B. C. 1257 (see p. 139), this would be at least 360 years after the Decalogue had been delivered in writing to the people of Israel; which Mitford vol. I. p. 122. thinks the earliest recorded occasion of the use of letters. But the Babylonians, who had made astronomical observations B. C. 2233 (see p. 281, 282), already possessed the art of writing many ages before the delivery of the Law.

<sup>s</sup> Vol. I. p. 129—131.

<sup>t</sup> Prolegom. p. 41—44.

<sup>v</sup> Plutarch. *Lycurg.* c. 13. νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ἔθηκεν, ἀλλὰ μὲν τῶν καλουμένων ῥητρῶν ἔστιν αὐτῶν.—μὲν μὲν ἐν τῶν ῥητρῶν ἦν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις. M<sup>r</sup>. Muller Dor. vol. I. p. 155. o. admits that *Lycurgus* prohibited written laws.

<sup>w</sup> Prolegom. p. 50. *Etiamsi literæ ante Homerum in Græciam importatæ essent omnes, tamen facultatem et usum earum usque ad initia Olympiadum fere nullum fuisse credamus.* p. 70. *Ultrò concesserim aliquanto ante Solonem Athenis*

*hanc artem paullatim privato studio usurpari cæptam; neque adeo dubito quin id sæculis VIII et VII in ceteris civitatibus, nominatim Ionie et Magnæ Græciæ, fecerint solertiores quidam homines; eorumque exemplum secuti, vel ipsi rem auspicati sint, poetæ nonnulli, si non Asiæ, Eumelus, Arctinus, alii, sub primis Olymp. at certe Archilochus, Alcman, Pisander, Arion, et horum æquales.*

<sup>x</sup> See the Tables B. C. 750.

<sup>y</sup> Herodot. I. 100. τὰς δίκας γράφοντες. That the Medes should be familiar with writing in the time of *Deioces* is nothing wonderful; but that a Greek historian should mention the use of letters as an ordinary matter is worthy of remark.

<sup>z</sup> Wolf. Prolegom. p. 139. *Quatuor exstant hujus rei testes; in his primus et ætate et auctoritate Heraclides Ponticus, περὶ πολιτειῶν.* He then adds the other testimonies: Dio tom. II. p. 87. Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 4. *Ælian* V. H. XIII. 14. and observes that for 300 years afterwards nothing is known: *per tria proxima a Lycurgo sæcula nihil constat de his carminibus nisi quod a rhapsodis particulatim divulgata sunt.* Heyne *Hom.* tom. VIII. p. 777—807. follows to the same effect: *Lycurgus notitiam aliquam Spartam adduxisse fertur; verum et hoc fama incerta*

had been celebrated at Sicyon before the time of *Clisthenes*, who was tyrant of Sicyon more than thirty years before the accession of *Pisistratus*<sup>a</sup>. *Solon*, who was contemporary with *Clisthenes*, had already introduced the recital of *Homer* at Athens<sup>b</sup>: τὰ τε Ὀμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε βασιφθεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν ἐκείθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον—ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. And the narrative concerning *Solon*, that he appealed to the Homeric Catalogue in support of the claim of the Athenians to Salamis, is a proof of the authority of these poems; for, whether that line was interpolated by *Solon*, or whether it was already in the catalogue, it testifies that the authority of the *Iliad* was already established, if the states of Greece were likely to receive it as evidence<sup>c</sup>.

The opinion, then, of Wolf that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not committed to writing till the times of the *Pisistratidæ*, and that written copies of the cyclic poems were not made till after that period, is not justified by facts; and is even inconsistent with his own positions. For if the poets, with whom Greece was now filled according to Cicero, had begun to apply this art in B. C. 708, when *Archilochus* flourished, it is not likely that these poems, the most celebrated and favourite compositions of the Greeks, would remain unwritten for 150 years afterwards. And if *Pisander* certainly committed his works to writing, it cannot be affirmed that the cyclic poets, to whom probably *Pisander* himself, undoubtedly some of his contemporaries, belonged, were not preserved in writing till a century after *Pisander*<sup>d</sup>.

*traditum est, nec constat quo auctore antiquiore; nam Heraclides Ponticus primus narrationis auctor editur. Inde per 300 annos nulla extat memoratio. Sequitur ea quæ de Pisistratidarum et Solonis studiis extat. p. 807. Duo sunt tempora. alterum est ætas Lycurgi alterum ætas Pisistrati, filiorum ejusdem, et Solonis. Lycurgi ætas—A. C. 884. En verba Heraclidis [p. 206. see p. 359. k]: Alianus de suo jam adjecit "universam Homeri poësin:" ἡ δὲ δὲ Λυκούργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀθρόαν πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκόμισε τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν. Plutarchus multo liberalior, &c. [see above §. 12. and p. 359. k]. The interval is exaggerated. *Solon* and the *Pisistratidæ* are inaccurately placed together as forming one epoch. *Solon* was at least 40 years before *Pisistratus* and 70 years before *Hipparchus*; as Heyne himself acknowledges p. 810. *Lycurgus* indeed is placed by *Eratosthenes* at B. C. 884; but even in that account his travels in Asia and acquaintance with the Homeric poems was later; and according to the more probable account of his time, which places his legislation at B. C. 817 (see p. 141), there were about 220 years between *Lycurgus* and *Solon* instead of 300. As *Ephorus* apud *Strab.* X. p. 482. mentioned a personal acquaintance of *Lycurgus* and *Homer*—ἐντυχόντα, ὥς φασί τινες, καὶ Ὀμήρῳ διατρίβοντι ἐν Χίῳ κατὰ πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν—it is probable that this account of the introduction of the poems by *Lycurgus* into Peloponnesus was also in *Ephorus*.*

<sup>a</sup> Herodot. V. 67. Κλεισθένης Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν βασιφθοῦς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἀργος τὰ

πολλὰ ἱμνέεται. *Clisthenes* was tyrant in the Cirenæan war B. C. 595: see the Tables.

<sup>b</sup> Laërt. I. 57. Partly repeated by *Suidas* v. ὑποβολή.

<sup>c</sup> Plutarch. *Solon*. c. 10. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλωνι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὀμήρου δόξαν ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγρῶναι "Ἄλῃς δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος—Στῆσε δ' ἄγων" [II. β. 558]—Plutarch adds, αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἶοντα φησύναι εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα φασιν ἀποδεῖξαι τοῖς δικασταῖς κ. τ. λ. The opinion of the Athenians does not invalidate the account, which is also noticed Laërt. I. 48. *Strab.* IX. p. 394. Schol. *Iliad.* ad loc. better given in Heyne tom. IV. p. 321. than in ed. Bekker. The interpolation of the Megarians apud *Strab.* I. c. is also a proof of the authority of the Homeric Catalogue, whose testimony they desired to secure to themselves. Some accounts referred that interpolation to *Pisistratus*: conf. *Strab.* I. c. φασὶν οἱ μὲν Πεισίστρατον οἱ δὲ Σόλωνα παρεγγράψαντα—but that it was rightly referred to *Solon* may be gathered from the narrative of Plutarch, placing the war with Megara and the contest for Salamis in the time of *Solon*; also attested by *Solon* himself apud Laërt. I. 47.

<sup>d</sup> Wolf. Prolegom. p. 157. Græci posteaquam Homerum suum collegerant, perquam verisimile est eos eandem curam statim ad reliqua præstantiora carmina supparis ævi traduxisse. Itaque nec ceteris reliquis Homericis nec Hesiodicis defuerunt, ut opinor, διασκευασταί, qui singulares rhapsodias connecterent, sive eas quæ ab ipsis auctoribus ad eandem formam compositæ erant



But the services which *Pisistratus* rendered to the Homeric poems are much overstated by Wolf, who asserts that it was the unanimous voice of all antiquity that *Pisistratus* first caused them to be committed to writing, and first arranged them in the order in which they now appear<sup>c</sup>. But these two propositions (which are at variance with his own admission just before<sup>f</sup> that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were properly arranged in Ionia and elsewhere before *Solon's* time, and with his conjecture that they were probably written in the age of *Solon* and *Pittacus*) are not both equally justified by the authorities produced. For in all the list of testimonies no mention is made of written copies except in a single passage of Josephus, who does not name *Pisistratus*. The whole import of all the other passages amounts to this, that *Pisistratus* first collected and arranged the detached poems of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed<sup>g</sup>. The recitation of *Homer* at the *Panathenæa*, a fact alluded to by *Isocrates*, and

uno volumine complecterentur, ut κατάλογους γυναικῶν, vel ἑοίας μεγάλας. Idemque non multo post *Pisistratidas* factum suspicor in cyclicis et aliis multis carminibus, quæ, hodie vix nomine nota, non pervenissent ad sæculum *Ptolemæorum* nisi tum ab interitu vel novis corruptelis servata essent.

<sup>c</sup> Proleg. p. 142. *Vox totius antiquitatis et, si summam spectes, consentiens fama testatur Pisistratum carmina Homeri primum consignasse literis, et in eum ordinem redegisse quo nunc leguntur.*

<sup>f</sup> Proleg. p. 141. *Neque enim ullo modo credibile est Solonem fuisse primum omnium qui tali ratione elegantiori dispositioni et collectioni Homericorum operum occasionem daret, neque ea in Ionia et alibi tam dissolute ut nonnullis nuper placuit tamque confuse et permixte cantitata esse, ut eorum omnis tenor penitus corrumpetur. Immo si præsidium nobis in sola conjectura esset, ubi alias quam in patria Homeri primum institutum illius elegantioris dispositionis quæreremus? Addo etiam scriptionis; cujus prima tentamina a cultissima gente facta viderentur illo tempore quo confectionem voluminum inchoatam esse docuimus, §. 17. hoc est, Pittaci vel Solonis ætate.* But he there admitted that *Archilochus* and *Aleman* composed their works in writing; and these were much earlier than *Pittacus* or *Solon*.

<sup>g</sup> Wolf. Prolegom. p. 143. 5. The passage of Josephus Apion. I. 2. p. 1138. also quoted by Fabric. B. G. I. p. 352., of which they both give the latter part, is this: (οἱ Ἕλληνες) οὐκ καὶ μάλιστα ἔργουσαν φέρον γραμμάτων. οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι θέλοντες παρὰ Φοινίκων καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνοντα μαθεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δύνασθαι τις δοῦναι σαφὲς ἀναγραφὴν οὐτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς οὐτ' ἐν δημοσίοις ἀναθήμασι. ἵππου γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ποσειδάων ἔτεσι στρατευσάτων ἕστερον πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπώλεια τε καὶ ζήτησις ἐν γραμμασιν ἐχρύντο. καὶ τάλῃθες ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ μάλιστα περὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν εἶσαν τῶν γραμμάτων χρῆσιν ἐκείνου ἀγνοεῖν. ἵλας δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲν

ὁμολογούμενον εὐρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον—καὶ φασὶν οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν γραμμασιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ποιήσιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων ἕστερον συντεθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφανίας. Here *Pisistratus* is not named. The other texts, in which he is named, make no mention of writing: Cicero Or. III. 34. *Cujus eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus.* Pausan. VII. 26. 6. Πεισίστρατος ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονεύμενα ἤθροϊζε. Ælian V. H. XIII. 14. Λυκοῦργος—τὸ ἀγῶγιμον τοῦτο ἐξ Ἰωνίας, ἥνικα ἀπεδήμησεν, ἤγαγεν ἕστερον δὲ Πεισίστρατος συναγαθὸν ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν. Liban. tom. I. p. 385. Πεισίστρατον ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐτέρω πεποιημένων συλλογῆς. Suid. Ὀμηρος.—ἕστερον συνετέθη καὶ συνετάχθη ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου. Eustath. p. 5. οἱ συνθέμενοι ταύτην [sc. τὴν Ἰλιάδα] κατ' ἐπιταγήν, ὡς φασι, Πεισιστράτου. Anonymus apud Allat. τὰ ποιήματα—σποράδην πρότερον ᾄδόμενα Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναῖος συνέταξεν—ἕστερον Πεισίστρατος αὐτὰ συνήγαγεν, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο δηλοῖ. “Τρίς με τυραννήσαντα—” Anthol. tom. IV. p. 184. Incert. 308. On the authority of this epigram see Jacobs tom. XII. p. 56. But in this nothing more is said than in the other passages; namely, ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν ἀειδόμενον. In Pausan. l. c. Wolf p. 155. supplies the rest: μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἐν κατάλογῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι φασὶν Διωνύσης ποιήσαντα ἔπος [II. β'. 573] “Ὀΐθ' Ἱππερσίην τε”—Πεισίστρατον δὲ, ἥνικα ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονεύμενα ἤθροϊζε, τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινὰ ἐταῖρων μεταποιήσαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας, which he expresses in this manner: *Pausanias diserte mentionem facit Pisistrati amicorum et adiutorum in Iliade literis mandanda.* The terms of Pausanias do not warrant this interpretation; nor do any of these passages justify the assumption that *Pisistratus*, according to general belief, first caused these poems to be committed to wri-



more distinctly attested by Lycurgus<sup>h</sup>, is attributed by another account to *Hipparchus*; and *Hipparchus* is affirmed to have been the first who introduced *Homer* into Attica<sup>i</sup>. This account, then, limits the services of the *Pisistratida* to Attica alone; and, if *Hipparchus* participated, brings down the collection to the close of the reign of *Pisistratus*<sup>k</sup>. The library which he was said to have formed was at Athens; and in the same age a contemporary collection is recorded of *Polycrates* of *Samos*<sup>l</sup>. *Pisistratus*, then, himself, towards the close of

ting. The only other passage produced by Wolf at p. 78. 39. is from a Scholiast upon Dionysius Thrax apud Villosion. Anecd. Gr. tom. II. p. 182. ἦν γὰρ ὡς φασιν ἀπολόμενα τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου τότε γὰρ οὐ γραφῇ παρεδίδοντο, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ διδασκαλίᾳ κ. τ. λ. but Wolf himself admits this Scholiast to be no great authority: *Adjutor minime dignus ille mentione, nisi narrationem suam ex iisdem Alexandrinis reliquiis sublegisset*. This Scholiast appears in a narrative in which *Pisistratus* is made to employ 72 grammarians (borrowed from the 72 interpreters of *Aristeas*), who consult upon *Zenodotus* and *Aristarchus*. conf. Villosion. Anecd. p. 183. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 767. Wolf. Prolegom. p. 147. 9.

The whole passage of Josephus is given by Wolf p. 77. and he concludes that Josephus drew that circumstance from the Alexandrine critics. That *Zenodotus*, however, *Aristophanes*, and *Aristarchus*, did not found their emendations upon the supposition that the Homeric poems were at first unwritten, is evident from the nature of their criticisms. Wolf himself admits p. 232. 233. that *Aristarchus* and others were not guided by authorities in their corrections of the text of *Homer*: *Scribit Cicero Ep. Fam. III. 11. Aristarchum Homeri versus negavisse quos non probaverit.—Immo quum horum temporum et hominum ingenia intueor, et clara veterum testimonia accurate comparo, videri mihi solet Aristarchus non aliter tractavisse Homerum ac Cato ille Lucilium, cujus male factos versus emendabat*. And acknowledges p. 174. that their emendations proceeded *potius ab æsthetico quam critico judicio, a poetica potius quam diplomatica fide*. And this is manifest from the specimens collected in F. H. III. p. 493—495. From Josephus it may be deduced that some ancient critics held the Homeric poems to have originally been unwritten; but we have no proof that even this opinion was generally received. Still less have we any proof that those who believed the poems to have been unwritten placed the first written copies in the time of *Pisistratus*; and if they did, this would be no assurance of the fact. Those who supposed that *Lycurgus* brought the *Iliad* into Peloponnesus, among whom was *Ælianus*, one of the testimonies in Wolf, necessarily supposed the existence of written copies in the

time of *Lycurgus*.

<sup>h</sup> Isocrates Panegy. p. 74. a. in B. C. 380 observes, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκαμίαισε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀθλοῖς καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ τῶν νεωτέρων. Lycurgus Leocr. p. 161. in B. C. 330: οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν, ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἐκάστην πενταετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν βραβεύεσθαι τὰ ἐπη.

<sup>i</sup> Plato Hipparcho p. 228. Ἰπάρχη, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα σοφίας ἀπεδείξατο, καὶ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠγάγασε τοὺς βραβεύδους Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐτι οἶδε ποιῶσι. Wolf exaggerates (p. 153): *Hipparcho tam magnifica partes assignantur in celebrando Homero, ut patrem in labore colligendi et disponendi vel in primis adjuvisse, vel consilium paternum exsecutus esse atque id cum amantibus literarum communicasse videri possit*. He observes also Ibid. *ea simpliciter tribui filio quæ ab aliis patri tribuuntur et Soloni*. We must remark that, if *Hipparchus* assisted his father, the collection made by *Pisistratus* is to be referred to the end of his reign; not before B. C. 530, when *Hipparchus*, from the age of his brother *Hippias* (see F. H. II. p. 203), was certainly under 30 years of age; which will place the collection of *Pisistratus* 60 or 70 years below the time of *Solon* and *Clisthenes* of *Sicyon* already mentioned.

<sup>k</sup> See the preceding note. Heyne *Homer*. tom. VIII. p. 809. 810., who considers the two testimonies, Plato Hipparcho and Dieuchidas apud Laërt. I. 57., the only two which deliver the early account faithfully (*hi duo soli sunt qui famam antiquam cum fide tradant, nam reliqui tam varie et supine hac de re loquuntur, ut vix unquam explore eos aliquid rescivisse appareat*), yet observes tom. VII. p. 716. *perscripta autem litteris primum Athenis sub Solonis tempora esse carmina Homerica probabile fit &c.* This observation places the first written copies in *Solon's* time, and limits this to Athens.

<sup>l</sup> Gell. VI. 17. *Libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum præbendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus*. Athen. I.



his reign, and his son *Hipparchus* after him, encouraged learned men and poets. A library was formed by *Pisistratus* containing the works of the epic, elegiac, lyric, and iambic poets, and among the rest the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the detached parts of which perhaps were then first collected and arranged in their present order<sup>m</sup>; but as the collection was for Athens alone, and had no reference to the rest of Greece, and as written works of other poets had been known in Greece for at least 200 years before, and a similar library at that very time was formed at Samos, it is not to be believed that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the works of all others the most celebrated, were then first committed to writing.

It is probable, then, that these poems began to be written, at least in *Ionia* and *Æolis*, as soon as written poetry came to be in use; that is, between B. C. 776 and B. C. 700, between the times of *Arctinus* and *Archilochus*. But if the composition of these poems, or at least of the *Iliad*, is rightly referred to B. C. 962—927, there had elapsed a space of about two centuries, during which they existed without the aid of writing. How were they preserved without it? Mitford<sup>n</sup>, founding his opinion upon Plato, argues that by the aid of poetry and music the memory was capable of retaining with correctness long compositions. And Wolf<sup>o</sup> concurs in the opinion that *Homer* could be accurately preserved without writing. In the early poetry of Greece the *αοιδὸς* recited his own compositions, the *ῥαψωδὸς* the compositions of others, with precision. In those times the memory, being the only or at least the chief depository of knowledge, was cultivated with a care proportioned to its necessity and importance; and the Grecian bards might transmit their poetry, as the Druids of Gaul and Britain trans-

p. 3. a. ἦν δὲ βιβλίαν κτῆσι αὐτῶ ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνικῶν τοσαύτῃ ὥς ὑπερβαίνειν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ συναγωγῇ τεθραυμασμένους, Πολυκράτην τε τὸν Σάμιον καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τυραννήσαντα, Εὐκλείδην τε τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων κ. τ. λ. Wolf p. 145. ridicules this account: *Non reperio qui alii præter Homerum inesse potuerint scriptores, quam aliquot poëta, nuper demum vel ipsius jussu perscripti. Idemque sentiendum fortasse de Polycrate Samio, &c.* We may place these collections at B. C. 530, the close of the reign of *Pisistratus* and the beginning of the reign of *Polycrates*. The chief works must undoubtedly have been in verse, for prose composition had but recently commenced. But in the preceding list at p. 365 (which contains a small part of the whole number) are the names of 25 poets from *Callinus* to *Eugamon*, who had by the admission of Wolf himself the use of writing when they composed their works (a fact sufficiently manifest), and who flourished 200 years (as *Callinus*), or 170 (as *Archilochus*), or 160 (as *Sappho* and her contemporaries), or 70 (as *Solon*), or 36 years (as *Eugamon* the latest), before this epoch. We may add to these the works of *Cadmus*, *Theagenes*, perhaps *Acusilaüs*, and some others who had already before this date begun to cultivate prose writing. If the library of *Polycrates* contained copies of the works of those poets, and also copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, he certainly did not derive these from copies which *Pisistratus* had caused to be made

at Athens. Written copies, then, already existed in other quarters.

<sup>m</sup> Mr. Payne Knight *Prolegom.* ad *Homer.* c. 4. 5. denies even this, and rejects much of what is told concerning the *Pisistratidæ* as a fable: *Pisistratum sic disposuisse ut jam inde extiterunt Cicero ex quodam rumore incerto tradidit. At neque Herodotus neque Thucydides neque Plato neque Aristoteles tanta in poëtam beneficia nosse videntur. In dialogo Socratico cui nomen Hipparchus, qui inter Platonis dubia auctoritate recensetur, Hipparchus Homerica carmina primus Athenis intulisse dicitur, et a rhapsodis in ordine Panathenæis decantanda curasse. Inde fortasse fabula de carminibus a Pisistrato aut Pisistratidis in corpora collectis originem traxit. Plus isti rumori homines postea tribuisse videntur quam primi ejus auctores significare voluerunt.* He returns to this subject at c. 32. *Historiola de compage rhapsodiarum a Pisistrato facta, si non prorsus spernenda, de Atheniensi exemplari vel editione tantum accipi debet. cujus apud veteres haud magnam fuisse auctoritatem e grammaticorum silentio colligere licet.*

<sup>n</sup> *Hist. of Greece* vol. I. p. 135—137.

<sup>o</sup> *Prolegom.* p. 104. *Mihi vehementer errare videntur ii, qui putant litteris non usum Homerum statim totum immutari et sui dissimilem reddi necesse fuisse. Id scilicet effecisset vaga auditio, non legitima et bene composita διδασκαλία.*



mitted theirs, without the aid of letters P. The *ῥαψωδοί*, a class of persons trained to the business of recitation, received from the *αοιδὸς* the compositions which it was their office to recite, and acquired by practice the power of retaining long poems q. The poems of *Homer* in par-

P CÆSAR B. G. VI. 13. *Druides*—magnum numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent, neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint, neque eos qui discunt litteris confisos minus memoria studere. Quod fere plebrique accidit, ut præsidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. Plato Phædro p. 275, addressing the supposed inventor of letters, is of the same opinion: ὁ τεχνικώτατε Θεῦθ, —σύ, πατὴρ ὢν γραμμάτων—τοῖναντίον εἶπες ἢ δύναται. τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχραῖς παρέξει μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ, ἅτε διὰ πίστιν γραφῆς ἔωθεν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίων τύπων οἷα ἔνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἀναμνησκομένους. Quintilian XI. 2, 9. quoted by Heindorf ad loc. Invenio apud Platonem ob stare memoriæ usum litterarum; videlicet quod illa quæ scriptis reposuimus velut custodire desinimus, et ipsa securitate dimittimus.

q Wolf Proleg. p. 96., observing *rhapsodorum* potissimum curæ deberi quod etiam nunc *Homærum* teneamus, properly marks the error of those who confound the *ῥαψωδοί* of the first ages with the *ῥαψωδοί* of later times: *Hos, quos insignem ordinem appello, pro levissimis hominibus habendos multi docuerunt ex Platone et Xenophonte.* In this, he observes, *priscæ illius et Socraticæ ætatis rationes confunduntur.* p. 99. *Quamvis artis hujus nomen videatur posterius esse Homero, ipsa ars et professio jam antiquissimis temporibus viguit, ac multo tum quam posthac fuit illustrior.* p. 100. *Ars αοιδῶν peculiaris fuit,—eadem rhapsodis dignatio, eadem vita fuit, donec res sensim cum studiis et moribus hominum immutata, et argento certaminum præmio proposito, ad levem quæstum deducta eviuit.* The cause, however, of the altered estimation of the *ῥαψωδοί* was rather this; that in the early times, before the use of writing, the rhapsodists were the sole depositories of the national poetry; but after writing became practised their importance was diminished. They continued for many ages after written works were common to recite the works not only of the epic but also of the elegiac and lyric poets: Athenæus XIV. p. 620. c. quoted by Heyne Hom. tom. VIII. p. 795. Χαμαιλέον ἐν τῇ περὶ Στρηχοῦρου καὶ μελωδηθῆναι φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὀμήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἡσίοδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου καὶ Φακυλίδου. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ περὶ γρίφων

“τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου” φησιν “ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς “θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐῤῥαψώδει.” Ἀνσανίας δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ περὶ Ἰαμβοποιῶν Μνασίωνα τὸν ῥαψωδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δειξέσει τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι. τοὺς δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους καθαρμοὺς ἐῤῥαψώδησεν Ὀλυμπίασι Κλειμένης ὁ ῥαψωδός, ὃς φησι Δικαιάρχος ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ. But the observation applied by Heyne to these recitations is erroneous: *Ante frequentatum apographorum curandorum usum carminum recitationes fieri solitæ sunt.* None of these recitations belong to the time which preceded the use of written copies. *Archilochus* himself wrote his works. *Mimnermus* was contemporary with *Solon* (see the Tables B. C. 630), *Phocylides* with *Hipparchus* (F. H. II. p. 9). *Empedocles* reached the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Ibid. p. 53). The rhapsodist *Cynæthus* himself flourished in B. C. 503: κατὰ τὴν ξθ' ἰλυμπιάδα Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1. *Ion* of *Ephesus* was contemporary with *Socrates*: Plato Ion. p. 530. Other *rhapsodi* continued to recite in the age of *Plato*: Plato leg. II. p. 658. e. *ῥαψωδὸν δὲ καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν ἢ τι τῶν Ἡσιοδείων διατιθέντα τάχ' ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ᾄδιστα ἀκούσαντες νικᾶν ἂν φαίμεν πάμπολυ.* But these recitations had then become theatrical exhibitions. In the first ages the *rhapsodi* might rank with the masters in the schools of philosophy of after times; in the latter period they were degraded to the class of actors in the tragic scene.

Heyne tom. VIII. p. 799. thus sums up the question: *Primis ætatibus ῥαψωδοὶ dicti ipsi ποιῆτæ, αοιδοί, qui carmina sua recitabant; inde ii qui aliorum carmina memoriter recitabant, verum etiam sua, hactenus erant ποιῆτæ. Inde res versa in artem et dramaticum ἄγωνα.* In this, though containing general truth, he has confounded some points which were distinct. The *αοιδοί* in the first ages were not called *ῥαψωδοί*. This term came into use afterwards, and not till the time of *Hesiod*: see above p. 359. o. Nor did the practice first become an art in the latest period; for it was already an art as soon as the name of *ῥαψωδός* was known. The explanation, however, of the term *ῥαψωδός* is well given by Heyne p. 794. and by Wolf p. 96. with whom Mr. Boeckh in part agrees ad Pindarum p. 362. See also Dissen ad Pindar. p. 371. Philochorus apud Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1. explains the phrase: *Φιλόχορος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ συντιθέναι καὶ ῥάπτειν τὴν ᾄδην οὕτω φησὶν αὐτοὺς προσκεκλησθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ Ἡσίοδος λέγων “Ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὀμηρος αοιδοὶ Μέλπο-*



ticular were sung at Chios by a family, or rather school, of rhapsodists, who bore from their functions the name of Ὀμηρίδαι<sup>1</sup>. By these methods, although so remote from the habits of

“μεν”— These lines are supposed by Heyne tom. VIII. p. 794. and Siebel. ad Philochorum p. 105. to be quoted by Philochorus himself. But Philochorus did not believe Homer and Hesiod to be contemporary (see above p. 361. o), which is asserted in these verses; and if he had quoted them the expression would have been δηλοῦν δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον. The citation, then, from Philochorus ends at the word προσκεκλησθαι. What follows (δρῶν κ. τ. λ.) is from the Scholiast himself; and we have no proof that these lines were accounted genuine by Philochorus.

<sup>1</sup> The *Homeridae* are mentioned by Pindar Nem. II. 1. Ὄθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι Ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ταπείλλ' αἰδοῖς Ἀρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προομίον—referred to by Strabo XIV. p. 645. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρου Χίος, μαρτυρίαν μὲν τοῖς Ὀμηρίδας καλουμένους ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐκείνου γένους προχειρίζμενοι, ὃν καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται. “Ὄθεν—αἰδοί.” To these was ascribed the hymn to Apollo which bore the name of Homer: Athen. I. p. 22. b. Ὀμηρος ἢ τῶν τις Ὀμηρίδων ἐν ταῖς εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνοις φησὶν κ. τ. λ. They are also named by Isocrates Hel. p. 218. e. λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Ὀμηρίδων ὡς ἐπιστάσας ἢ Ἐλένη τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρου προστάξει ποιῆν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν κ. τ. λ. by Acusilaüs, Hellanicus, and Crates: Harpocr. Ὀμηρίδαι (abridged by Suidas Ὀμηρίδαι): Ἰσικράτης Ἐλένη [l. c.]. Ὀμηρίδας γένος ἐν Χίῳ, ὡς περ Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν τρίτῃ. Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ Ἀγλαντιᾷ [Ἀτλαντιᾷ Valesius et Sturz. p. 61] ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φησὶν ἀνομάσθαι. Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράττηα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς ἱεροποιαῖς Ὀμηρίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀνομάσθησαν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐπεὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ποτε τῶν Χίων ἐν Διονυσίῳ παραφρονήσασαι εἰς μάχην ἦλθον τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ δόντες ἀλλήλους ἄμφοτεροι καὶ νύμφας ἐπαύσαντο ὃν τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ὀμηρίδας λέγουσιν. by Plato: Rep. X. p. 599. d. ὃ φίλε Ὀμηρε,—σὲ τίς αἰτιάται πόλις—σφᾶς ἀφελχέιναι;—οἷκον λέγεται γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν Ὀμηρίδων. Ion. p. 530. d. εἰ κοκόςμηκα τὸν Ὀμήρου; ὥστε οἶμαι ἐπὶ Ὀμηρίδων ἄξιος εἶναι χρυσοῦ στεφάνου στεφανώθηναι. Phædro p. 252. b. λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαι ταῖς Ὀμηρίδαι ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα—ἐμνήσιν δι' ἑδῆ. “Τὸν δ' ἦτοι”— The last passage is rightly understood by Ast. ad Phædr. p. 458. after Heyne Hom. tom. IV. p. 109. *Hos versus fingit Plato e reconditis Homeridarum carminibus sumptos*. In the two first, Ὀμηρίδαι may be used to express the admirers of Homer, as Stalbaum ad Ion. l. c. interprets. But Plato doubtless in this term (though applied in another sense) had also in view the *Homeridae* of Chios, who were so well known in his age. The office of the *Homeridae* is described by Porphyry

apud Bekk. Anecd. Græc. p. 769. Πορφυρίου.—κατεῖχον δὲ καὶ κλάδους διαφνῶν οἱ Ὀμηρίδαι ἐν ταῖς χειρσίν, ὅτε τοὺς Ὀμηρικοὺς στίχους ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑορτῇ ἔψαλλον. and by Schol. Pindar. Nem. II. 1. Ὀμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου γένους, οἱ καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦδον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ βασιφδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χίος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγεγραφομένων Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραμμένον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκέναι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐβραβύδησε τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ἐνάτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἰπποστράτης φησιν. Alius: Ὀμηρίδαι πρότερον μὲν οἱ Ὀμήρου παῖδες, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον βασιφδοὶ οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἐμνημόνευσαν καὶ ἐπήγγελλον ἐλυμνήναντο δὲ αὐτὴν πάνν. Eustathius more briefly, ad Il. α'. p. 6, 38. τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησατο Κύναιθος ὁ Χίος ἐλυμνήναντο δὲ φασιν αὐτὴν πάμπολλα οἱ περὶ τὸν Κύναιθον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοὶ ποιήσαντες παρένεβαν. διὸ καὶ διωρθώθησαν αἱ Ὀμηρικαὶ βίβλοι, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται. This is an inaccurate description. Salmassius Plin. Exerc. p. 609. A. makes *Cynæthus* the first βασιφδός: *Cynæthus quidam Chius primus fertur βασιφθεῖσαι Homeri carmina circa Ol. 69.* which is also inaccurate. Before the time of *Cynæthus* *Acusilaüs* had already described the *Homeridae*. But the terms even of the Scholiast would only imply that *Cynæthus* was the first who recited at Syracuse. Nor was it true that *Cynæthus* collected the scattered parts of the *Iliad*, for he lived after the *Pisistratidæ*. On the account that *Cynæthus* composed the hymn to *Apollo* see Barnes apud Ruhnken. Ep. Crit. p. 7. The position is thus stated: *Vixit Cynæthus circa Ol. 69. Thucydides historiam condidit Ol. 89.* But the interval may be assumed thus: *Thucydides*, who was 30 years of age in B. C. 441, was only about 60 years later than *Cynæthus*, who flourished in B. C. 503. The hymn to *Apollo*, then, which *Thucydides* III. 104. believed to be genuine, was composed by some earlier βασιφδός. *Cynæthus* himself was a celebrated βασιφδός, and the *Homeridae* continued down to his time. Heyne tom. VIII. p. 794. here again overstates the interval: *Memorabilis res esset, si per 500 et quod excurrit annos eam familiam floruisse vere traditum est.* But the interval from *Homer* (even where we have placed him) to *Cynæthus* will be only 927—503=424 years. With respect to the *Homeridae*, the interpretation of *Seleucus* is inadmissible. They were, as Wolf p. 98. has explained, not indeed



our times, the works of *Homer* might be preserved in their genuine condition, and transmitted through four or five generations from the time of the poet himself to the period when they were secured in written copies from future accidents.

Mr. Wolf is inconsistent upon this subject. He asserts fully the power of the memory<sup>s</sup>, and affirms that *Homer* without the aid of writing was preserved by the *rhapsodi*<sup>t</sup>, and even that the genuine text may be restored<sup>v</sup>. And yet in another place he contends that the *rhapsodi* corrupted in recitation<sup>w</sup>, and that whole books of the *Iliad* were not composed by the original author<sup>x</sup>. He argues at one time (what may perhaps be true) that the *Iliad* was originally composed in detached portions, and afterwards combined into one poem by others<sup>y</sup>; and that marks of this subsequent combination may still be traced, in the want of coherence and consistency in some of the parts<sup>z</sup>: at another time he rejects the last six books of the

the descendants of the poet, but a school of *ραψωδοὶ* exclusively or principally devoted to the recital and transmission of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. This interpretation, justified by the preceding testimonies, which all attest the occupation of the *Homeridæ*, is much to be preferred to that of Niebuhr *Hist. Rom.* vol. I. p. 268. who thinks that "such a house as the *Codridæ*, *Eumolpidæ*, "*Butadæ*, at Athens, was that of the *Homeridæ* "in Chios; whose descent from the poet was "only an inference drawn from their name, "whereas others pronounced that they were in "no way related to him:" and that "a hero "named *Homer* was revered by the Ionians at "the time when Chios received its laws." The *Homeristæ*, established by *Demetrius Phalereus* (*Athen.* XIV. p. 620. c) near 200 years after the time of *Cynæthus*, were a different class of persons.

<sup>s</sup> Prolegom. p. 101. *Stupes fortasse ad tantam capacitatem memoriæ quæ totum Homerum complecti potuerit. Mihi vero id etiam parum videtur; multoque plura nonnunquam bonos rhapsodos tenuisse suspicor.* Having referred to *Xenophon Mem.* IV. 2, 10. he proceeds, *Quid ambigis de iis hominibus qui in tali re assidue operam locabant, et illis in sæculis ubi brevior orbis discendorum ingeniis quasi vacuitatem dabat? &c.* and refers to *Plato* and *Cæsar* already quoted in p. 373. p.

<sup>t</sup> See above p. 372. o.

<sup>v</sup> Prolegom. p. 35. *Hæc cuivis persuadeant prioribus fontibus adeundis veram formam Homerica scripturæ revocari hodieque posse. Neque hanc spem eripit nobis longinqua vatis vetustas. Nam falsa est eorum opinio qui sola longinquitate temporis vel universæ historiæ fidem infringi vel scriptorum corrumpi integritatem.*

<sup>w</sup> Prolegom. p. 105. *Neque enim ne tenacissima quidem memoria, a scriptis exemplaribus destituta, non vacillat interdum. In primis vero recitatio ipsa, ardore animi peracta, infirmaverit oportet memoriam.*

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 135. *Nonne omnibus erit manifestum διασκευαστὰς his operibus conformandis propriam artem adhibuisse, quum demonstratum fuerit in utroque carmine non modo particulas quasdam sed totas rhapsodias inesse, quæ Homeri non sunt?*

<sup>y</sup> Prolegom. p. 134. *Homerum non universorum quasi corporum suorum opificem esse, sed hanc artem et structuram posterioribus sæculis inditam putem.* p. 109. *Videtur sequi necessario tam magnorum et perpetua serie deductorum operum formam a nullo poëta nec designari animo nec elaborari potuisse sine artificioso adminiculo memoriæ.* Of the *Odyssey* again p. 121. he observes that, although more perfect in its structure than the *Iliad*, *Telemachi iter, Ulyssis secessus in Ogygia insula*, carmen in quo errores suos *Phæacibus* denarrat, eodemque modo etiam reliqua, hoc est, seorsum et nulla spectatione universæ formæ, ab *Homero* composita videri possunt, diuque decantata esse priusquam aliquis politiore ævo animadverteret ea, paucis recidendis, addendis, &c. ad perpetuitatem unius magni corporis redacta splendidius monumentum fore.

<sup>z</sup> Prolegom. p. 129. He observes indications that these poems were put together by other hands: *Duæ res hic paucis attingendæ sunt, quæ vel solæ suspicionem compagis manibus alienis factæ in utroque carmine commoveant. Alterius generis sunt aliquot hiantes commissuræ, &c.* He argues p. 126. that the art ascribed to the *Iliad* is imaginary: *Cyclici omnes hæc Homerica artificia vel non animadverterunt vel ab æqualibus animadversa imitari aut noluerunt aut non potuerunt.—Ne Pisanter quidem aut Panyasis aut Antimachus, qui secundum Homerum optimi numerati sunt, nedum antiquiores et cyclici.—Apparet cyclicos poëtas res suas eodem ordine quo deinceps consecutæ essent, non ad formam *Odysseæ* nostræ, narravisse. Quæ quum ita sint, quis putet illos omnes eam artem, quæ tam eximiæ perfectionis causa est, si ab *Homero* adhibitam vidissent, aut non intellexisse aut intellectam æmulari noluisse?* This is not material to the main point of inquiry, and could only



Iliad as spurious, because they do not form a part of the original argument <sup>a</sup>. But it is evident that no reason is here adduced for rejecting these books; for, if the author designed his works as a series of poems on one subject, but not as component parts of a single poem, there could be no original argument of the whole; and the last six *rhapsodiæ* might be genuine, although they are not promised in the *exordium* of the Iliad. And this circumstance, that they are not promised in the introductory lines, is not only no proof that these parts of the Iliad are spurious, but is an argument that the *exordium* itself is genuine; for, if it had been composed by a *διασκευαστής*, it would have been adapted with more minute accuracy to the body of poetry which was to follow. And yet Wolf admits that an unity of style and manner pervades the whole Iliad <sup>b</sup>. The same answer may be given to his objection that the catalogue is unnecessary <sup>c</sup>. Both the catalogue and the six last books are quoted not less than the other parts of the poem by ancient authorities <sup>d</sup>.

shew that Aristotle was mistaken in attributing extraordinary art to the structure of these poems, because this art had been overlooked by the epic poets who followed. Nor is even this proposition distinctly argued, since he applies the same reasoning to the Odyssey, to which he allows (p. 123) the merit of skilful arrangement; as to the Iliad, to which he denies it. All this, however, refers only to a question of taste. But the real question was, whether the arrangement was from the poet himself; and this is not determined by the argument adduced; for it does not follow that the arrangement and disposition—the *ars et junctura* (p. 123)—is to be ascribed to a later age—*posterioris ætatis studiis et elegantia tribuenda*—because it had escaped the attention of Panyasis and Antimachus, who (living after Pisistratus) certainly read the poems in their present form.

<sup>a</sup> Prolegom. p. 118. *Nunquam certis argumentis docebitur septem illos versus [Il. α'. 1—7] quidquam ultra promittere quam XVIII rhapsodias. Reliquæ non iram Achillis in Agamemnonem continent sed novam a priore longe diversam, &c.* p. 136. *De Iliade non demonstrant ex regulis suis curpotissimum in tumultuaria descriptione Hectorei funeris terminetur. Nam in Odyssea suus quemque sensus docet, si extrema illa deessent, sollicitos nos abituros de Ulyse.—Quid ergo, si eam ipsam partem cum aliis nonnullis quibus justa compositio carminis carere nequit Homeri non esse, sed ab aliquo ingenioso rhapsodo proxime insequentis ævi compositas doceri potest? Quid si idem potest de sex postremis rhapsodiis Iliados? Equidem certe, quoties in continenti lectione ad istas partes deveni, nunquam non in iis talia quedam sensi quæ, nisi illa tum mature cum cæteris coaluissent, quovis pignore contendam dudum ab eruditis detecta fuisse.* He consents to reject some parts, although they are necessary to the conduct of the plot; and he would sacrifice others, because the argument is

complete without them.

<sup>b</sup> Prolegom. p. 265. *Immo congruunt in iis carminibus [the Iliad and Odyssey] omnia ferme in idem ingenium, in eosdem mores, in eandem formulam sentiendi et loquendi.* He explains this by referring it to Aristarchus: *Quid autem? si mirificum illum concentum revocatum in primis Aristarchi eleganti ingenio et doctrinæ debemus.* An opinion which has drawn upon him the just animadversion of Payne Knight Prolegom. c. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Prolegom. p. 128. *Catalogum copiarum si non legeremus, philosophia artis nihil, puto, omissum quereretur.*

<sup>d</sup> Many passages of the six last books are attested by Plato, Aristotle, Æschines, and others, whose testimonies are marked by Heyne in his Annotations.

τ'. 92. Plato Sympos. p. 195. d. "Ὁμηρος γὰρ Ἀθην θεόν τέ φησιν εἶναι καὶ ἀπαλήν—λέγων "Τῆς μὲν "θ' ἀπαλοὶ πόδες—βαίνει."

303. Æschin. Timarch. p. 20. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἔπη ἃ ἐγὼ νυνὶ μέλλω λέγειν [Il. α'. 324—329] "Ὡ πόποι—γαῖαν ἐρεῦθειν (sic.)" οὐ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα μόνον σχετλιαζὼν φαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὕτως αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπέθυσεν, ὥστε παρὰ Θέτιδος τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς προακούσας ἔτι μὴ μετελθὼν μὲν τοὺς ἑχθροὺς ἀλλ' ἐάσας ἀτιμώρητον τὸν τοῦ Πατρίκλου θάνατον ἐπαυθὼν οἰκάδε γηραιὸς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι ἀποθανεῖται, τιμωρησάμενος δὲ διὰ ταχέων μέλλει τὸν βίον τελευτᾶν, εἴλετο τὴν τοῦ τεθνεῶτος πίστιν μάλλον ἢ τὴν σωτηρίαν. οὗτω δὲ μεγαλοψύχως ἠπειλέγοτο τὸν φονέα τὸν ἐκείνου τιμωρήσασθαι ὥστε πάντων αὐτὸν παραμυθουμένων, καὶ κελεύοντων λούσασθαι καὶ σίτον προσενέγκασθαι [Il. τ'. 303. 304], ἀπόμνησι μὴδὲν τούτων πράξειν πρὶν ἢν κ. τ. λ. —ἀναγνώσεται ὁμῶν ἢ γραμματεὺς τὰ ἔπη τὰ περὶ τούτων, ἃ Ὀμηρος πεποίηκε. λέγει πρῶτον τὰ περὶ τῆς "Ἑκτορος τιμωρίας" "Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ὄν, φίλ' ἐταῖρε (sic), "σεῦ ὕστερος—φονῆς." [Il. σ'. 333—335.] ἀναγίνωσκε δὴ ἃ περὶ τοῦ ἠμοτάφους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι λέγει ἐν τῷ ἔπῳ δὲ Πάτρικλος, καὶ περὶ τῶν διατριβῶν ἃς συνδιέτριβον ἀλλήλοις" "Ὁ γὰρ ἔτι ζῶει γε—σορὸς ἀμφικα—" λῆπτοι." [Il. ψ'. 77—91.] —ἀναγνώσθι ἃ λέγει ἢ

The opinion of Heyne, that several *rhapsodi* originally composed the songs out of which

Θέτις. “Ὀκύμορος δὴ μοι—φίλτατος ἔσκεν” [Π. σ'. 95—99]. The variations in the text of *Æschines* in these citations are nothing, when the question is concerning the integrity of whole *ραψῳδία*.

υ'. 33. *Plato Rep.* II. p. 378. d. “Ἦρας δὲ δεσμούς ἐπὶ υἱός [Π. σ'. 18] καὶ Ἡφαίστου ῥήψεις ἐπὶ πατρός [Π. α'. 591]—καὶ θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὀμηρος πεποίηκεν [Π. υ'. 33].

64. 65. *Plato Rep.* III. p. 386. d.

74. *Plato Cratylus* p. 391. e. οὐκ ὁσθα ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ ὃς ἐμονομάχει τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ, “Ὁν Ξάνθον (φησί) καλέουσι θεοί” κ. τ. λ.

216—218. *Plato Leg.* III. p. 681. “Ὀμηρος—Κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην—Ἰδης.”

234. 272. *Aristot. Poet.* c. 25. πεποίηται ὁ Γανυμήδης “Διὶ οἶνονχευεῖν.” *Ibid.* εἶον τὸ “τῇ β' ἔσχετο “χάλκεον ἔγχος.”

φ'. 107. *Plutarch. Alex.* c. 54. τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένη συνέντα τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ βασιλείας [Alexandri]—εἰπόντα “Κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείων.”

214. See χ'. 15.

308. *Plato Protag.* p. 340. a. δοκῶ ὅν μοι ἐγὼ παρακαλεῖν σε ὥσπερ ἔφη Ὀμηρος τὸν Σκάμανδρον παλιόκοιμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύως τὸν Σιμόντα παρακαλεῖν, εἰπόντα “Φίλε κασίγνητε—σχῶμεν.”

χ'. 15. 20. *Plato Rep.* III. p. 391. a. οὐδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἀξιώσομεν οὐδ' ὁμολογήσομεν ὅτω φιλοκρήματον εἶναι ὥστε παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δῶρα λαβεῖν [Π. τ'. 278], καὶ τιμὴν αὐτὸν λαβόντα νεκροῦ ἀπολύειν [Π. ω'. 176] ἄλλως δὲ μὴ ἐθέλειν—καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλων εἶπεν “Ἐβλαψάς μ', Ἐκάεργε—παρεῖν.” καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν θεὸν ὄντα ἀπειθῶς εἶχε καὶ μάχεσθαι ἔτοιμος ἦν [φ'. 214, &c.] καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς τοῦ ἐτέρου ποταμοῦ Σπερχεῖο ἱερὰς τρίχας “Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ—φέρεσθαι [Π. ψ'. 151], νεκρῷ ὄντι—τάς τε αὐτὸς Ἔκτορος ἔλξεις περὶ τὸ σῆμα τὸ Πατρόκλου [Π. χ'. 395] καὶ τὰς τῶν ζωογρηθέντων σφαγὰς εἰς τὴν πυρὰν [Π. ψ'. 175].

χ'. 100. *Aristot. Eth.* III. 11. τοιοῦτους δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος ποιεῖ, ὅν τὸν Διομήδην καὶ τὸν Ἔκτορα. “Πουλυδάμας—ἀναθήσει.” καὶ Διομήδης “Ἐκτωρ—ἵπ’ ἐμεῖο” [Π. θ'. 148]. *Idem Eth. Magn.* I. 21. “Ὀμηρος πεποίηκε τὸν Ἔκτορα λέγοντα “Πουλυδάμας”—*Idem Eudem.* III. 1. “Ὀμηρος τὸν Ἐκτορά φησιν ὑπομείναι τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα “Ἐκτορα δ' αἰδῶς εἶλε (sic)—Πουλυδάμας” κ. τ. λ.

165. *Aristot. Poët.* 24. τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἔκτορος δίωξιν ἐπὶ σκηπῆς ὄντα γελοῖα ἀνφανέη, οἱ μὲν ἑστώτες καὶ οὐ διώκοντες, ὁ δὲ ἀναυνεύων [Π. χ'. 205] ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπεισι λαθάνει. c. 25. παράδειγμα ἡ τοῦ Ἐκτορος δίωξις. This whole *ραψῳδία* is attested by *Plato Ion.* p. 535. b. ὅταν αἴδης—Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἔκτορα ὀρμῶντα, ἡ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην ἐλευσινῶν τι ἢ περὶ Ἐκάβην ἢ περὶ Πρίαμον.

168. 169. 414. 415. *Plato Rep.* III. p. 388. c. πάλιν δὲ Ὀμήρου δεησόμεθα—μὴ ποιεῖν Ἀχιλλεῖα θεῶς

παῖδα “Ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρᾷς—ἀλὸς ἀτρυνέτοιο” [Π. ω'. 10—12]. μῆδ' “Ἀμφοτέρῃσι χερσίν—κάκκεφαλῆς” [σ'. 23]—μῆδ' Πρίαμον ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότα λιτανεύοντά τε καὶ “κυλινδόμενον—ἔκαστον”—μήτοι θεοῦς γε ποιεῖν ὀδυρομένους καὶ λέγοντας “Ὀμοί” [σ'. 54]—εἰ δ' αὖν θεοῦς, μή τοι τὸν γε μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν τολμᾶσαι οὕτως ἀνομολῶς μιμῆσθαι ὥστε “Ὀ πόποι” φάναι—“ἦτορ” καὶ “Αἰ αἰ ἐγὼν—δαμῆναι” [π'. 433].

ψ'. 77. see τ'. 303.

100. 103. 104. *Plato Rep.* III. p. 386. d.

108. *Aristot. Rhet.* I. 11. διὰ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως εἴρηται “Ὡς φάτο—γῶσι.”

150. 151. 175. see χ'. 15.

328. *Aristot. Soph. Elench.* I. 4. p. 166. Bekk. τὸν Ὀμηρον ἐνιοι διορθοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ὡς ἀτόπως εἰρηκότα “τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπίθεται ὁμῶς.” λίσουσι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῇ προσφῶδι, λέγοντες τὸ οὐ ὀξύτερον. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν “δίδομεν δὲ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι” [Π. β'. 8—15. ubi nunc non legitur]. *Idem Poët.* 25. ὥσπερ Ἰπίλας ἔλκεν ὁ Θάσιος τὸ “δίδομεν δὲ οἱ”—καὶ “τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπίθεται ὁμῶς.”

335—340. *Plato Ion.* p. 537. εἰπε δὴ μοι ἃ λέγει Νέστωρ Ἀντιλόχῳ τῷ υἱεῖ, παραινῶν εὐλαβηθῆναι περὶ τὴν καμπὴν ἐν τῇ ἵπποδρομῇ τῇ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ. “Κλινῶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐξέετο (sic)—ἐπαυρεῖν.” *Xenoph. Sympos.* 4, 6. “αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι εὐξέετο—χερσὶ” [335—337].

ω'. 10. See χ'. 168. ω'. 176. see χ'. 15.

54. *Aristot. Rhet.* II. 3. εἰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐκτορος ὁ ποιητὴς παῦσαι βουλόμενος τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τῆς ὀργῆς τεθνεῶτος “Κωφὴν γάρ—μεναιάνων.”

80—82. *Plato Ion.* p. 538. τί δὲ ὅταν λέγῃ Ὀμηρος “Ἡ δὲ—φέρουσα.”

316. *Aristot. H. An.* IX. 32. μορφνός· οὐ καὶ Ὀμηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πριάμου ἐξῶδῳ.

ω'. 348. *Plato Protag.* p. 309. a. οὐ σὺ Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέτης εἶ, ὃς ἔφη χαριστάτην ἦβην εἶναι τοῦ ὑπηνήτου;

527—532. *Plato Rep.* II. p. 379. d. οὐκ ἄρα ἀποδεκτέον Ὀμήρου—λέγοντος ὡς “Δοιοὶ πίθοι—δειλῶν.” καὶ ὡς μὲν ἀνμίσξας ὁ Ζεὺς δὴ ἀμφοτέρων, “Ἀλλοτε μὲν—ἑσθλῶν.” ὃ δ' αὖν μή, ἀλλ' ἄκρατα τὰ ἔτερα, τὸν δὲ “κακὴ βούβρωστις—ἐλαύνει.” οὐ δ' ὡς ταμίας ἡμῖν Ζεὺς “ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται.”

Of II. ω'. Wolf observes *Prolegom.* p. 135. *Constat jam olim dubitatum esse ab Aristophane et Aristarcho de auctoritate extremorum Odysseæ inde a ψ'. 297. Eademque dubitatio injecta est etiam de Iliados ω'. Jensius apud Heyn. tom. VIII. p. 761. had condemned this book because in his judgment it is unpoetical, and because it forms a tame conclusion to the Iliad; but without pronouncing an opinion upon its authority: Neque ipse dubitasse videtur eundem cum cæteris carminis partibus hanc rhapsodiam auctorem ha-*



buisse. Heyne p. 764. Dawes Misc. Crit. p. 152=257 Kidd. because he cannot restore the digamma to v. 449. pronounces, *Fuerunt inter veteres qui totum hunc librum Homero abjudicarent; atque in eo quidem adeo multa occurrunt quorum similia nusquam alias leguntur ut continere me nequeam quin in eorum sententiam concedam.* Heyne answers these objections p. 760—769. His observations may be classed under four heads: 1. The ancients have nowhere pronounced this book spurious. The passage referred to by Wolf relates solely to the Odyssey, and makes no mention of Il. α'. namely Schol. Odys. ψ'. 296. Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦτο πεινῶνται. Alius: τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας φησὶν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης. Eustath. ad Odys. p. 1948, 47. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστορίαν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης οἱ κερυφαῖοι τῶν τότε γραμματικῶν εἰς τὸ, ὡς ἐβρέθη, "Ἀσπάρτιοι λέκτροι—κεντο," περατοῦσι τὴν Ὀδύσειαν τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἕως τέλους τοῦ βιβλίου νοθεύοντες. οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι πολλὰ τῶν καιριωτάτων περικύπτουσιν, ὥς φασιν οἱ αὐτοῖς ἀστυπίστους. The ancient critics object to particular passages of Il. α'. but in the same spirit in which they object to others in the former books of the Iliad; objections founded upon taste, and not upon authorities. Specimens of their objections have been given in F. H. III. p. 495. γ. 2. As to the words which only occur in this book, as μέλας πότος 79. ὁ χέρνυβος 304. καλήτορα 577. ἐπίσκοπος 729. ἀθλιεῖν πρὸ ἀνακτος 734. Heyne remarks, *Nullus alius est liber Iliadis in quo non occurrunt ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.* 3. On the *mythi novi*, the judgment of Paris v. 28. &c. he answers, *Nullus facile est liber in quo non mythi et narrata occurrunt in cæteris haud obvia.* 4. On the objection that verses are repeated here which occurred before, Heyne observes, *Illud vero omnino nullam vim habet, quod versus aliunde expressi aut repetiti iterantur.*

The catalogue was extant in the time of Solon: see above p. 369. On the catalogue Aristotle Poët. c. 23. observes, Ὅμηρος—ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται πολλοῖς, ὃν νῆων καταλόγῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεισοδίοις. v. 510, 719, and the total number of ships, are verified by Thucydides I. 10. 552—554 by Herodotus VII. 161. and by an inscription apud Æschin. Ctes. p. 80, 21. Corinth v. 570 was in this part of the catalogue in the time of Pindar: Conf. Ol. XIII. 81. 576, 612 are attested by Thucydides I. 9. 684 Idem I. 3. 671—673 by Aristotle Rhet. III. 12. Corruption or interpolation has been especially imputed to the catalogue by modern critics. But these charges for the most part amount only to a general suspicion founded upon the nature of this part of the Iliad, and upon the supposed facility with which insertions might be made. Mr. Müller Æginet.

p. 43. thinks it interpolated by the vanity of the different states seeking to insert their own heroes. He rejects the passage on *Tlepolemus*: *Tlepolemum, Phidippum, et Antiphum, etiamsi in ipsis fabulis nullum habebant locum, copiarum catalogo inseri—Locus de Rhodiis 653—670 omnium longissimus—ob versum ultimum suspicionem movet, cum Rhodios vix crediderim multo ante Ol. 1. mercaturas facere cepisse. Corinthus in catalogo ἀφνειός, quod etiam Heynium offenderat. Apud Homerum tantum urbes regiæ Pelopidarum. Corinthiorum mercaturæ multo recentiores sunt.* In Dor. vol. I. p. 125. o. he again rejects *Tlepolemus*, but adds no new arguments; only affirming that he feels convinced that no enemy of Troy came from the east of the Ægean. If we were to grant that v. 670, καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίον, was an interpolation, this would be no cause for rejecting the preceding lines. There seems to be no good reason for admitting no forces from Rhodes, or Cos, or Carpathus, or Symë. These islands were not more remote from Aulis or from Troy than Crete. The people of these islands were Greeks not less than the Cretans were, and might equally with the Cretans engage in an enterprise which promised adventure and plunder. No national vanity could be gratified by the mention of *Nireus*. The objection to ἀφνειὸς Κόρινθος is not so weighty as the objection to v. 670. This epithet is used in a general sense of persons who are not preeminent. The people of the little town of Zelea are ἀφνειοί: β'. 825. *Euchenor* of Corinth is ἀφνειός: γ'. 664. *Dares*: ε'. 9. *Podes*: ς'. 576. *Nisus* of *Dulichium* in Odys. σ'. 126. But, it is urged, the vanity of the Grecian states would lead them to interpolate. While, however, the Iliad was little known in Greece, they could have had no motive; when its authority and credit was established, there would be less opportunity for corruption. When the poems were widely circulated, interpolation would have been detected. One or two instances are recorded, as that in the time of Solon; and, if others had been attempted, we should probably have heard of them. Nor is the catalogue such as to justify the suspicion. We may assume the space between *Lycurgus* and *Solon* as the period within which, from the extended fame of the Iliad, the national vanity might desire to be commemorated. But the catalogue celebrates few of those who then had the ascendancy in Greece. It contains for the most part the names of extinct or exiled or conquered dynasties, of those who had either retired to distant settlements, or had been reduced to bondage at home, while the chief sway in Greece was now in other hands.



the Iliad was compiled<sup>e</sup>, is still less tenable. This opinion is merely founded on the probability that a long poem, composed and at first preserved without the aid of writing, might not be the work of one man. But to this we may oppose the internal evidence of the Iliad itself. There are doubtless in the long series of the Iliad many lines which might be pruned away; many, which may be interpolations; although the indications of this are more rare than we might expect<sup>f</sup>. But yet the general fabric of the whole, the unity of style, not merely in the structure of the verse and language (which is a less decisive argument), but still more in the thoughts and characters and images, mark the poems of which the Iliad is composed for the productions of a single mind<sup>g</sup>.

That the Odyssey was composed by the author of the Iliad was the persuasion of the early Greeks. It is quoted without suspicion by Plato, Aristotle, and others<sup>h</sup>. But among the

<sup>e</sup> Heyne Homer. tom. VIII. p. 803. 804. 835.

<sup>f</sup> The following have been noticed as the most material: three verses not now extant are quoted by Plato Alcib. II. p. 149. from Il. θ. 547. Three in Æschines Timarch. already quoted in Il. ψ'. see note d. at γ'. 303. Four lines were wanting, expunged by Aristarchus in Il. ι'. 457. apud Plutarch. Mor. p. 26. F. δ μὲν οὖν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐξεῖλε ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ φρονηθεῖς ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ὀρθῶς κ. τ. λ. Idem p. 72. B. ὅθεν οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἐνέβαλε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀτυχήματα, δι' ὀργὴν ἐπιχειρήσαντος ἀνελεῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ταχὺ μεταγρόντος. "Ὡς μὴ πατροφόνος—καλεοίμην." Conf. Valcken. Diatr. Eur. p. 264. Æschines Timarch. p. 18, 10. καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι λέγοντα πρὸ τοῦ τι τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι "Φήμη δ' εἰς στρατὸν ἦλθε"—This expression is nowhere in our copies. One line after Il. λ'. 542. is in Aristot. Rhet. II. 9. Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νημέσασχ' ὅτ' ἀμείνωνι φωτὶ μάχοιτο. Some few remarkable various readings occur. We have seen an instance in Aristotle in note d. at ψ'. 328. and in Plato at ω'. 527. Another is given at Il. ψ'. 870. by Schol. Ven. ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ "Σπερχόμενος—ἴθουν." ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ Ἀντίμαχον οὕτως "Σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξέλειτο τόξον Χερσίν"—Aristotle Met. III. 5. p. 1009. remarks, φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον ταύτην ἔχοντα φαίνεσθαι τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν Ἐκτορα, ὡς ἐξέστη ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς, "κεῖσθαι—ἀλλοφρονέοντα." This word occurs in Il. ψ'. 698. applied to *Euryalus*, but nowhere applied to *Hector*. Either therefore Aristotle has named *Hector* by mistake for *Euryalus*, or this word was formerly extant in the description of *Hector* Il. ξ'. 409—439. ι'. 240—252. The ἀθετήσεις of *Aristarchus* were not founded upon legitimate criticism. But even these were few in number. Wolf Prolegom. p. 272. observes that 470 verses are marked in the extant Venetian Scholia: *Versus in codice Veneto obeliscis sunt admodum 470, numerusque aliquanto major esset si codex servatus esset integer*. In a poem containing more than 15,600 lines we may wonder that the variations are not more numerous.

<sup>g</sup> One observation of Heyne upon this subject tom. VIII. p. 828. deserves attention: *Statuendum est non modo famam Trojani belli usque ad octavam vel nonam ætatem fuisse servatam, verum et carmina antiquiora quibus ea fama jam condita fuerat; nec enim ad assequendum facile esset, unde tam politus et suavis sermo Ionici carminis procedere potuisset, nisi jam multa carmina antecesserant. Per ea itaque heroica vite mores et instituta jam ita multorum poetarum studiis informata esse poterant ut eorum imaginem reddere tam vividam facile possent*. If we substitute the fourth or fifth generation for the eighth or ninth, and one author of the Iliad for many, this observation will be just, and will truly describe the materials which *Homer* used in composing the Iliad; namely, the works of the poets who preceded him.

<sup>h</sup> Pindar Nem. VII. 29=20. ἐγὼ δὲ πλεόν' ἔλπομαι Λόγον Ὀδυσσεύς, ἣ πάθεν, διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον. Ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσι οἱ ποταμφί τε μηχανῇ Σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι. Plato has the following passages among others: Ion. p. 535. b. αἱ Ἰων, —τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἔταν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ἐφαλλόμενον ἄδης, ἐκφανῆ γιγνόμενον τοῖς μνηστῆρσι καὶ ἐκχέοντα τοὺς ἀιστούς [Od. χ'. 1—4]—τότε πότερον ἔμφρων εἴ ἢ ἔξω σαντοῦ γίγναι; p. 538. e. πολλὰ καὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεείᾳ λέγει, οἷον καὶ αἱ ὁ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν λέγει μάντις πρὸς τοὺς μνηστῆρας Θεοκλύμενος "Δαιμόνιοι (sic) τί κακὸν τόδε—ἀχλὺς" [Od. ι'. 351—357]. Rep. III. p. 386. c. ἐξαλείψομεν ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους ἀρξάμενοι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα "Βουλοίμην—ἀνάσσειν" [Od. λ'. 488]. Again Rep. VII. p. 516. d. τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἂν πεπονθέναι καὶ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι "ἐπάρουν ἐόντα—ἀκλή—ρφ." Rep. IV. p. 441. b. τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου μαρτυρήσει, τὸ "Στῆθος δὲ πλῆξας—μύθη" [Od. υ'. 17]. Protag. p. 315. c. d. τὸν δὲ μέτ' εἰσενόησα, ἔφη Ὁμηρος [Od. λ'. 600]—καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ Τάνταλόν γε ἐσείδον [Od. λ'. 581].—This passage therefore, which was condemned by *Aristarchus* (Schol. Pindar. Ol. I. 97. Schol. Odys. λ'. 568. 601. 604), was acknowledged by *Plato*. Porson ad Eur. Or. 5, who mentions the ἀθετήσεις of *Aristarchus*, has



Alexandrine critics, as it should seem, the question arose, whether the author of the *Iliad* was also the author of the *Odyssey*. *Aristarchus* appears to have held that they were both composed by *Homer*; since in some passages of the Venetian scholia, which for the most part follow his authority, reasons are offered against the opinion of those who gave the *Odyssey* to another poet. The arguments in favour of that opinion which may be gathered from those passages are for the most part frivolous and insufficient. *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, *Athenæus*, never notice it: *Seneca* mentions it with contempt<sup>1</sup>. Some modern critics, however,

neglected to notice this testimony of *Plato*. *Plato* *Leg.* VII. p. 804. a. προσδοκῶντα καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν εἰ λέγειν τὸ “*Τηλέμαχ’ ἄλλα μὲν—τραφέμεν τε*” [*Od.* γ’. 26—28]. *Leg.* III. p. 680. b. λέγει δ’ αὐτὴν πῦν καὶ “*Ὀμηρος γεγονέναι περὶ τὴν τῶν Κυκλώπων οἰκισμὸν εἰπών· “Τοῖσιν δ’ οὗτ’ ἀγοραὶ—ἀλέγουσι”* [*Od.* ε’. 112—115]. referred to by *Aristotle* *Rep.* I. 2. τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὃ λέγει “*Ὀμηρος, “θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος “Παῖδων ἢδ’ ἀλόχων.”*” *Eth.* *Nicom.* X. 10. κυκλωπικῶς θεμιστεύων παῖδων ἢδ’ ἀλόχων. who also among other passages has the following: *H. A.* VI. 20. p. 575. a. *Bekk.* “*Ὀμηρον οἶονταί τινες ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἀποανύοντα τὴν κῆρα τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς* [*Od.* ρ’. 326]. *Problem.* 26. p. 943. b. *Bekk.* “*Ὀμηρος ἐν τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, “Ἄλλ’ αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο—ἄῃται”* [*Od.* ς’. 567]. *Ibid.* p. 953. b. “*Ὀμηρος ἐποίησε “καὶ μέ φησι δάκρυ πλάειν βεβαρημένον οἶνον”* [*Od.* τ’. 122. these two with some variations]. *Poët.* c. 8. “*Ὀμηρος—Ὀδυσσεύς* ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη,—ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πράξιν, οἷον λέγομεν τὴν Ὀδυσσεύς συνίστηεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα.

<sup>1</sup> *Schol.* II. β’. 356. Ἐλένης ὁμήματα: ἡ διπλῇ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας ἔφασαν γὰρ τὸν μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος ποιητὴν δυσσασχετοῦσαν συνιστάνειν καὶ στένουσαν διὰ τὸ βίβη ἀπῆχθαι—τὸν δὲ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς ἔκουσαν, οὐ νοῶντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ’ ἔξωθεν πρὶθεσιν τὴν “*περὶ*” δι’ λαβεῖν, ὡς ἢ περὶ Ἐλένης. A frivolous objection answered by a frivolous solution. The true answer is, as *Heyne* has seen *tom.* IV. p. 264, that the line is out of place and ought to be expunged: *hunc versum ex 590 in alienum locum esse illatum*. This verse at its true place, at 590, merely expresses the feeling of *Menelaüs*, and in that sense is happily paraphrased by *Pope*.

β’. 649. διὰ τί ἐνταῦθα μὲν πεποίηκεν—*Κρήτην ἑκατόμυλον, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀδυσσεύς* —“*ἐνεμήκοντα πόλιν*” τὸ γὰρ ποτὶ μὲν ἐνεμήκοντα ποτὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν λέγῃν δικαίᾳ ἐναντίον εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν οὕτως κ. τ. λ. *Ἀριστοτέλης* δὲ οὐκ ἄτοπόν φησιν κ. τ. λ. In *Schol.* *Ven.* ἡ διπλῇ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας ἔτι οὖν μὲν ἑκατόμυλον τὴν *Κρήτην*, ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς δὲ ἐντηκοντάμυλον. This question was discussed also by *Ephorus*: *conf.* *Strab.* X. p. 479. But in the time of *Ephorus* and *Aristotle* and *Heraclides Ponticus* the only question was concerning the inconsistency of the poet. It does not appear to have been then argued that the *Odyssey*

was not by *Homer*. For the λύσεις Ὀμηρικαὶ of *Heraclides* see *F. H.* III. p. 471.

δ’. 354. *Τηλεμάχοιο*: ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι προτετυπωμένως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ὀδυσσεύς μνημονεύει τοῦ *Τηλεμάχου*. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ποιητοῦ καὶ ἡ Ὀδυσσεύς. A conclusion not warranted by the premises.

ζ’. 154. ἡ διπλῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐπαναλήψιν τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἰλιάδι συνεχῶς ταῖς ἐπαναλήψεσι κέχρηται, ἐν δὲ Ὀδυσσεύς ἅπαξ κατ’ ἀρχάς “*Αἰθίοπες τοὶ διχθά.*” *Schol.* ad μ’. 96. ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι πλεονάζει ἐν Ἰλιάδι τὰς ἐπαναλήψεις, ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς δὲ ἅπαξ. πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας. ad η’. 138. ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι πυκναὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι αἱ ἐπαναλήψεις, ἅπαξ δὲ ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς. The same observation is repeated at ν’. 372. and at ψ’. 642.

κ’. 476. *προπάρειθεν*: ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι νῦν τὸ “*προπάρειθεν*” ἐπὶ χρόνον τέταχεν—οὐχ ὡς οἱ χωρίζοντες ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς μόνον, ἐν Ἰλιάδι δὲ τοπικῶς.

λ’. 147. *ὄλμον*: ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι ἅπαξ ἐνταῦθα κέχρηται καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἰλιάδι εὐτελέσι κέχρηται λεξιδίοις, οὐ μόνον ἐν Ὀδυσσεύς “*χοῖνικος*” [τ’. 28] καὶ “*λύχνου*” [τ’. 34]. πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας. To the same purpose *Schol.* *Odys.* τ’. 28. *χοῖνικος*: ἅπαξ ἐνταῦθα ἡ φωνή. καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο χωριστέον τῆς Ἰλιάδος τὴν Ὀδυσσεύς κάκει γὰρ εἰσι τοῦδε εὐτελέστερα ὀνόματα, “*ὄλμον*,” κ. τ. λ.

λ’. 692. ἡ διπλῇ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας, ὅτι ἐν μὲν Ἰλιάδι δώδεκα *Νηληϊος* παῖδας λέγει, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀδυσσεύς [λ’. 285] τρεῖς γεγενῆσιν. It is answered, and perhaps sufficiently, that only the sons of *Chloris* are mentioned in the *Odyssey*.

ν’. 365. ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι νῦν μὲν τὴν *Κασάνδραν* “*εἶδος ἀρίστην*,” ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ [II. ζ’. 252] τὴν *Λαοδίκην*, καὶ οὐ μάχεται. ἡ δὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας, λύεται γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις.

π’. 747. ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι ἅπαξ εἶρηκε “*τήθεα*”—πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὁ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ποιητὴς οὐ παρέρχεται τοὺς ἥρωας χρομένους ἰχθύσι, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς. See *Heyne* *tom.* VII. p. 262. who well concludes, *tota hæc argumentatio et disputatio vana est*.

φ’. 416. ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι οἱ χωρίζοντες φασὶ τὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος ποιητὴν εἰδέναι συνῶσαν τῇ Ἄρει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς διαφώνως ἠφαίστω. The Scholiast properly adds, λέγειν δὲ δι’ ὅτι οὐχ οἱ αὐτοὶ χρονοὶ ἦσαν τῆς συμβιώσεως.

φ’. 550. Ἀχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον: ἡ διπλῇ ὅτι πλεονάζει ἐπ’ Ὀδυσσεύς τὸ “*πτολίπορθος*,” νῦν δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπ’ Ἀχιλλεύς. πρὸς τοὺς χωρίζοντας: τούτοις γὰρ χρῶνται.

*Wolf* *Prolegom.* p. 158. observes, τοὺς χωρίζον-

have minutely examined this question, and have traced in the *Odyssey* differences of style and indications of a later time, which make it probable that this poem was the work of another author<sup>k</sup>. But yet, if not by the same poet, these two poems manifestly belong to the same school of poetry, and are not far from each other in time. I should upon conjecture place the *Odyssey* before *Hesiod*, and about 50 years later than the time of *Homer*<sup>l</sup>.

If *Hesiod* flourished where we have placed him, 400 years before *Herodotus* and about 80 before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, his genuine works, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, must have been at first preserved by recitation for some space before they were committed to writing. It seems probable from what has been already observed<sup>m</sup> that written copies were begun to be made 50 years after that era, and little more than a century after the time of *Hesiod* himself. The genuine works which may be referred to B. C. 859—824 are the *Ἔργα*, perhaps the *Θεογονία*<sup>n</sup>. The other works which bore his name, the *Μελαμποδία*, the *Ἀσπίς*, the *Ἡοῖαι*

*ταῖς priores fuisse celeberrimis scholis grammaticorum ex multis indicibus colligo. Quare videndum est ne forte primum vestigium illius suspicionis lateat in mutilato loco vitæ Homeri, quæ a Tychsenio edita est, &c.* The passage is in Proclus p. 468. Gaisford. repeated by Bekker in Schol. Hom. Il. p. I. γέγραφε δὲ ποιήσεις δύο, Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἣν Ἑένων καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἀφαιροῦσιν αὐτοῦ· οἱ μὲντοι ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὸν Κύκλον ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. *Hellanicus*, who is here opposed to οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, is not the historian, but a grammarian quoted Schol. Hom. Il. ε'. 269. ε'. 651. τ'. 90. *Xenon*, also a grammarian, either preceded or was contemporary with *Aristarchus*: conf. Schol. ad Il. μ. 435. There is no reason, then, to conclude that this opinion concerning the *Odyssey* had arisen before the time of the Alexandrine critics. No suspicion of this appears in *Aristotle*, and the questions in these passages are such as the grammarians were accustomed to discuss. *Seneca de Brev. Vitæ* c. 13., quoted by *Wolf*, does not fix the time: *Græcorum iste morbus fuit quærere quem numerum remigum Ulysses habuisset; prior scripta esset Ilias an Odyssea; praterea, an ejusdem esset auctoris.*

<sup>k</sup> Mr. Payne Knight *Prolegom.* c. 43—47. determines that the *Iliad* was more ancient than the *Odyssey* by the following arguments: 1. *Voces quædam in Odyssea e vitæ cultioris usu ortæ videntur, ut χρήματα, λίσσχη, βύβλιος, θητεύω.* 2. *Voces aliæ in utroque poemate obviæ in Odyssea breviorum sumunt formam.* 3. The syntax is different: ἐπὶν has an indicative in the *Odyssey* but not in the *Iliad*. 4. The mythology is different: in the *Iliad* *Hermes* is not the messenger of the gods; *Neptune* has no trident; *Delos* is not sacred to *Apollo*; there is no ἀποθέωσις of a hero. 5. In the *Odyssey* are marks of a greater progress in the arts. The instances, however, which are produced are not very satisfactory. Mr. Coleridge, in his excellent Introduction to the Greek

Poets, also concludes that these poems were not by the same author. He remarks p. 170. a change in the language of the *Odyssey*. He observes p. 101. 167. more than 200 similes in the *Iliad*, but in the *Odyssey* (which, though shorter than the *Iliad* by 3586 lines, is still a long poem) he numbers less than 50, marking the genius of a different poet. We may add that *Ἕλληνες* is used in a larger sense in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*: see above p. 45. s. Mr. Coleridge, however, justly concludes p. 142., from the unity of design through the whole poem, that the *Odyssey* was composed by one poet, and not compiled from the songs of various *rhapsodi*.

<sup>l</sup> Some of the differences observed in the two poems may be attributed to the difference of the subjects; the one describing war, the other domestic life. The author of the *Iliad* adapts the manners to the age which he describes; the poet of the *Odyssey* more naturally introduces the later manners of his own time. Some indications of resemblance occur. Mr. Coleridge observes that 1000 verses are identical in the two poems; as Il. ζ'. 490. Od. α'. 356. *Apollo* and the *Sun* are distinct deities in both. Both poems are silent, as Payne Knight remarks, upon the use of letters and of coined money. We may conclude from these particulars that the *Odyssey* was but little later than the *Iliad*.

<sup>m</sup> See above p. 369.

<sup>n</sup> The *Ææotians* allowed only the *ἔργα* to be genuine, as we know from *Pausanias*. But the *Theogony* has its claims, and is quoted as of *Hesiod* by early authorities; *Xenophanes*: *Laërt.* IX. 18. γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑπείσοι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ' Ἡσίοδου καὶ Ὀμήρου, ἐπικύπτων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. *Sext. Empir.* p. 280. Ὀμηρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος, κατὰ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ἑανοφάνη, ὡς πλεῖστ' ἐφθέγγαντο θεῶν ἀθεμίστια ἔργα, κλέπτειν, μοιχεύειν τε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεῦναι. *Herodotus*: II. 53. Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὀμήρον—οὗτοι δὲ



μεγάλοι and κατάλογοι γυναικῶν°, and the Κήυκος γάμος, which was perhaps included in the

εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην "Ελληνσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες κ. τ. λ. *Aristotle: Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 584. Aristoteles lib. III. de Caelo cap. 1. et alibi. sc. de Caelo III. 1. εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ φασιν οὕθην ἀγίηται εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι, γενόμενα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀφάρτα διαμένειν τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ Ἡσίοδου, εἴτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογήσαντες.* Other passages are in *Phys. Ausc. IV. 1. p. 208. Bekk. δέξειε δ' ἂν καὶ Ἡσίοδος ὁρθῶς λέγειν ποιήσας πρῶτον τὸ χάος. λέγει γὰρ [Theog. 116] "Πάντων μὲν πρῶτιστα χάος—εὐ—ρίστερος."* quoted again *Met. I. 4. de Xenophane c. 1. p. 975. c. 2. p. 976. Idem Met. II. 4. p. 1000. οἱ περὶ Ἡσίοδου καὶ πάντες ὅσοι θεόλογοι μὲν ἐφρόντισαν τοῦ πιθανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῖς, ἡμῶν δ' ὠληγρότερον* θεὸς γὰρ ποιῶντες τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐκ θεῶν γεγενῆσθαι, τὰ μὴ γεγεσμένα τοῦ νέκταρος καὶ τῆς ἀμβροσίας θητὰ γενέσθαι φασιν.

° The collection entitled Ἡοῖαι μεγάλοι, κατάλογος γυναικῶν, ἥρωϊκή γενεαλογία, ἥρωγονία, has produced much diversity of opinion. Five books are named by Suidas: Ἡσίοδος—ποίηματα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα. *Θεογονία. Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι. Ἀσπίς. Γυναικῶν ἥρωϊκῶν κατάλογος ἐν βιβλίοις ε'.* which *Petitus Leg. Att. p. 559—561.* thus distributes:

γυναικῶν κατάλογος α'. β'. γ'.  
δ'. Ἡοῖαι μεγάλοι.  
ε'. ἥρωγονία.

Kuster ad Suid. l. c. agrees with Petitus; and Fabricius B. G. tom. I. p. 577. *Tres priores catalogi sub titulo κατάλογοι γυναικῶν. Post librum IV<sup>us</sup> Ἡοῖαι μεγάλας complexum, fuit quintus ἥρωϊκή γενεαλογία sive ἥρωγονία.* Siebelis ad Pausan. tom. IV. p. 101. considers the Ἡοῖαι and the γυναικῶν κατάλογος to be different works; *ut duo distinguuntur opera.* But Wyttenbach ad Eunapium p. 133. thinks them the same: Ἡοῖαι opus idem est quod γυναικῶν ἥρωϊκῶν κατάλογος βιβλίοις ε'. And Heyne ad Apollod. p. 986. κατάλογος γυναικῶν. *Idem carmen vulgo appellatum Ἡοῖαι μεγάλοι. poetū quoque appellari γενεαλογίαι ἥρωϊκαί.* In Schol. Apollon. II. 181. they are distinguished: cod. Par. Ἡσίοδος μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἡοῖαις πεπηρῶσθαι φησὶ τὸν Φοῖβα διὰ τὸ δέξαι Φρίξ τὴν εἰς Σκυθίαν ὁδὸν ἐν δὲ τῇ γ' τῶν καταλόγων, διὰ τὸ ζῆν μακρὰν ὁδὸν μᾶλλον ἰδέσθαι. Camubon ad Strab. I. p. 42 (72). observes from hence that they were different works: *Ex scholiaste Apollonii discimus diversa hæc esse opera;* but rightly adds, *Certum est tamen Ewas Hesiodi aliud fuisse nihil quam mulierum præstantissimarum catalogum.* Maximus Tyrius Diss. 32. p. 123. divides the works of Hesiod into three classes: δ' Ἡσίοδος χωρὶς μὲν τῶν ἥρωων, ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀρχήματα, καταλόγων τὰ γένη, ἵστις ἐξ ἧς ἔφην χωρὶς δὲ αὐτῶν πεποιητάς οἱ θεοὶ λόγοι, ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις

θεογονία χωρὶς δ' αὖ ὠφελεῖ τὰ εἰς τὸν βίον, ἔργα τε ἃ δραστήον καὶ ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς δραστήον. And Lucian tom. VIII. p. 147. Θεῶν τε γενέσεις διηγοῦμενος—ἐτι δὲ γυναικῶν ἀρετὰς, καὶ παραινέσεις γεωργικάς, where the Ἡοῖαι are not distinguished from the κατάλογος. Pausanias IX. 31, 4. Βοιωτῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα οἰκούντες παρελημμένα δόξῃ λέγουσιν ὡς ἄλλοι Ἡσίοδος ποιῆσαι οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐς τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προόμιον—ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα (δόξα) κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας, ὡς πολλὴν τινα ἐπὶ δ' Ἡσίοδος ἀριθμὸν ποιήσειεν, ἐς γυναικῶν τε ἀξιόμεινα ἃς μεγάλας ἐπνομαζούσιν Ἡοῖας, καὶ Θεογονίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα [Clem. Strom. VI. p. 628. C. ταῦτα (sc. Odys. i. 372)—Ἡσίοδος ἐπὶ τοῦ Μελάμποδος ποιεῖ. Athen. XI. p. 498. a. et hinc Eustath. ad Il. μ'. p. 900, 18. Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Μελαμποδίας. II. p. 40. f. Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῇ Μελαμποδίᾳ. XIII. p. 609. e. Ἡσίοδος ἐν τρίτῳ Μελαμποδίας. Tetz. ad Lyc. 682. ὁ τῆς Μελαμποδίας ποιητής: 5 lines de Tiresia. Schol. Od. λ'. 90. περὶ δὲ τῆς Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας παρὰ Τειρεσίῳ ἔνεκα τῆς λαγνείας κρίσεως καὶ ὁ τῆς Μελαμποδίας ποιητής ὡς ἀπὸ Τειρεσίου φησὶν "Οἷον μὲν "μοῖραν"—two lines], καὶ ὡς Θησεὺς εἰς τὸν Ἀἰδὸν ὁμοῦ Πειρίφῳ καταβαίῃ, παραινέσεις τε Χείρωνος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὴ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως [Schol. Pindar. Pyth. VI. 19. τὰς Χείρωνος ὑποθήκας Ἡσίοδῳ ἀνατιθέασιν, ὃν ἡ ἀρχὴ "Εὐ "νῦν μοι τὰδ' ἕκαστα"—3 lines. Conf. Quintil. I. 1, 15. *Grammaticus Aristophanes primus ὑποθήκας negavit esse hujus poetæ*], καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἔργοις τε καὶ ἡμέραις. where Pausanias, as the text now stands, includes the Ἡοῖαι in the poems ἐς γυναικῶν; which is to be preferred to the interpretation of Siebelis, retaining καὶ ἃς μεγάλας—and distinguishing them as separate works. The other testimonies to the Ἡοῖαι are these: Pausan. IV. 2, 1. ἐπελεξάμην τὰς Ἡοῖας καλουμένας—"Τλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐδαίχμῃ συνοικησάσι Πολυκάονα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς μεγάλας οἶδα Ἡοῖας. II. 26, 3. κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοῖας ἦν Ἐπιδαύρῳ πατὴρ Ἄργος ὁ Διός. IX. 40, 3. μαρτυρεῖ ὁ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοῖας ποιήσας "Φύλας δ' ἄπεινεν κούρην"—6 lines. X. 31, 2. αἱ Ἡοῖαι καλούμεναι: de Meleagro. II. 2, 3. πεποίηται ἐν Ἡοῖαις μεγάλαις Οἰβάλου θυγάτρα εἶναι Πειρήνην. VI. 21, 7. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Οἶνου μόνον κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἡοῖας Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πορθάωνος—μετὰ δὲ Ἀλκάθου Εὐρύαλος καὶ Εὐρύμαχος κ. τ. λ. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. IV. 35. δ' Ἀσκληπιάδης τὰ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡοῖαις παρατίθεται "Ἡ οἷα Ἰρήν πικρὴ "νόφρων Μηκιονίκη κ. τ. λ." 3 lines. Schol. Apollon. I. 118. ἐν δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις μεγάλαις Ἡοῖαις λέγεται. de Melampode. IV. 57. τὸν Ἐνδυμῶνα Ἡσίοδος μὲν Ἀεθλίου παῖδα λέγει.—καὶ Πείσανδρος δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ φησὶ καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ Φερεκύδης κ. τ. λ.—ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἡοῖαις λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμῶνα ἀνενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔρασθόντα δὲ Ἡρας παραλοισθῆναι εἰδὼλῳ



νεφέλης διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, καὶ ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς ἄδου. IV. 828. ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις 'Ηοίαις Φόρβαντος καὶ 'Εκάτης ἢ Σκύλλας. II. 1123. 'Ακουσίλαος, καὶ 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις 'Ηοίαις. de Phrixii filiis: see above p. 49. Schol. Soph. Trach. 1169. 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν 'Ηοίαις. see above p. 55. o. Athen. X. p. 428. c. 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν ταῖς 'Ηοίαις εἶπεν "Οἷα Διώνυσος"—4 lines. VIII. p. 364. b. ἐκ τῶν εἰς 'ΗΣίοδον ἀναφερομένων μεγάλων 'Ηοίαν — παρῶδεται. Eunapius Aedes. p. 41. τὰς 'ΗΣίοδου καλουμένας 'Ηοίας. The κατάλογος is thus quoted: Strabo I. p. 42. 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν καταλόγῳ φησί

καὶ κούρην 'Αράβοιο, τὸν 'Ερμῶν ἀκάκητα  
γενῆατο καὶ Θρονίη κούρῃ Βήλοιο ἄνακτος.

Harpocr. Μακροκέφαλοι. ἔθνος—οὗ 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν τρίτῳ γυναικῶν καταλόγῳ μέμνηται. conf. Strab. I. p. 43. 'ΗΣίοδου δ' οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτιάσασαίτο ἄγνοιαν ἡμίκυνας λέγοντος καὶ μακροκεφάλους καὶ Πυγμαίους. Harpocr. ἰπὸ γῆν οἰκόντες. τοὺς ὑπὸ 'ΗΣίοδου ἐν τρίτῳ καταλόγῳ καταυδαίους ὀνομαζομένους. Diomedes apud Vales. ad loc. Exegetici poëmatis species sunt tres \* Historice, qua narrationes et genealogiæ componuntur, ut est Hesiodi γυναικῶν κατάλογος. Steph. Byz. Γερηνία. 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν πρώτῳ καταλόγῳ

κτεῖνε δὲ Νηλῆος ταλασίφρονος υἱάας ἑσθλοὺς  
ἔνδεκα δωδέκατος δὲ Γερηνίος ἱππότης Νέστωρ  
ξείνος ἦν ἐτύχῃσε παρ' ἱπποδάμοισι Γερήνους.

conf. Schol. Iliad. β'. 336. τότε Νέστωρ ἐν Γερήναις τρεφόμενος, κ. τ. λ.—διὸ καὶ Γερηνίος ὀνομάσθη. Ιστορεῖ 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν καταλόγῳ. Pausan. I. 3, 1. 'ΗΣίοδος εἶρκεν ἐν ἔπεισι τοῖς ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας. I. 43, 1. οἶδα 'ΗΣίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν. Servius ad Aen. VII. 268. Hesiodus etiam perī γυναικῶν inducit multas heroidas optasse nuptias virorum fortium. Dio Or. II. p. 77. 'ΗΣίοδος—ἐποίησε γυναικῶν κατάλογον, καὶ τῷ ὄντι τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐμνησεν. Lucian. tom. V. p. 259. διηγουμένου σου τὸν πολὺν, ὃς καὶ παρ' 'ΗΣίοδῳ, κατάλογον ἐν ἀρχῇθεν ἡράσθης. Porphyrius apud Schol. Iliad. ξ'. 200. παρ' 'ΗΣίοδῳ ἐν γυναικῶν καταλόγῳ ἐπὶ τῆς 'Αγῆνορος παιδὸς Δημοδόκης "τὴν πλεῖστον" κ. τ. λ. conf. Schol. Odys. α'. 98. Eustathius ad Odys. ν'. p. 1746, 9. ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ 'ΗΣίοδῳ καταλόγου περὶ τῶν Προϊτίδων κ. τ. λ. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 393. 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν τῇ ἡρωϊκῇ γενεαλογίᾳ "Ἡματι τῷ ὅτε τείχος—" κ. τ. λ. part of a fragment of 5 lines: conf. Gaisford. Fragm. Hes. p. 174. Schol. Apollon. III. 1086. 'ΗΣίοδος ἐν πρώτῳ καταλόγῳ. on Deucalion and Helen: see p. 44. That a part of the ἀσπίς was included in the κατάλογος is attested by a Scholiast apud Fabric. B. G. tom. I. p. 577. Gaisf. Poët. Min. tom. I. p. 143. τῆς ἀσπίδος ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ δ' καταλόγῳ φέρεται μέχρι στίχων ν' καὶ σ' [ν' καὶ στ' Petitus]. ὑπώπτευκε δὲ 'Αριστοφάνης—ὁ γραμματικὸς ὡς οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτὴν 'ΗΣίοδου ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς τὴν 'Ομηρικὴν ἀσπίδα μιμήσασθαι προαιρουμένου. Μεγακλῆς δὲ ὁ 'Αθηναῖος γνήσιον μὲν οἶδε τὸ ποίημα, ἄλλως δὲ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῇ 'ΗΣίοδῳ.—'Απολλώνιος δὲ ὁ 'Ρόδιος ἐν τῇ γ' φησὶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἔκ

τε τοῦ χαρακτήρος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὸν 'Ιδαιον ἐν τῇ καταλόγῳ εὐρίσκειν ἡριοχούντα τῷ 'Ηρακλεῖ. ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ Στῆσιχορὸς φησὶν 'ΗΣίοδου εἶναι τὸ ποίημα. The κατάλογος is the collection so named; which Apollonius, it seems, ascribed to Hesiod. Hesych. 'Ηοίαι. ὁ κατάλογος 'ΗΣίοδου. Idem ἦρμαι. αἱ λεγόμεναι ἔννοιαι ['Ηοίαι Valesius]. Tzetzes Prolegom. ad Hesiod. p. 17. distinguishes the κατάλογος from the ἡρωγονία: 'ΗΣίοδου ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι—οὕτω δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα βίβλων, 'Ασπίδος, Θεογονίας, 'Ηρωγονίας, γυναικῶν κατάλογον, καὶ λοιπῶν ἀπασῶν. The discrepancies between the 'Ηοίαι and the κατάλογος in Schol. Apollon. are well explained by Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 581. and by Groddeck apud Harles l. c. who argue that the collection was composed of pieces by various authors: *Genealogica illa carmina a variis iisque ignotis auctoribus esse conscripta; superiore autem tempore propter argumenti similitudinem ex iis unum opus, in plures libros distributum, esse conflatum et Hesiodo suppositum; 'Ηοίας vero μεγάλας Hesiodi quod in magna fuissent fama etiam collectione facta suum nomen retinuisse, partem vero reliquarum genealogiarum fuisse habitas.* Harles observes p. 579. *Equidem valde suspicor inscriptionem 'Ηοίαι, sive κατάλογος γυναικῶν, a grammaticis demum poëmati fuisse præfixam.* Wolf Prolegom. Hom. p. 157. considers the collection made in the ancient time: *διασκευασταὶ qui eas quæ ab ipsis auctoribus ad eandem formam composita erant uno volumine complecterentur, ut κατάλογος γυναικῶν vel 'Ηοίας μεγάλας.* We may agree with Harles that the title κατάλογος γυναικῶν was given in the time of the Alexandrine grammarians, and that in the collection then made were included various ancient poems on the same subject; some bearing the name of Hesiod, others by unknown authors. But the 'Ηοίαι μεγάλαι which formed a part of that collection were not so named first in the times of the Alexandrine school; because this title was known to *Hermesianax*, who alludes to it apud Athen. XIII. p. 597. d.

ἔνθεν ὃ γ' 'Ηοίην μώνυμος 'Ασκραϊκὴν  
πόλλ' ἔπαθεν, κ. τ. λ.

And *Hermesianax* flourished before those times: Pausan. I. 9, 8. *Ἑρμῆσιάνναξ δὲ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψας οὐκέτι (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) περιῆν. πάντως γάρ πω καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἐπὶ αἰλούσῃ Κολοφῶνι οὐδύρατο.* Pausanias concludes that his death preceded the capture of Colophon by *Lysimachus*, who was slain in B. C. 281. And the term 'Ηοίαι is described as generally used: Pausan. IX. 36, 4. *ὁ τὰ ἔπη συνθεὶς ἄς μεγάλας 'Ηοίας καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες,* where 5 lines are given de *Orchomeno*. For II. 16, 3. see above p. 14. p. This poem, then, was so named in ancient times, but was received into the κατάλογος when that collection was made by the Alexandrine critics.



κατάλογοι P, may be added to the list of thirty epic poems already given<sup>q</sup>. Their age is unknown. The 'Ηοῖαι and the 'Ασπίς have been brought down to the 40th Olympiad by some. But this date is assigned upon conjecture, and is founded on no authority<sup>r</sup>. If the authors had lived so late as B. C. 620, when letters were in common use and poetry was written, it is likely that their names would have been preserved. That these poems, with the Μελαμποδία, the κατάλογοι, and Κήυκος γάμος, were ascribed to *Hesiod*, and that the real authors were unknown, is a proof of their antiquity, and an argument that they were composed before the use of writing was general. The 'Ηοῖαι and some other pieces might really be composed by *Hesiod* himself; those which were the work of other poets may be placed near his time, or at least not later than *Arctinus*<sup>s</sup>. The anonymous cyclic poems, the Φορωνίς, Δαναΐς, 'Αλκίμαιωνίς, Θηβαΐς, and 'Επίγονοι, may for the same reasons be assigned to the same period<sup>t</sup>.

P The Κήυκος γάμος is named by Athenæus II. p. 49. b. 'Ησιόδος ἐν Κήυκος γάμῳ, καὶ γὰρ γραμματικῶν παῖδες ἀποξενοῦσι τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ ἐπη ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀρχαῖα εἶναι. Schol. Apollon. I. 1289. 'Ησιόδος ἐν τῷ Κήυκος γάμῳ. de *Hyla*. Plutarch Symp. p. 730. F. rejected it: ὁ τὸν Κήυκος γάμον εἰς τὰ 'Ησιόδου παρεμβالὼν εἴρηκεν. Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 579. 593. observes, *Pars fuit τῶν καταλόγων*. Probably however not a fragment of a poem, but an entire poem in itself, which was received into that collection. The Κήυκος γάμος might be a part of the κατάλογοι as the 'Ιλίου πέρις was a part of the epic κύκλος.

q See p. 358. The Διγίμνος has been already mentioned §. 9. The other titles of lost works collected by Fabricius tom. I. p. 590—593. are either corrupt and spurious titles, as γῆς περίοδος, θεῶν λόγος, μεγάλα ἔργα, or parts of other poems, as *Epithalamium Pelei*, ἔπη μαντικά, Θησέως κατάβασις, or supposititious works which we cannot with certainty pronounce to be ancient, as ἀστρονομία μεγάλη, περὶ 'Ιδαίου δακτύλου, ὑποθήκαι Χείρωνος. On all these titles see Harles ad Fabric. l. c.

r Vossius de Poëtis Græcis p. 18. assigns this date after Scaliger: *Ad hæc tempora* [sc. Ol. 40] *referendus videtur auctor τῶν 'Ηοίων καὶ τῆς 'Ασπίδος*, ut optime Scaligero monitum *Epist.* 247. ad

*Claudianum Salmasium*. Scaliger merely says, *Prima illa ætas in qua fuere Homerus et Hesiodus—hanc potes judicare atque adeo vocare ver Poëtices.—Excipit eam ætas in qua Onomacritus, Solon, Tyrtaeus, et quisquis fuit auctor τῶν 'Ηοίων καὶ τῆς 'Ασπίδος, quam præpostero judicio criticorum natio Ascræo illi attribuit.*

s Harles ad Fabric. tom. I. p. 581. remarks of the κατάλογος γυναικῶν, *Collectio illa non integra ab Hesiodo profecta sed ab aliis aucta (quod quidem non adeo multo post Hesiodi tempora factum opinor; alias enim antiquiores critici rem melius scire et accuratius distinguere libros potuerant), postea in quinque partes distributa et per ignorantiam uni Hesiodo adscripta videtur.* If Harles intends to express that the collection was made not long after *Hesiod*'s time, he is somewhat inconsistent with himself; for the collection was made at the time of the distribution into five books, to which the title κατάλογος was affixed: and this he had already referred to the grammarians. But if his meaning is limited to this, that some parts of the collection afterwards made were from *Hesiod* himself and that the other parts were composed not long afterwards, he appears to have judged rightly.

t See above p. 358.

# I N D E X.

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- Trapezus, a Sinopian colony 756, 2.
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gress from Italy through Bæotia to Attica, and thence to Lemnos p. 95. s. 96. s. proba-  
bly not Pelasgic p. 96. s. 97. s.
- Tyrrhenus son of Atys p. 27. or of Telephus Ibid.
- Tyro daughter of Salmoneus p. 41. 50. f. 100.
- Tyrtæus 672, 2. p. 253. 255. 256. 365. fl. 683, 3. testimonies to Tyrtæus Ibid. his account of the interval between the 1st and the 2nd Mes-  
senian war p. 251. 252. *Eivovula* 683, 3. see p. 144. z.
- Tzetzes*, his mistake on Callisto p. 127. d. no authority for quantity Ibid. mistakes Apollo-  
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- Udæus, one of the five Sparti p. 86. l.
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- examined p. 275. y. 314. r. 315. 319. on the Assyrian empire p. 281. v. on the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram p. 315. g. on the reign of Jeroboam II. p. 318. s.
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- Valckenaer* quoted p. 66. b. 364. t. 379. f. examined p. 57. a. 65. b. on the Median kings p. 258.
- Valesius* quoted 734, 2. examined p. 62. n. on the time of the 2nd Messenian war p. 251.
- Van Staveren* quoted p. 48.
- Velia occupied by the Pelasgi p. 25.
- Vignoles* quoted on the period from the exode to the temple p. 313. n. on the reign of Jero-  
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- Vigerus* quoted p. 308. q.
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- Wesseling* quoted p. 54. g. 63. p. 94. m. 111. i. 133. p. 144. b. 660, 3. 581, 2. 575, 2. 559, 2. p. 247. f. 248. l. 259. i. 264. d. 276. b. 346. d. 347. g. 356. on the Median kings p. 257. 258.
- examined p. 65. b. 630, 2. p. 264. e. 278. f. 337.
- Welcker* quoted 657, 3. examined 775, 3. 671, 3.
- Whiston* refuted by Jackson concerning the book of Judith p. 275. y.

*Wolf F. A. Prolegomena ad Homerum* 8vo. Hal. Sax. 1795.

quoted p. 358. j. 364. t. 368. 383. o. on the use of letters by the Greek poets p. 368. w. on the introduction of the poems of Homer by Lycurgus p. 368. z. on their preservation without writing p. 372. on the *ῥαψῳδοί* p. 373. q. on the Homeridæ p. 375. r. on the *ἀθετήσεις* of Aristarchus p. 379. f.

examined p. 367. n. 380. i. on the written copies of Homer and other poets p. 369. 370. f. on the services rendered to Homer by Pisistratus p. 370. and by Hipparchus p. 371. i. on the libraries of Pisistratus and Polycrates p. 372. l. on the corruptions of the *ῥαψῳδοί* p. 375. 376. see notes s—z. a—d.

*Wyttienbach* quoted p. 134. s. 581, 2. p. 256. l. 360. o. 382. o.

examined p. 249. v. 250. w. 336. 338.

Xanthippè daughter of Dorus, wife of Pleuron p. 42. p.

Xanthus p. 10. 11. q. 18. represents a migration to Lycia p. 14.

Xanthus king of Bœotia conquered by Melanthus p. 112. n.

Xanthus a lyric poet, preceded Stesichorus p. 365.

Xenocles Messenius Olympic victor 744, 1. 743, 2.

Xenocritus the Locrian improved the Spartan music 644, 3. later than Thaletas Ibid.

Xenodamus of Cythera improved the Spartan music 644, 3.

Xenon a grammarian p. 381. i.

*Xenophon* neglects the true chronology of the reign of Astyages p. 263. i.

Xuthus p. 40. 44. k. m. 52—56. 57. a. 100. an imaginary person p. 52.

Xuthus son of Æolus p. 52. p.

*Xylander* quoted p. 360. o.

examined 589, 3.

Zachariah king of Israel p. 316. 317. s. in B. C. 771: p. 325.

Zacynthus son of Dardanus p. 22. h.

Zaleucus fl. 660, 3.

Zebudah wife of Josiah king of Judah p. 319. w.

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314. 316. r. 319. w. dates assigned to his captivity p. 288. l. his age p. 318. true date of

his reign p. 319. 320. began to reign B. C. 598. captured B. C. 587: p. 328.

*Zenodotus*, see *Aristarchus*.

Zethus p. 47. 86. l.

Zeuxidamus king of Sparta, son of Archidamus p. 101. 252. l. account of his reign p. 338.

Zeuxippus of Megara sends colonists to Byzantium 628, 2.

Zeuxippus king of Sicyon p. 29.

Zimri king of Israel p. 314. 316. r. reigns seven days in B. C. 930: p. 322.

Zoroaster king of Bactriana p. 283. this name given to the first Median king of Babylon p. 270. d. 283. m.



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS—VOL. I.

### NOTES UPON THE TABLES.

669, 2. Mr. Muller—*Damocratidas* too low] That is, according to the dates of Pausanias, whom Muller quotes p. 113. f., and accordingly Mr. Muller himself at p. 519, in conformity with these dates, places *Damocratidas* at Ol. 28. But if we bring down the termination of the war to B. C. 662, the dates of Muller may be admitted, and *Damocratidas* might reign at B. C. 660.

617, 2. *Alyattes*] Within the reigns of *Cyaxares* and *Alyattes* according to Herodotus I. 74. occurred the eclipse predicted by *Thales*: πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοις ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἕτα πέντε—διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσῃς τὸν πόλεμον, τῇ ἑκτῇ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἑξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, ὅσον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. Various dates have been assigned to this eclipse both by ancient and modern writers. The ancient testimonies are these: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 302. A. Θαλὴν δὲ Εὐδήμους [conf. Laërt. I. 23. *Eudemus* was the disciple of *Aristotle*: Simplic. ad Phys. Ausc. p. 216. a] ἐν ταῖς ἀστρολογικαῖς ἱστορίαις τὴν γενομένην ἔκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου προειπεῖν φησὶ καθ' οὗς χρόνους συνέβησαν μάχην πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μῆδοί τε καὶ Λυδοί, βασιλεύοντος Κυαξάρους μὲν τοῦ Ἀστυάγου πατρὸς Μήδων, Ἀλνάττου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου Λυδῶν. συνάδει δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ἀμφὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἡμιχιάδα. Cicero Div. I. 49. *Thales Milesius*—*primus defectionem solis quæ Astyage regnante facta est prædixisse fertur*. Plinius H. N. II. 12. *Primus omnium Thales Milesius* Ol. 48. 4 *prædicto solis defectu qui Alyatte rege factus est* U. C. anno CLXX<sup>o</sup>. Solinus 15, 16. *Bello quod gestum est Ol. 49<sup>a</sup> anno post Trojam captam 604<sup>o</sup> inter Alyattem Lydum et Astyagem Mediæ regem, (haustu mutui sanguinis) firmata sunt jura pacis*. Themistius Or. XXVI. p. 317. b. Θαλῆς δὲ ὕστερον καὶ πρὸς γῆρα φύσεώς τε ἤψατο πρῶτος καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐξήτασε, καὶ προσφήτηνυσεν ἐν κοινῇ ἅπασιν Μιλησίοις ὅτι νύξ ἔσοιτο ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κ. τ. λ. It appears from these testimonies that some ancient accounts brought this down to the reign of *Astyages*, who was reigning in Ol. 48—50. Themistius followed this opinion; for he referred the eclipse to the old age of *Thales*, which better agrees with Ol. 48—50 than with the reign of *Cyaxares*. Eudemus, however, agrees with Herodotus; for Ol. 50 seems the date added by Clemens himself. The various opinions of modern inquirers upon this eclipse are collected by Wesseling, Larcher, and Schweigh. ad Herodot. I. 74. and by Hales vol. I. p. 182. 184. and Lenglet du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 17.

B. C. 625 Feb. 3. Ol. 38. 3 is the date of Volney apud Schweigh. This is refuted by the age of *Thales*, who was then about 14, or perhaps under 10 years of age; and by the time of the Scythian dominion in Asia, which was then in its tenth year, but had declined before that war commenced.

B. C. 610 Sept. 30. Ol. 42. 3 is the date of Francis Baily Philosoph. Trans. 1811. p. 269. This would coincide with the third year before the Scythians were expelled from Asia.

B. C. 607 Feb. 2., within Ol. 43. 1, is the date of Calvisius. This agrees with the year in which the Scythians were expelled, and with the 11th year of *Alyattes*. But Hales, who refers this to July 30, objects that the eclipse was not total.

B. C. 603 May 17. Ol. 44. 1 Bayer, May 18 in Hales, who quotes Costard, Kennedy, Montucla. Adopted by Hales, because this eclipse was total.

B. C. 601 Sept. 19. Ol. 44. 4. The date of Usher. But this eclipse was partial according to Larcher, and according to Hales passed to the north of the Euxine sea.

B. C. 597 July 9. within Ol. 45. 3. Adopted by Petavius, Hardouin, Marsham, Bouhier, Corsini, Larcher, and Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 315. This coincides with the 11th year after the expulsion of the Scythians and the 21st of the reign of *Alyattes*. But Hales objects, and Larcher admits, that this eclipse was partial, that it traversed Scythia, and passed north of the Caspian sea.

B. C. 585 May 28. before the close of Ol. 48. 3. This date, agreeing with Pliny and with the accounts of Cicero and Themistius, is adopted by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 89. and after him by Salmasius Plin. Ex. p. 136. E. by Ferguson, Vignoles, Jackson, Newton, and by Reizius ad Marg. Herodot. I. 74. But Hales and Larcher assert that this eclipse also was not visible on the field of battle.

B. C. 583 Oct. 1. Ol. 49. 2. adopted by Scaliger, according to Larcher. But Larcher objects that this eclipse appeared after sunset. These two last dates are inconsistent with Herodotus and Eudemus, because they both occur after the death of *Cyaxares*.

The date of Baily, B. C. 610, as I learn from Schultz Specim. Apparatus ad Annales Criticos Rerum Græcarum p. 20., has been also fixed upon by a German professor in 1823. At this date the Scythian power was on the decline. That they were still in Asia at the beginning of the war appears from Herodotus, who relates that certain Scythians were the cause of the war. The siege of Nineveh had not yet commenced, and *Cyaxares* had yet 15 years to reign. *Thales* at this time, according to Apollodorus, might be in his 30th year: Sosicrates makes him only 26. see F. H. II. p. 3. This date, however, will not necessarily carry back the accession of *Alyattes*, as Schultz supposes, five years higher than the date to which it is determined by ancient testimonies. *Alyattes* concluded the war with Miletus in his sixth year B. C. 612, and might conclude the Median war in the beginning of his ninth, in Oct. B. C. 610; which would carry back its commencement to the middle of B. C. 615, during the 9th year of the war with Miletus. But in the latter years of that Milesian war no great efforts were made by either party, and *Alyattes* would not be prevented from defending himself against the attack of the Medes. But Herodotus I. 74. refers the peace which followed that eclipse to the reign of *Labyntus*, the father of that king who was captured by *Cyrus*: Idem I. 188. which is not consistent with B. C. 610, because in that year *Nabopolassar* was still reigning at Babylon. Wherefore the date adopted by Hales, B. C. 603, seems to offer fewer objections. The eclipse was total, and visible on the field of battle; and May B. C. 603 was in the 15th year of *Alyattes* and eight years before the death of *Cyaxares*. *Thales* was at this date, by the lowest estimate, in his 33rd year; in his 36th by the account of Apollodorus. We may observe, however, that if B. C. 603 was the 6th year of this war, B. C. 606 was the third; and in that year *Cyaxares* was engaged in the siege of Nineveh. But this is no decisive objection, since the two wars might have proceeded together.

599, 2. *Camarina*] Mr. Muller Dor. vol. II. p. 515., who has placed the foundation of Syracuse in the 5th Olympiad B. C. 758, yet himself supplies an argument in favour of the 11th Olympiad for the era of Syracuse. His argument is in substance as follows: If Syracuse was founded in Ol. 5. 3, *Camarina* (135 years after) was founded in Ol. 39. 2. But *Camarina* was destroyed in 46 years; destroyed therefore in Ol. 50. 4. Now *Parmenides* of *Camarina* was victor in the foot race in Ol. 63: Diod. I. 68. African. apud Euseb. p. 148. But as his native town had been destroyed 49 years, he must have then been 50 years of age, which is not probable. If, however, we place Syracuse in Ol. 11, and *Camarina* in Ol. 45, and consequently its destruction in Ol. 56 (Ol. 56. 4 B. C. 553), *Parmenides* in Ol. 63 B. C. 528 is victor only 26 years after its fall; which is much more likely to have happened.

586, 2. *Damasias II.*] In Selden's edition the date of the Parian Marble at line 54. Ep. 38. (39 Chandl.) is thus represented: ἐτη ΗΗΗΔΠΙΙΙ, ἀρχοντος— Selden is followed by Palmerius Exercit. p. 680. Prideaux in his edition Oxon. 1676., by Mr. Boeckh, and the numbers are thus exhibited by Chandler fol. Oxon. 1763. in the capital letters at p. 26. This will place that epoch and the year of *Damasias II.* at B. C. 582 Ol. 49. 3, making the interval 9 years from the capture of Cirrha in the



preceding epoch. But in the smaller type Chandler at p. 27. exhibits the numbers with a *lacuna*, ετη ΗΗΗΔ · ΙΙ, which he thus supplies: ΗΗΗΔ (Δ) ΙΙ, making the interval 5 years.

Chandler on another occasion gives one date in the capitals and another in the small characters. Thus at line 59. Ep. 44. (45 Chandl.) the numbers in the capitals are, with Selden, . . ΙΔΙ ΙΙΙ, but in the smaller characters they are . . ΙΔΙ (Π) Ι, which is acknowledged to be the more correct date. Hence it appears that he corrected in the latter what he had given less accurately in the former. A friend, who has at my request examined the Marble at line 54, assures me that the numbers are too much defaced to be deciphered. We may reasonably doubt, then, whether even in Selden's time they were sufficiently distinct to be legible, and may question the accuracy of the numbers which he exhibits.

### ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page note line

- ii. a. after "373" add as follows: "What is said in those passages and on the present occasion concerning the authority of the poets in transmitting memorials is not inconsistent with what is asserted below at p. 283. that the poets transmitted a few obscure facts received from oral tradition. This last assertion is made with reference to another matter. The testimony of the poets, commencing perhaps at the period marked in the Homeric poems, the fourth generation before the Trojan war, was of authority to establish general facts; the existence of particular heroes, the prosecution of wars, the movements of tribes, the origin of states. But yet the information which such records convey is dark and imperfect when compared with the narratives of the sacred writers."
5. 24. δ δὲ καὶ δε read δὲ καὶ δδε
24. 4. refer r. refers
34. i. 14. Theangala r. Theangela
21. ληστεῦσαι r. ληστεῦσαι
35. p. 1. col. 2. Θεωδάμαντι r. Θειοδάμαντι
45. s. 2. Ἄργου r. Ἄργος.
50. 1. of his descendants r. descendant of *Æolus*
50. f. 13. after Νηλεὺς insert "Pindar himself Pyth. IV. 251—256. names *Cretheus* and *Salmoneus*: μία βούς Κρηθεῖ τε μάτηρ καὶ θρασυμήδεϊ Σαλμωνεῖ. Jason is the third from *Cretheus*: τρέτῃσιν δ' ἐν γοναῖς ἄμμες αὖ κείνων φυτευθέντες."
52. 17. son of *Phthius* r. son or brother of *Phthius*
57. a. 6. πῆγη r. πηγή
59. d. 9. Ἐγκαθεῖς r. Ἐργαθεῖς
61. l. 12. ὑπονοούμενους r. ὑπονοομένους
- n. 29. δευτέρα r. δευτέρα
62. n. 36. adopt r. adapt
66. b. 46. col. 2. its—it r. theirs—their
67. e. 21. col. 2. ἡγέμενας r. ἡγεμόνας.
68. e. 13. col. 2. for "which better agrees with the Homeric catalogue than Steph. Byz.—Trojan war" substitute "Add Steph. Byz.—Θερσάνδρου. Schol. Hom. Il. β'. 503. Κόρωνος καὶ Ἀλκίαρτος Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Σισύφου παῖδες, ἀφ' ὧν ἀνομάσθησαν αἱ πόλεις."
80. a. 5. col. 2. δεμδ' r. βσμδ'
86. l. 7. Λαοδάμαντος r. Λαοδάμαντος
92. v. 4. *Pompus* and *Æginetes* r. *Simus Pompus* and *Æginetes*
20. col. 2. *Phintas* r. *Phialas*

- Page note line
93. h. 18. 'Ηλείοις r. 'Ηλείοις
96. s. 21. ὠνόμασαν. διὰ τὰς r. ὠνόμασαν διὰ τὰς
100. on *Telemachus* the 6th from *Thersander* see Index v. *Telemachus*.
108. a. 4. after Τρωϊκῶν insert "Proclus Vit. Hom. p. 468. τοῖς δὲ χρόνοις αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν 'Αρίσταρχον φασὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῆς 'Ιωνίας ἀποικίαν, ἥτις ὑστερεῖ τῆς τῶν 'Ηρακλείδων καθόδου ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ περὶ Κράττητα ἀνάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους."
109. f. 49. col. 2. *Amphimachus* r. *Polyxenus*
111. k. 37. col. 2. διδόντες r. διδόντες
112. n. 18. after "350" insert "*Periclymenus* is named among the Argonauts by Pindar Pyth. IV. 311=175."
115. w. 48. 'Ιπποκλέους νῆσοι] 'Ηγήτορος Zenob. Schottus ad locum: *Erasmus et ejus æmulus Cognatus in Erasmo reddunt "Insulæ Hippocli cederent, pro Hegetori, μνημονικῶ ἀμαρτήματι."* The error seems to be in Zenobius himself; the sense requiring 'Ιπποκλέους.
117. z. 25. seq. for "founded—108 years—B. C. 651" r. "occupied—111 years—B. C. 654."
119. e. 12. col. 2. omit "Heraclea—559" and read the rest thus: "The Phocæans founded Massilia in B. C. 600, Alalia in B. C. 564, Amisus in B. C. 563. See the Tables at 600, 564, 563."
125. 5. 279 years r. 297 years
129. m. 19. col. 2. ἐκγόνων r. ἐκγόνων.
133. p. 21. col. 2. *Eunomus* r. *Polydectes*, and consult p. 144. z.
142. n. 2. *Troja* r. *Troja*
147. 22. 23<sup>o</sup> r. 23<sup>a</sup>
24. 685—500 r. 685+500

TABLES.

- B. C. col. line
775. 3. 6. τετρακόσια ἔτη]. Two MSS. in Suidas ed. Gaisford. p. 576. E. have vi ἔτη=B. C. 773: precisely agreeing with the date of Cyril.
673. 2. 11. ἔνιοι r. ἔνιοι
671. 3. 1. τῷ ὄντι] Read with ed. Gaisford. p. 202. D. 203. C. πταίοντα, that is, *secundum Cratetem errantem*.
630. 3. 1. Μίμενμος Gaisford. p. 2506. B. from three MSS.
627. 2. 11. after "Προυσίας ἐκτίσθη" add "Diodorus quoted below at B. C. 579 has a date for Lipara 48 years below this epoch; from whence it appears that there were two accounts of the time of this colony."
625. 3. 13. Κυκλέως υἱός] Add Ælian. H. A. XII. 45. quoted in ed. Gaisford. p. 559. E. The lines are correctly given Anthol. tom. I. p. 49.
- ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν 'Αρίονα Κυκλέως υἱὸν  
ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.
620. 3. 1. μεσοῦν] In ed. Gaisford. p. 1118. D. it is stated that one MS. has μεσοῦν, and that in another *brevis est lacuna post μεσοῦν*.
596. 3. 2. in the testimony from Suidas, after δλυμπιάδα add γηραιὸς ἄν.
586. 2. 25. *Damasias I.* r. *Damasias II.*
572. 3. 2. for Εὐγείτων Μεσημβριανὸν (sc. τὸν Αἴσων) Gaisford has restored the better reading Εὐγείτων Μεσημβριανός. For the authorities conf. ed. Gaisford. p. 1117. H.



## APPENDIX.

Page note line

256. 4. εἰκέτ' r. εἰκέτ'

271. 8. Nabuchodrosorum r. Nabucodrossorum

283. a. 10. after "witnesses" add "For although the authors of the historical books are not known yet we know that the Hebrews possessed the use of writing from the first; and that they applied this art to the registering of public events: in which they did no more than the other Eastern nations, concerning whom we have the testimony of Josephus quoted below at p. 367. k. We cannot therefore doubt that each public fact contained in the historical books was recorded in writing by a contemporary, and that from this original record it has been transcribed into the historical books."

284. 4. for "sacred temple" r. "second temple"

295. r. 23. after "τοῦ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ." add as follows: "The preceding text, Gen. XI. 1. 2., is cleared from all difficulty by the excellent interpretation of Mr. Granville Penn, quoted and justly approved by Faber Origin of Pagan Idolatry vol. III. p. 374. That interpretation is to the following effect: "The word rendered *the East* springs from a root "which denotes *priority either of place or time*; and it came to signify *the East* because by the ancients that quarter was deemed the front or fore part of the world. "But agreeably to its origin it does not merely signify *the East*; it equally conveys "the idea of *priority of time*. Accordingly the very same word is in other passages "rendered *from the beginning or at the first*; not *from the east*; and, as Mr. Penn "has excellently shewn, this is by no means the only place in which the faulty rendering *from the East* has been thoughtlessly adopted from the Greek interpreters. "These, indeed, by a mistranslation bring the builders of the tower of Babel *from the East*; and, as their error has been received into more than one modern version, so "it has formed the basis of more than one speculative hypothesis. But among the "ancients we find a very different turn given to the expression. The old Chaldee "paraphrase, the Targum of Jerusalem, Aquila, and Jerom, all render it *in the beginning, or at the first*; and Josephus, who is wholly silent upon any *oriental migration*, simply intimates that, when the posterity of *Noah* quitted the heights of "Armenia, the place where they *first* established themselves—*πρῶτον* Ant. I. 5—[I. 4, 1] was the plain of Shinar. Hence I think we may safely pronounce that Gen. "XI. 1. 2. should be translated as follows: *And the whole world was of one lip and one mode of speech. And it came to pass when they FIRST journeyed that they found "a plain in the land of Shinar.*" But this interpretation again confirms the shorter computation; for, if the *first* journey of the descendants of *Noah* was to the plain of Shinar, it is not likely that this movement was delayed till the sixth century after the flood; and accordingly Josephus himself in the passage referred to, I. 4, 1., places the descent into Shinar in the lifetime of the three patriarchs, *Shem, Ham, and Japheth.*"

299. k. 9. col. 2. omit "no other children—and if" and read "So that, if he had no grandchildren born till" &c.

303. g. 16. col. 2. *legendum* r. *legendum*

308. q. 10. Valesius) r. Vigerus)

314. s. 297. r. 298.

328. 3. *Amos* r. *Amon*

334. 22. col. 2. τὴν r. τὸν

335. 25. col. 2. ἀνίστας r. ἀνίστας

- Page note line
339. 26. Messsenian r. Messenian
340. 18. after "same subjects," add this note aa. "We may refer to a fourth class the epic poetry which drew its subjects from the period after the νόστοι. The Dorian conquest, the adventures of *Codrus*, the Æolian and Ionian colonies, the fortunes of the *Cypselidæ*, the *Æpytidæ*, and the *Bacchiadæ*, some or all of these events were probably described in epic verse by poets either contemporary or near the times. But, as no record remains of the title of any poem treating these subjects (unless the Αιγίμιος, according to the opinion noticed at p. 350. o. contained the Return of the *Heraclidæ*), it is unnecessary that this class of arguments for early epic poetry should be considered in this place."
343. b. 57. for *Linus ex Urania Musa* in Hygin, fab. 161. r. *Linus Apollinis filius* in Hygin. fab. 273.
350. n. 9. Ἀλκμαιωνίδα r. Ἀλκμαιωνίδα  
o. 2. ἦ r. ἦ
354. z. 37. col. 2. νήπιος—see other references to this line in Toup ad Suid. quoted in ed. Gaisford. p. 3380. E.
361. o. 48. Orchomenidus r. Orchomenians
379. f. 1. for "the following have been noticed" r. "the following variations have been noticed."

## VOL. II.

### INTRODUCTION.

- iii. 18. See I. p. 125. v.
- vi. 2. See I. p. 128. f.
- vi. 11. See I. p. 123. d.
- viii. 12. "four centuries" r. "570 years" and compare I. p. 19. l.
- xxxiii. y. 4. add "That *Antipho* was living, and at Athens, in B. C. 411 appears from Aristotle Eudem. III. 5. p. 1232. Ἀντίφων ἔφη πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα κατεψηφισμένος τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐπαινέσαντα."
- xxxv. d. 21. after "τραγικούς" insert "and in Syncellus p. 518. Dindorf. Θεόδεκτος στρατηγικός for Θεοδέκτης τραγικός."
- xxxvi. g. 31. col. 2. after "οὐδὲ ἐν" insert "Clem. Al. Strom. IV. p. 541. C. ἄγαμαι τὸν Ἐπίχαρμον σαφῶς λέγοντα

εὐσεβῆς τὸν νοῦν πεφυκὼς οὐ πάθοις γ' οὐδὲν κακὸν  
κατθανών· ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμένει κατ' οὐρανόν.

εὐσεβῆς τὸν νοῦν is the reading of Grotius. εὐσεβῆς νῶ in the copies of Clemens. Mr. Kruger F. H. p. XXXVIII. ed. Lips. properly reminds me that the lines in Plutarch are trochaic tetrameters."

### TABLES.

- B. C. col. line
559. 4. 10. "B. C. 610—8th year" r. "B. C. 611—7th year"
553. 4. 13. "B. C. 610" r. "B. C. 611."
480. 1. 4. after "Diod. XI. 1." insert "Syncell. p. 250. D."



B. C. col. line

438. 4. insert as follows: "*Euripidis* Ἀλκῆστις. Arg. Alcest. in MS. Vat. N<sup>o</sup>. 909. apud Dindorf. τὸ δράμα ἐποιήθη ἱζ'. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἄρχοντος. τὸ ἅ. πρῶτον ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερον Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμαίονι τῷ διαφωφίλῳ, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκῆστιδι. τὸ δὲ δράμα κωμικωτέραν ἔχει κατασκευήν. For the archon see 439. 1. He is Γλαυκίδου in Diodorus, but in Schol. Aristoph., in a corrupt, or perhaps only in an abbreviated form, Γκίνου, with the same exhibition of the last syllable of the name as in the present *didascalía*. We may therefore fix the date of these tragedies, and of this victory of *Sophocles*, to the beginning of B. C. 438. That the Τηλέφος was exhibited before B. C. 425 we already knew from Aristoph. Acharn. 430. The Ἀλκῆστις is quoted in B. C. 424 by *Aristophanes* Equit. 1252. referring to Alcest. 182. *Aristophanes* refers to the Ἀλκῆστις again in B. C. 422: conf. Aristoph. Nub. 1415. Eur. Alc. 707. and in B. C. 414: conf. Aristoph. Av. 1244. Eur. Alc. 691. That the Κρήσσαις were exhibited before B. C. 422 appears from Aristoph. Vesp. 760 (763 Brunn.). From the mention of Ἀλκμαίονι (where we must read Ἀλκμαίονι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος) we learn that the suspicion of Bentley Ep. ad Mill. p. 16., that there were two dramas of the name, is confirmed. The present tragedy is the first, the Ἀλκμαίον which was exhibited after the death of *Euripides* (see II. xxxiv. c) was the second. The Dean of Christ Church, to whom I am indebted for this fragment recently published by Dindorf, justly observes that the Ἀλκῆστις being the last in the tetralogy, and occupying the place of the satirical drama, its comic character may probably be ascribed to this circumstance."
423. 4. 26. after "truce" insert from B. C. 420. 4. " (*Eupolidis* Ἀστράτευτοι. Before the Εἰρήνη B. C. 421—Ἀστρατεύτοις.)"
422. 1. 6. after "552" insert "Didascalía Aristoph. Pac. apud Dindorf."
421. 4. 17. after "magna" add as follows: "The Κόλακες are now fixed to the *Dionysia magna* of the archon *Alcæus* by the testimony supplied by Mr. Kruger and more fully by Dindorf—Ἀπολλίδωρος." Supply the passage from III. p. 598 and then add from 419. 4. "Ion of Chios was now dead—δῆλον."
419. 4. omit "Aristophanis—δῆλον."
407. 4. 5. "Birth of *Antiphanes* &c." Transfer this paragraph to B. C. 404.
404. 4. 1. before "Anonymus" insert as follows: "Birth of *Antiphanes* the comic poet: Suidas. Ἀντιφάνης—κωμικός τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας.—γένεον δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἔγραψε κωμωδίας τεξέ'. οἱ δὲ, σπ'. νίκας δὲ εἶλε σγ'. τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Κίῳ οδ'. ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Χίῳ (sic).—ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα σξ'. γέγονε in Suidas is rendered by Kuster *vixit*, and *floruit* by Corsini F. A. III. p. 258., and is so understood by Scaliger Olymp. ἀναγρ. Ol. 93. 1. who has Ἀντιφάνης ἐγνωρίζετο. But the word should be rendered *natus est*; because *Antiphanes* began to exhibit comedy after Ol. 98, and was actually exhibiting after B. C. 343, sixty-one years below the present date; and was still living after the accession of *Alexander*: Athen. XIII. p. 555. a. and after the victory of *Antipater* in B. C. 331. *Antiphanes*, then, was born B. C. 404, began to exhibit about B. C. 383, and died æt. 74 in B. C. 330. Conf. annos 383. 343. 331."
387. 4. 1. "Antiphanes" &c. Place this paragraph at B. C. 383. 4. thus corrected: "*Antiphanes* began to exhibit: Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. Ἀντιφάνης—ἤρξατο διδάσκειν μετὰ τὴν γῆ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. "After Olymp. 98" will place his earliest exhibitions in Ol. 99. He was at this time about twenty-one years of age. He still wrote comedy in B. C. 343 and probably in B. C. 330 (the year of his death), a period of more than fifty years. Confer annos 404. 331. Within this space he alludes" &c. Then after "Athen. X.

B. C. col. line

- p. 433. c." (lin. 21.) conclude thus, omitting the rest: "In other pieces *Antiphanes* noticed *Callimedon*, *Misgolas*, *Sinopë*, *Demosthenes*, *Adæus*. Conf. annos 348. 343."
383. 4. Insert here from 387. 4.
343. 4. 34. for "sixty-four—387" substitute "sixty-one years of age, and had exhibited comedy about forty years: conf. annos 404. 383."
337. 3. 15. after "ed. Heyn." add "on the acts of *Lycurgus* conf. Pausan. I. 29, 16."
331. 4. Insert as follows: "*Antiphanes* the comic poet survived this year: Clearchus apud Athen. XV. p. 681. c. καλῶς περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἶρηκεν ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαριστῇ·  
οὐκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες ὥς ἀπὸρθητοί ποτε,  
νῦν δ' ὁμηρέουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους;  
*Antiphanes* probably refers to the measures described by *Æschines* in Ctes. p. 72, 33. which followed the defeat of *Agis* by *Antipater* in this year (see col. 2); which will fix this comedy to the beginning of B. C. 330. And, as he was born in Ol. 93 and died at the age of 76 (conf. a. 404), his death might occur soon after, about the summer of B. C. 330. On this fragment of the *Κιθαριδός* or *Κιθαριστής* see Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 576."
317. 3. 15. for "τὸν Φαληρέα τὸν Θεοφράστου" r. "τὸν Φαληρέα [conf. Pausan. I. 25, 5] τὸν Θεοφράστου"

# APPENDIX.

Page note line

195. See I. B. C. 582, 2.
215. 13. col. 1. after "396, 4" insert "Pausanias I. 13, 3. gives a short account of *Areus* and his ancestors."
248. 26. for "in reality six" r. "in reality five"
250. 2. for "6. *Lycurgus*" r. "6. To these five we may probably add a sixth: *Lycurgus*"
250. 5. for "so that—those who" substitute "Those who agree in this correction will add *Lycurgus* to those who"
250. 20. for "seven passages" r. "six passages."
264. on the era of Syracuse compare I. B. C. 734, 2.
266. 5. for "later than Agrigentum" r. "before Agrigentum"
297. q. 9. add "Better given in the Armenian copy p. 323—333."

OL	B. C.	Ann.
20. 3.	699 <i>Gyges</i> .....	36
29. 3.	662 <i>Ardys</i> .....	38
39. 1.	624 <i>Sadyattes</i> .....	15
42. 4.	609 <i>Alyattes</i> .....	49
55. 1.	560 <i>Cræsus</i> .....	15

297. 24. for "546, 2) who all concur" r. "546, 2) and Eusebius; who all concur"
297. 25. omit "and Eusebius—higher."
297. r. for "Eusebius—*capit*" substitute "Eusebius in Chron. ed. Pontaci places it one year higher: *Olymp.* 57. 4. but in the Armenian copy at Ol. 58. 3. p. 333."
299. k. 14. In the genealogy in col. 2. compare I. p. 112. n.
321. 10. See I. p. 309. w.
368. h. 16. after "63. D." insert "1037. A."
371. q. See I. p. 347. g.
405. z. 16. On the war with Amyclæ compare I. p. 337.



- Page note line  
 409. t. On the chronology of Apollodorus see I. p. 144.  
 409. t. 54. col. 2. see I. p. 140. a.  
 412. c. Compare I. p. 28. o.  
 412. e. 2. after "τελοῦντες" add "Aristot. Rep. II. 10=7, 3. ἔχει ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ τάξις πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν· γεωργοῦσι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Εἰλωτες τοῖς δὲ Κρησὶν οἱ περίοικοι."

## VOL. III.

## TABLES.

- B. C. col. line  
 271. 3. 10. after "N<sup>o</sup>. 34." add "Grammaticus ms. apud Meineke Quæst. Scen. III. p. 3. *Alexander Ætolus et Lycophron Chalcidensis et Zenodotus Ephesius impulsu regis Ptolemæi Philadelphî cognomento—artis poëtices libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem rede-gerunt, Alexander tragædias, Lycophron comædias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poëmata.* This passage confirms these dates for Zenodotus by placing his recension of Homer in the reign of Philadelphus; and refutes those who have placed it in the reign of Soter."  
 264. 3. 5. for "B. C. 36½" read "B. C. 26½"  
 249. 3. 17. after "ιστόρησαν" insert "To the treatise *περὶ νήσων* we may refer Schol. Apollon. III. 1243. καὶ ἡ Καλαῖρεια δὲ ἱερὰ ἐστὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς φησι Φιλοστράτους."  
 226. 3. 15. after "p. 811. C." insert "ὁ Φασηλῆτης Κριτόλαος Clem. Al. Strom. II. p. 374. A.—"  
 195. 3. 24. after "ιστορίαις" add "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 29. C. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρησάρχου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερᾷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπο-γόνους κεκηδεῦσθαι."  
 188. 2. 44. for "*Ludis Latinis*" r. "*feriis Latinis*"  
 169. 4. 11. after "XVII. 6." insert "The Voconian law is noticed by Augustine Civ. D. III. 21."  
 160. 4. 25. for "*Lælius* might be older" r. "*Lælius* was older: conf. Cic. de Amicit. c. 4."  
 149. 1. 5. after "XII. 5." insert "Acad. IV. 32."  
 149. 2. 18. for "against bribery at elections" r. "*de pecuniis repetundis*"  
 149. 2. 23. after "Col. 4" insert "The laws *repetundarum* provided against public functionaries receiving or taking money in the execution of their office. The law of *Calpurnius* referred to functionaries in the provinces. By subsequent laws *repetundarum* the provisions were extended to functionaries at Rome and to judges receiving bribes. See Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 88. 2."  
 149. 4. 30. for "against bribery" read "*de pecuniis repetundis*"  
 148. 4. for "*Lucilius poëta—Ol. 158. 1.*" substitute this: "[*Lucilius poëta nascitur*: Hieron. in Euseb. Chron. Ol. 158. 1. His death is placed in B. C. 103: Idem Ib. Ol. 169. 2. *C. Lucilius satirarum scriptor Neapoli moritur ac publico funere effertur anno ætatis XLVI.* The numbers correspond. Ol. 169. 2 is the 46th year current from Ol. 158. 1. But the expression of Horace Sat. II. 5, 41. by whom *Lucilius* is called *senex* implies that he lived a longer term than 46 years. He was still a young man in B. C. 129: conf. a. But it appears from the expressions of *Crassus* apud Cic. de Oratore I. 16. II. 6. that he was already dead before B. C. 91, the supposed date of that dialogue. We may therefore accept an emendation suggested by Mr. Tate of LVI years for XLVI, and assume that the birth of *Lucilius* was a few years earlier, and his death a few years later, than the date of Hieronymus.]"

B. C. col. line

146. 4. 17. after "*scripta essent*" insert "On the books of *Numa* see Varro apud Augustin. Civ. D. VII. 34."
145. 3. "*Apollodori χρονικῶν*," &c. Place this whole article in B. C. 144. 3. For the reason see I. p. 125. v.
134. 4. 19. for "*Lucilius*—year" substitute "According to the dates of Hieronymus, which assign the birth of *Lucilius* to B. C. 148, he might be 15 years of age at the siege of *Numantia*. But we have shewn that he was born a few years earlier, and may assume that he was about twenty at this period: conf. a. 148."
129. 4. Insert as follows: "The first book of the Satires of *Lucilius* was published after the death of *Carneades*: Servius ad Virg. *Æn.* X. 104. *Totus hic locus de primo Lucili translatus est, ubi inducuntur dii habere concilium, et agere primo de interitu Lupi cujusdam; postea sententias dicere.* Hence this book is quoted by Lactantius IV. 3. p. 317. by the title of *Lucilii in Deorum concilio*. Idem V. 14. p. 459. *Apud Lucilium disserens Neptunus de re difficillima ostendit non posse id explicari, nec si Carneadem ipsum Orcus remittat.* Consequently published after the death of *Scipio*: see col. 2. But if all the 30 books of Satires were published after this period, we may conclude that *Lucilius* was still young in B. C. 129. Some of his Satires were written after B. C. 107: conf. a."
128. 3. 3. for "B. C. 145" r. "B. C. 144"
123. 1. 5. after "Alex." insert "Cic. Brut. c. 74."
121. 1. 10. after "IX. 4, 3." insert "Augustin. Civ. D. III. 24."
107. 4. 15. for "is now in his 42nd year" r. "according to the dates of Hieronymus is now in his 42nd year, but was probably a little older"
103. 4. 13. for "and of *Lucilius*—later period" substitute "[Hieronymus Ibid. places the death of *Lucilius* at the same date, at the age of 46: conf. a. 148.]"
100. 2. 23. after "*procreatus est*" insert "Lydus de Mens. p. 110. κατὰ τὴν πρὸ τεσσάρων εἰδῶν τοῦ μνηρὸς τούτου τεχθῆναι."
87. 2. 14. after "*finem accepit*," insert "and Augustine Civ. D. V. 22. *Quintus ei annus finem dedit.*"
87. 4. 12. for "Ep. 79], r. "Ep. 79. Augustin. Civ. D. II. 25]."
85. 2. 3. after "85]." insert "On the destruction of Ilium by *Fimbria* conf. Augustin. Civ. D. III. 7."
83. 3. 17. expunge "*Polyhistor—cujusdam filius.*" For the reason, see Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 88. 2.
72. 2. 49. after "*concessi*" add "The winter quarters at Cabira are placed in this year by Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. τῆς ροζ' ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν ᾗ ἐνίκα Ἑκατόμνως Μιλήσιος στάδιον [Africanus apud Euseb. p. 157. *Ol.* 177: *Hecatomnus Eleus stadium*] καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ὀπλίτην, τρίς, Ἑφικλῆς Σικυώνιος δόλιχον, κ. τ. λ.—Λεύκολλος δὲ Ἀμισὸν ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Μουρήναν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας καταλιπὼν μετὰ δυοῦν ταγμαῶν αὐτὸς μετὰ τριῶν ἄλλων προῆγεν ἐπὶ Καβείρων, ὅπου διεχειμάζεε [B. C. 74]."
71. 2. 10. after "*finis impositus*" insert "conf. Augustin. Civ. D. V. 22."
69. 2. 15. after "*fudit*" add "Referred by Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. to *Ol.* 177. 4: τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει Τιγράνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἀθροίσαντες πεζοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἵππείας δὲ τρεῖς, καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν αὐτοὺς τάξαντες τρόπον, ἐπολέμησαν Λευκόλλῳ· καὶ νικᾷ Λεύκολλος, which agrees with October B. C. 69."
23. after "XIX. 1." add "Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει [*Ol.* 177. 4]—τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κάτλος καθιέρωσε. καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ τὸν Κρητικὸν πόλεμον ὁρμήσας, τρία τάγματα ἔχων, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον [sc. spring B. C. 68]."



- B. C. col. line  
 63. 2. 11. for "Oros. VI. 6]" r. "Oros. VI. 6. τρισὶ γούν μηνὶ πολιορκηθέντες Joseph. Bell. V. 9, 4]"  
 48. 2. 21. after "τὸν βίον" insert "But on his birthday in Plutarch Camill. c. 19. Ἀτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπηΐος Μάγνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γενεθλίοις ἀπέθανον."  
 46. 3. 19. after "δύο" insert "conf. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 329. B."  
 38. for "sixty" r. "fifty"  
 54. for "Juba—A. D. 17." r. "Juba however probably died about A. D. 4: conf. a. 1."  
 44. 2. 91. after "Dion. l. c." add "Appian. Punic. c. 136. Καρχηδὼνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνόκισαν αὐθις μετὰ ἑτῇ τῆς σκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο [sc. B. C. 146—44]."  
 42. 2. 21. after "Decembr." insert "[conf. Dion. LVII. 18]"  
 38. 2. 52. after εἰκοσικαὶεπτὰ" insert "Repeated by Syncellus p. 306. D."  
 27. 2. 12. for "habuit" r. "habent"  
 1. 3. 16. For "Juba—conf. a. 46." substitute as follows: "Juba probably died within five years of this date, for Archelaüs the ethnarch married his widow: Joseph. Bell. II. 7, 4. Γλαφύρα ἦν θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως—συνόκησε δὲ Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι Λιβύης· οὗ τελευτήσαντος ἐπανελθούσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χηρεύουσιν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ θεασάμενος ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος ἦλθεν ὥστε παραχρῆμα—ἐκείνην ἀγαγέσθαι. Conf. Ant. XVII. 13, 4. Glaphyra died μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀφίξεως χρόνον Idem Bell. II. 7, 4. But as Archelaüs after his marriage was banished in A. D. 6 (conf. a. 4), the death of Juba could not well have happened later than A. D. 4."

## APPENDIX.

- Page note line  
 299. 37. for "first" r. "third"  
 302. d. 5. col. 2. for "Again, an" r. "An"  
 302. d. 22. col. 2. for "the date—copy" r. "This notice, which Hieronymus places at the year 1999, the 16th year of Herod, occurs in the Armenian copy; but it occurs at the year 1996, the 13th year of Herod, three years nearer to the true time than the date of Hieronymus."  
 309. m. 2. after "p. 238" add "For a short sketch of the reign of Seleucus, and his death by the hand of Ceraunus, see Pausan. I. 16."  
 317. h. 3. col. 2. after "p. 80." add "Eckhel tom. III. p. 221. supplies a third: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου μὲν. anno 115. his 26th year."  
 327. e. 3. after "p. 100" add "Eckhel tom. III. p. 232. adds another: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Διονύσου. θξρ'. anno 169. and another: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς. ζξρ'. anno 167. But this last is perhaps of doubtful authority."  
 332. 10. for "The spring—Seleucidæ" substitute the following: "If this was the spring of Ol. 162. 4, it might appear that Antiochus Sidetes fell in the beginning of B. C. 128. But that he was still living in the autumn of B. C. 127 is attested by a coin bearing his name, and dated in the 186th year of the Seleucidæ. Wherefore the winter and spring here described were probably the winter and spring of A. S. 186 B. C. 127. This arrangement, placing his defeat and death in the spring of B. C. 126, will make no alteration in the years of his reign. His nine years are terminated at the return of Demetrius. See this more largely discussed in the Philological Museum vol. I. p. 400."  
 332. l. 3. "Posidonius" &c. See this interpretation vindicated in Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 401. 25.  
 332. m. 16. col. 2. for "he was slain—B. C. 129" substitute as follows: "Eckhel tom. III. p. 236. supplies two coins of Sidetes dated in the 185th year, and one of the 186th

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- (*annus 185 in æneis exstat duobus*): βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Εὐεργέτου επρ. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Εὐεργέτου επρ. According to this last date *Antiochus* was living at least in October B. C. 127, eighteen months after the supposed date of his death."
334. 1. For "ALEXANDER ZEBINA—*Sidetes* died" substitute "ALEXANDER ZEBINA was set up by *Ptolemy* soon after the return of *Demetrius*. This is established by a coin of *Alexander* dated in the 184th year."
334. u. 1. for "XXXIX. 1. *Immittit*" substitute this: Justin XXXIX. 1., who had included the Parthian war of *Sidetes* within a single year, and placed his death in the winter of A. S. 184 B. C. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ , dates the appearance of *Zebina* after the death of *Sidetes*: *Immittit*"
334. x. 15. after "p. 89" insert "Eckhel tom. III. p. 256 gives this coin to *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Commagenë*, and affirms that the date is  $\epsilon\tau.$   $\mu\rho.$  anno 110. sc. epochæ *Alexandrinæ* (*urbis ad Issum sitæ*) = U. C. 796 = A. D. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Eckhel p. 237. adds two coins of *Zebina*: βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου επρ.  $\zeta\rho.$  annis 189. 190."
336. m. 12. col. 2. after "p. 95" insert as follows:  
 "Eckhel supplies another tom. III. p. 238. βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας, βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. Σιδων.  $\iota\epsilon\rho.$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma.$   $\alpha\zeta\rho.$  anno 191. and another Ibid. βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.  $\beta\zeta\rho.$  anno 192. The last year of *Cleopatra*."  
 25. after "p. 198." insert "Eckhel p. 239. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.  $\varsigma\zeta\rho.$  anno 196."  
 29. after "p. 97." insert "Eckhel p. 239. βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου.  $\eta\zeta\rho.$  anno 198."
337. q. 5. after "p. 99." insert "Eckhel tom. III. p. 242. supplies βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. Σιδων.  $\iota\epsilon\rho.$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\upsilon.$   $\sigma.$  *Sidoniorum*, anno 200."  
 14. for "A. S. 207" r. "A. S. 206. On the epoch of the Sidonians conf. *Noris*. p. 421."
339. m. 17. col. 2. after "p. 220" insert as follows: "Eckhel tom. III. p. 245.  
 1. βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος Σωτήρος.  $\eta\iota\sigma.$  anno 218.  
 2. βασιλέως Δημητρίου. Σιδωνίων.  $\alpha\kappa.$  anno *Sidoniorum* 21 = A. S. 222.  
 3. βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος Σωτήρος.  $\delta\kappa\sigma.$  anno 224.  
*Insignes hi numi hactenus ignoti fuere, dum eos Belleyus ex museo Pellerinii vulgaret, post ipse possessor restitueret. In his non modo redivivos habemus annos epochæ inde ab Antiocho IX ex moneta extorres* [see above p. 338. d], *sed etiam ab ipsis his annis in historia et chronologia commodum hac ætate admodum implexæ illustres fructus capimus.* Eckhel Ibid. The dates of these coins are consistent with the times which have been here assigned. *Cyzicenus* died in the 217th year according to other testimonies; *Demetrius Eucærus* according to these coins began to reign in the 218th, probably towards the end of that year, the middle of B. C. 94. *Seleucus* came between them; and his reign of a year will remain at B. C. 95. During the years expressed in these coins the competitors *Demetrius*, *Philippus*, and *Eusebes* were reigning at the same time in different parts of Syria. The last date, the year 224, attests that *Demetrius* was not finally expelled by his brother *Philip* till after October B. C. 89, when that year commenced."
339. m. 20. col. 2. after "p. 113" add "This coin is given by Eckhel tom. III. p. 224. 247. to *Antiochus Epiphanes*."
340. 23. at "B. C. 96—56" add this note tt: "Eckhel tom. III. p. 247. supplies coins of *Tigranes* bearing a date: βασιλέως βασιλέων Τιγράνου  $\epsilon\lambda\sigma.$  anno 236. It commenced Oct. B. C. 77, marking the 7th year of his occupation of Syria: βασιλέως βασιλέων Τιγράνου μεγάλου.  $\alpha\mu\sigma.$  anno 241. In this year, commencing Oct. B. C. 72, *Mithridates* after the victory of *Lucullus* took refuge in Armenia. See the Tables B. C. 72."



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346. 30. In the Table for "death of *Sidetes*" &c. r. [death of *Sidetes* ..... 162. 4.] omitting the other dates.
356. k. add "Theodoret. ad Zach. I. 7. tom. II. p. 1596. 'Εβραῖοι τὸν Ξανθικὸν πρῶτον ἴσασι μῆνα' —ἐκείθεν τοίνυν ἀριθμεῖν ἀρχομένους ἐνδέκατος ὁ Σαβὰτ εὐρεθήσεται' ἔστι δὲ ὁ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Περίτιος."
357. 27. after "Ἀπριλλίῳ α'" add "Lydus de Mens. p. 75. Μάρτιος—Ξανθικός παρὰ Μακεδόσιν. He follows the computation of Pergamus."
363. 20. at "*Tisri*" add this note tt: "Tzetzes ad Hesiod. Opp. 502. compares various months: οἱ μῆνες κατ' Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ἑλλήνας καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἑβραίους ὀνομάζονται οὕτως· οἱ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· Τυβί, Μεχίρ, Φαμενώθ, κ. τ. λ. οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων· Ἰανουάριος, κ. τ. λ. οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· Αὐδυναῖος, Περίτιος, Δῦστρος, Ξανθικός, κ. τ. λ. The Athenian and Hebrew months are corrupted or transposed; the others are rightly placed in the following order:

ROMAN.	EGYPTIAN.	MACEDONIAN.
1. <i>January</i>	5. <i>Tybi</i>	3. <i>Audynæus</i>
2. <i>February</i>	6. <i>Mechir</i>	4. <i>Peritius</i>
3. <i>March</i>	7. <i>Phamenoth</i>	5. <i>Dystrus</i>
4. <i>April</i>	8. <i>Pharmuthi</i>	6. <i>Xanthicus</i>
5. <i>May</i>	9. <i>Pachon</i>	7. <i>Artemisius</i>
6. <i>June</i>	10. <i>Payni</i>	8. <i>Dæsius</i>
7. <i>July</i>	11. <i>Epiphi</i>	9. <i>Panemus</i>
8. <i>August</i>	12. <i>Mesorë</i>	10. <i>Loüs</i>
9. <i>September</i>	1. <i>Thoth</i>	11. <i>Gorpiæus</i>
10. <i>October</i>	2. <i>Phaothi</i>	12. <i>Hyperberetæus</i>
11. <i>November</i>	3. <i>Athyr</i>	1. <i>Dius</i>
12. <i>December</i>	4. <i>Chæac</i>	2. <i>Apellæus</i>

The Egyptian months are the fixed Alexandrine: the expression κατὰ Ἑλλήνας is used by Tzetzes as it is used by Epiphanius (see p. 355), to express the Syrian Greeks."

380. k. 1. "Eusebius Chron." &c. Insert as follows: "Syncellus indeed places the library at Ol. 132, the close of the reign of *Philadelphus*: p. 273. B. τὴν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκην καθίστησιν ρλβ' ὀλυμπιάδι, ἥς πληρουμένης τελευτᾷ. But Eusebius Chron." &c.
391. f. 10. col. 2. after "B. C. 89" add "*Cleopatra* is mentioned by Philo leg. ad Caium c. 20. τῆς ἀρχαίας Κλεοπάτρας, ἥτις ἦν προμάρτυς τῆς τελευταίας."
401. 27. at "Ἀθήναιον" add this note ll: "Pausan. I. 8, 2. ὁ δὲ Ἀττάλος, Ἀττάλου μὲν παῖς ὢν ἀδελφιδούς δὲ Φιλεταίρου, τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐμένους παραδόντος ἔσχεν ἀνεψιῷ. μέγιστον δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ τῶν ἔργων· Γαλάτας γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἦν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν ἀναφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης."
442. l. 2. after "CCLX millia" add "Syncellus p. 276. C. also has εὐρέθησαν μυριάδες κς'."
443. 28. for "*Sempronius*" r. "*Sempronio*"
453. c. This note appears in the wrong place. Expunge the reference c at p. 453. l. 26. and transfer this note to the end of note c. "ἄγων τὸν ἵππον. Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. gives the same date," &c.
473. f. 19. after "τῷ Πλάτωνος" insert "Apollon. de Mirab. c. 40. Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός ἐν τῷ Τελίστῳ βίβη φησὶν, φησὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συνέκυρσεν, κ. τ. λ."
3. col. 2. after "ἐν Δῆλῳ" insert "Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 300. D. Πυθαγόρας, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πυθαγόρῳ βίβη καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Θεόπομπος, Τυρρηνὸς ἦν. For the reason why *Pythagoras* was called a Tyrrhenian see I. p. 96. s."

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474. f. 8. after “*αἰσχροῦς*” insert “Conf. Schol. Hesiod. Opp. 190. et Gaisfordium ad loc. Item Tzetz. ad Opp. 316.”
476. g. 15. after “subjects” insert “Idem p. 1095. A. μεμαθηκόσιν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, γράφειν περὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ περὶ Εὐριπίδου, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Δικαίταρχος. p. 384. D. Δικαίταρχος Εὐριπίδην οἶεται πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον εἰπεῖν, Οὐ βούλομαι πλουτοῦντι δορεῖσθαι πένης κ. τ. λ. [conf. Matthiae. fr. Eur. p. 94]. These two passages perhaps occurred in §. 15.”
477. q. 10. after “intended” add “Clem. Al. Protr. p. 61. C. ἄγαμαι τὸν θεῖον σοφιστὴν· Θεόκριτος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπισκώπτων ὁ Θεόκριτος τὰς δόξας τὰς κενὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥς εἶχον περὶ θεῶν, πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, Ἄνδρες, εἶπεν, θαρρεῖτε ἄχρις ἂν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς θεοὺς πρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποθνήσκοντας.”
478. s. 20. after “*ἀναγραφῇ*” insert “Marcellin. Vit. Thuc. p. XII. κάθοδος ἐδόθη τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος λέγει καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.”
481. y. 27. col. 2. after “*eloquium*” insert “Augustine Ibid. VI. 7. remarks, *Euhemero, qui omnes tales deos non fabulosa garrulitate sed historica diligentia homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit.*”
486. h. 3. col. 2. after “*μέλει*” insert “Herodian περὶ μου. λέξ. p. 19. quotes two lines of *Rhithon*: *Ῥίθων ἐν δούλῳ Μελεάργῳ*  
*ὀλοῖσιν ὑμῶν ἐμπέφυκ’ εὐλυχία.*  
*καὶ εὐνιοβάται [ἐν Ἰοβάτῃ Hermannus].*  
*χρῆζω γὰρ ὅλιον μισθὸν αὐτὸς λαμβάνειν.”*
488. 16. at “*Σαράπιδός ἐστιν*” add this note °°: “Related at large by Tacitus Hist. IV. 83. *Ægyptiorum antistites sic memorant, Ptolemæo regi qui Macedonum primus Ægypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriæ recens conditæ mœnia templaque et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem—juvenem qui moneret ut fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis effigiem suam acciret.—Ptolemæus—Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem ceremoniarum Eleusine exciverat, quænam illa superstitio, quod numen, interrogat, &c. Plutarch Mor. p. 984. A. again ascribes this to Ptolemy Soter. Clemens Alex. Protr. p. 31. B. by an error ascribes it to Philadelphus.*”
490. x. 11. col. 2. “*Corcyra*,” &c. See I. p. 135. w.
491. x. 5. after “*χρόνον κ. τ. λ.*” insert “And from his era for Rome: Dionys. Ant. I. p. 187. τὸν τελευταῖον τῆς Ῥώμης γενόμενον οἰκισμὸν ἢ κτίσιν, ἢ ὅ τι δήποτε χρὴ καλεῖν, Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅτ’ κανόνι χρησάμενος, ἅμα Καρχηδόνι κτιζομένην γενέσθαι φησίν, ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος. = B. C. 813.”
495. 3. at “ad Sextum l. c.” add this note: °° “*Aristarchus* wrote in prose, but *Eudoxus* had written in verse: Plutarch. Mor. p. 402. F. οὐδὲ ἀστρολογίαν ἀδοξοτέραν ἐποίησαν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον καὶ Τιμόχαριν [see II. p. 331] καὶ Ἀρίστυλλον καὶ Ἰππαρχον [III. p. 532], καταλογάδην γράφοντες, ἐν μέτροις πρότερον Εὐδόξου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θαλοῦ γραφόντων· εἰ γὰρ Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν αὐτῷ ἀναφερομένην ἀστρολογίαν. Wyttenbach ad l. suspects, perhaps without reason, that *Eudoxus* is not properly named here.”
498. a. 53. after “*ἐξετέθη*” add “Etymol. v. ἰήϊε. Ἰήϊος ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγεται, ὡς μὲν Δοῦρις, ὅτι ἐν ἀγκάλαις βαστάσασα τὸν ἥλιον ἢ Λητῶ ἐνεκελεύσατο εἰποῦσα, Ἰήϊε παῖνον.”
506. o. 15. for “Idem Ant. I.” substitute “Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 329. A. Ναβουχοδονόσορ πρὸ τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσιν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπὶ Φοίνικας καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἐστράτευσεν, ὥς φησι Βῆρωνσσος ἐν ταῖς Καλδαϊκαῖς ἱστορίαις. Josephus Ant. I.”
25. after “*εἰσηγησαμένον*” insert “The first and second books τῶν Βαβυλωνιακῶν are quoted by Polyhistor apud Syncellum p. 28. B.—31. B.”



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506. 1. at "Metrodorus B. C. 277" add note 00: "Clem. Al. Strom. II. p. 417. C. Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ μείζονα εἶναι τὴν παρ' ἡμᾶς αἰτίαν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, Ἀγαθὸν, φησὶ, ψυχῆς τί ἄλλο ἢ τὸ σαρκὸς εὐσταθὲς κατὰσθημα, καὶ τὸ περὶ ταύτης πιστὸν ἔλπισμα; Conf. Cic. de Offic. III. 33. Tusc. II. 6. Plutarch. Mor. p. 1087. D. apud Potter ad loc."
511. a. 4. ἱρσίλοχος. Mr. Lewis suggests ὀρείλοχος.  
 9. after "ἐν τῇ Ἀπ." insert "Parthen. c. 28. ἱστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Ἀπολλοδώρου."  
 20. after "Θραξ" insert "Parthen. c. 26. ἱστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Θρακί. Idem c. 13. ἱστορεῖ Εὐφ. Θρακί."  
 17. col. 2. after "χιλιάσι" insert "Steph. Byz. Χαονία. Εὐφορίων χιλιάσι"  
 Ζητὸς Χαονίοιο προμάντιες ἠδᾶξαντο"  
 18. col. 2. expunge [forte Χιλιάδων] and substitute "[leg. Ἀλευάδων cum Ruhnkenio ad Timæum p. 22. post Valesium]." This work therefore of *Euphorion* περὶ Ἀλευάδων is a distinct title, and is not to be inserted here.
512. a. 24. add from I. p. 133. p. col. 1. lin. 14.  
 38. after "αἰθαρίτας" insert "Eustath. ad Hom. II. β'. p. 285. ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Περφυρίου—ὅτι Εὐφορίων λέγει τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ βέντος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αἵαντος σφαγῆς ἰάκινθον ἐκφῦναι."  
 44. after "μολεθυροῖς" insert "Schol. Eur. Phœn. 682. Εὐφορίων.  
 ἀλλ' εὐπω Θήβη πεπρωμένα κείτο τέλαιντα,  
 τὴν βᾶ ποτε Κρονίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσεφονείῃ,  
 ἐς γαμέτην ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπαθήσασθαι ἔμελλε  
 νυμφιδίου σπείροιο παρακλίναςα καλὴπτρην."
512. b. 5. Ἀπὶς γ. Ἀπὶς.
513. c. 50. col. 2. after "Antigonus Carystius" add as follows: "Mr. Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 749. thinks that *Ptolemy* mentioned in c. 23. is *Ptolemy Physcon*: *Aristocles illum non Pyrrhonis sed Pyrrhonorum vitas scripsisse et κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους vixisse affirmat; neque impedit quo minus Physconis juventutem attigisse putetur.* But *Physcon* began to reign B. C. 146; 140 years after the death of *Pyrrho*. *Antigonus*, then, who lived near the times of the disciples of *Pyrrho*, could not have survived to that period. The disciples of *Pyrrho* (see p. 476) preceded *Epicurus*, and were not within the reach of *Physcon*, being contemporary with the disciples of *Aristotle*. Again, he writes the lives of *Pyrrho* and *Timon*; for αὐτῶν in *Aristocles* means *Pyrrho* and *Timon*. No others are mentioned. *Antigonus*, then, who lived near the times of *Pyrrho* and of *Timon*, must have flourished at least 80 years before the reign of *Physcon*; and *Ptolemy* named in c. 23. was some other *Ptolemy*."
519. k. 7. col. 2. after "lib. VII." insert "Lib. VIII. Apollon. de Mirabil. c. 14. Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ ἡ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον φησὶ κύλπον πηγὴν εἶναι ὕδατος κ. τ. λ."  
 41. col. 2. after "Lib. XIX.—609. a." insert "Lib. XX. Apollon. de Mirabil. c. 18. Φύλαρχος ἐν κ' ἱστοριῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς φησὶν ἐνεχθῆναι λευκὴν βίζαν κ. τ. λ."
521. 7. after "1136. C." insert "Clem. Al. Strom. V. p. 569. C."
524. s. 46. col. 2. after "Λ. ἀν." insert as follows:  
 "15 \* κτίσεις Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν. Schol. Apollon. IV. 324. ὁ δὲ Καυλιακὸς σκόπελος τῆς Σκυθίας πλησίον τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ὃς μνημονεύει Πολέμων ἐν κτίσει [Cod. Pur. κτίσεσιν] Ἰταλικῶν καὶ Σικελικῶν.  
 15 \* \* περὶ τῶν Θήβησιν Ἡρακλείων. Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 153. Πολέμων ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Θήβ. Ἡρακλ. φησὶ χαλκὸν τὸ ἄθλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Λυκαίοις."
525. s. 40. after "more fully" insert "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 30. C. Πολέμωνα ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον."

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41. col. 2. after “ἵππον Νισαῖον” add “Clem. Al. Protr. p. 24. C. Πολέμων δὲ κεχηρνός Ἀπόλλωνος οἶδεν ἄγαλμα. p. 25. D. Πολέμων δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν Τρωάδα κατοικοῦντας ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μῦς, οὓς σμίνθους καλοῦσι θρησκεύειν κ. τ. λ. Schol. Pindar. Nem. X. 12. Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ Ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀργυρίπποις ἄγιόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ [Diomedis] ἱερόν. Schol. Eur. Hippol. 230. Λέων δὲ πρῶτος Λακεδαιμόνιος πρὸ Ὀλυμπιάδου ἐνίκησεν Ἐνέταις ἵπποις, ὡς Πολέμων ἱστορεῖ, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τῇ εἰκόνι Λέων Λακεδαιμόνιος ἵπποισι νικῶν Ἐνέταις [l. νικῶν ἵπποις Ἐνέταισιν], Ἀντικλείδα πατὴρ. This we may refer to No. 15.”
531. g. 28. col. 2. after “γάλακτι” add “Schol. Eur. Or. 304. νοσῆς: Καλλίστρατος τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ σ γραφὴν διδάσκει “κἂν μὴ νοσῇ.” 424. διὰ τριῶν: ἐν τοῖς Καλλιστράτου γέγραπται ἐπιζητήσκειν ἂν τις πῶς διὰ τριῶν εἰρήκει κ. τ. λ. 1030. γράφεται καὶ δόμον· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Καλλίστρατος φησὶν Ἀριστοφάνη γράφειν.”
531. k. 7. after “ἐπιλαθέσθαι” add “Clem. Al. Strom. V. p. 595. C. Ἀντίπατρος ὁ στωϊκός, τρία συγγραψάμενος βιβλία περὶ τοῦ ὅτι κατὰ Πλάτωνα μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν, ἀποδείκνυσιν ὅτι καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν αὐτάρκης ἡ ἀρετὴ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν· καὶ ἄλλα πλείω παρατίθεται δόγματα σύμφωνα τοῖς στωϊκοῖς.”
534. p. 35. after “τῇ περιήλφ” add in another paragraph as follows:  
 “5. συναγωγὴ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν. Schol. Hesiod. Theog. 117. Μνασέας ὁ Παταρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Δ. χρ. συν. εὐρυστέρνας ἱερὸν φησὶν ἀναστῆσαι. Conf. Gaisfordium ad locum. Schol. Pindar. Ol. II. 70. Μνασέας ἐν τῇ περὶ χρησμῶν γράφει· Λαΐε Λαβδακίδη, ἀνδρῶν περιώνυμε πάντων. Schol. Eur. Phœn. 411. ὁ χρησμός ὑπὸ Μνασέου οὕτως ἀναγέγραπται·  
 κούρων δὲ γάμους ζεύξον κάπρῃ ἡδὲ λέοντι,  
 οὓς κεν ἰδῆς προθύροισι τεοῦ δόμον ἐξ ἱεροῦ  
 ἀμοῦ στείχοντας, μὴδὲ φρεσὶ σῆσι πλανηθῆς.  
 which we may refer to the same work.”
19. col. 2. after “τὸν Σάραπιν” insert “Schol. Eur. Phœn. 651. ἱστορεῖ γὰρ Μνασέας. on the birth of *Bacchus*.”
33. col. 2. after “καὶ Κόνων” insert “Schol. Eur. Rhes. 36. e cod. Vat. Μνασίας δὲ [l. Μνασέας δὲ] ξενικώτερον ἀφηγεῖται τὰ περὶ Πᾶνα, κ. τ. λ.”
- 35—37. From the preceding insertions we must now for “six” and “twenty-nine” substitute “seven” and “thirty-three.”
535. 7. at “Diodorus—B. C. 111.” add this note: pp “Diodorus is mentioned by Clemens Strom. II. p. 415. C. Δεινόμαχος καὶ Καλλιφῶν τέλος εἶναι ἔφασαν πᾶν τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐπιτυγχάνειν ἡδονῆς, καὶ τυγχάνειν· ὃ τε Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς [conf. a. 250, 3] τέλος μὲν εἶναι τὸ ἀοχλήτως ζῆν, τελικὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν μόνον, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν· καὶ Διόδωρος ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως γενόμενος τέλος ἀποφαίνεται τὸ ἀοχλήτως καὶ καλῶς ζῆν.”
539. b. 35. Λυκισκά.] See I. p. 341. a.  
 55. expunge “9. περὶ παντοδαπῆς,” &c. For the reason see Philolog. Mus. vol. I. p. 88.  
 14. col. 2. περὶ Φρυγίας.] See I. p. 344. d.
540. b. 7. for “the Phrygian *Alexander*—by others” substitute “the Milesian *Alexander* was originally of Caria.”  
 20. for “was written” r. “written.”  
 15. col. 2. after “Syncell. p. 28. A.” insert—“31. B. These accounts *Polyhistor* derived from *Berosus*: Syncell. Ibid. τούτων δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀλ. τοῦ πολυῖστορος, ὡς ἀπὸ Βηρώσσου τοῦ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ ψευδηγοῦντος. *Polyhistor* on the Assyrian and Median kings is quoted again by Syncellus p. 78. For his account of Assyrian affairs see I. p. 269. seq.”
547. b. 5. col. 2. before “Josephus” insert “Lydus de Mag. Rom. p. 282. ὁ Κάστωρ ἐν ἐπιτομῇ χρονικῶν. Probably the *χρονικά* described by Eusebius.”
548. g. 15. col. 2. expunge “Hence perhaps Virgil—Æn. IV. 345.”



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549. g. 9. col. 2. after “γαίης” insert “Etymol. apud Gaisford. ad Schol. Hesiod. p. 84. Ἀργει-  
φόντης—παρὰ Παρηνίφ και ἐπὶ τοῦ Τηλέφου.”

551. m. 30. after “Heeren. ad locum” insert in separate paragraphs as follows :

“7. περὶ θεῶν. Simplic. ad Aristot. Phys. auscult. p. 32. b. 33. Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ περὶ  
θεῶν πραγματείᾳ Διογένειν τὸν Ἀπολλωνιάτην ἱστορεῖ τὸ μεταξὺ πυρὸς καὶ αἰέρος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποφύνα-  
σθαι. p. 32. a. 38. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ—Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς εἰς Διογ. τὸν Ἀπολλ. ἀνέμειψεν. p. 6.  
b. 1. Νικόλαος μέντοι τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ μεταξὺ πυρὸς καὶ αἰέρος τὸ στοιχεῖον τίθεσθαι.

8. περὶ τῶν ἐν πρακτικοῖς καλῶν. Simplic. ad Epictet. Enchir. p. 314. Schw. ἅπερ ἄλ-  
λοι διὰ πολυστίχων πραγματειῶν συνέταξαν, οἱ μὲν περὶ καθηκόντων τὰς πραγματείας ἐπιγράψαντες, οἱ  
δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν πρακτικοῖς καλῶν, ὥσπερ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός.

Nicolaüs is quoted in another work by Simplicius ad Aristot. de Caelo p. 97. a.  
39. Νικόλαος ὁ περιπατητικὸς παράφρασιν ποιούμενος τῶν ἐνταῦθα λεγομένων ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας  
τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους λεγομένοις ἔθηκε τὴν ἔννοιαν. p. 1. b. 15. Νικόλαος ὁ περιπατητικὸς περὶ πάντων  
τῶν ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ κατ’ εἶδος ποιεῖται λόγον. But the title of this work will not be quite clear  
till we have the genuine text of Simplicius de Caelo.”

551. n. 6. col. 2. after “λόγου” insert “Schol. Aristoph. apud Dindorf. fragm. Aristoph. p. 147.  
Περσικὸν ὄρχημα, περὶ οὗ Ἰόβας μακρὸν πεποιήται λόγον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἱατρικῆς [corrigit Dindorf.  
θεατρικῆς] ἱστορίας.”

552. 1. after “7” insert this note: “Photius Cod. 83. makes *Dionysius* begin to write  
his history at B. C. 7: οὕτως ἀρχεται τῆς πραγματείας. and after him Vossius Hist. Græc.  
lib. II. c. 3. and Fabricius. But *Dionysius* himself in the passage partly quoted at  
B. C. 29 implies that he had been employed twenty-two years in collecting materials,  
and in preparing his history, and that B. C. 7 was the date at which his labours were  
completed, and not the period at which they commenced. He says, I. p. 20. βούλομαι  
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν εἰπεῖν αἷς ἐχρησάμην ὅτ’ ἐμελλον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ γραφῇ—χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ  
εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος γενόμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρέψας—ἐν πάντι τούτῳ χρόνῳ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς  
τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην διετέλουν πραγματευόμενος, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν λογιστάτων ἀνδρῶν οἷς εἰς ὁμι-  
λίαν ἦλθον διδαχῇ παραλαβών, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναλεξάμενος—τότε ἐπεχείρησα τῇ γραφῇ.  
He had already been employed in writing, and the twenty-two years included not  
only the preparation of materials but the composition of his history; and I agree with  
Dodwell, who assigns this year as the period in which it was published. This is con-  
firmed by another consideration. *Dionysius* survived his history some few years,  
because he lived to compose an epitomè in five books of his own work; as we learn  
from Photius Cod. 84. And yet he had been already dead some years before Strabo  
wrote, as Dodwell justly determines. But if *Dionysius* had been dead several years  
in A. D. 18, and yet lived a few years after the publication of his history, it is far  
more probable that he completed it in B. C. 7, than that he began to write in that  
year. His preface, then, like the preface of Pliny, was the last thing written; and  
he there gives the year of its publication, as Pliny in his preface gives the date,  
A. D. 79, at which his H. N. was finished.”

555. s. 7. after γραφαί) insert “Joseph. Apion. II. p. 1226. ὁ Ἀπίων φησὶν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτια-  
κῶν τάδε, κ. τ. λ.”

21. after “δελφῶνα κ. τ. λ.” insert in another paragraph :

“4. κατὰ Ἰουδαίων. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 320. Β. Ἀπίων ὁ γραμματικὸς, ὁ πλειστονίκης  
ἐπικληθεὶς, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἱστοριῶν καίτοι φιλαπεχθονήτως πρὸς Ἑβραίους διακείμε-  
νος, ὥτε Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένος ὥς καὶ κατὰ Ἰουδαίων συντάξασθαι βιβλίον. The testimony of  
Africanus has been given already I. p. 6. s.”

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36. after "*componēbat*" add "Josephus Ant. XVIII. 8, 1. attests that *Apion* was an ambassador at Rome at the same time with *Philo*; and consequently living in the winter of A. D.  $\frac{3}{8}$ . Josephus notices his origin Apion. II. 3. p. 1230. γεγενημένος ἐν Ὀάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου, πάντων Αἰγυπτίων πρῶτος ὢν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις. 4. p. 1234. γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. And his death c. 13. p. 1252."
557. y. 10. after "*Andron of Ephesus*" insert "From Porphyry apud Euseb. l. c. it appears that he preceded *Theopompus*. See I. p. 257. r."
20. after "ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις" insert "Apollon. de Mirab. c. 8. Ἄνδρων ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον θυσίων."
557. z. 16. col. 2. after "ἀναιρεῖσθαι" κ. τ. λ. insert "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 27. B. Λυκτίους—Ἀντικλείδης ἐν νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Διῖ."
558. 4. after "Cod. Vat. apud Dionys." add "This author is quoted Schol. Eur. Rhes. 36. e cod. Vaticano: Ἀρήθος [l. Ἀρίαιθος] ὁ Τεγεάτης αἰθέρος αὐτὸν καὶ νύμφης Οἰνῆς γενεαλογεῖ. de *Pane*. Whence we learn that *Ariæthus* was of Tegea."
558. 26. after "Ῥῶμον" add "Conf. Euseb. Chron. I. 45. Syncellum p. 192."
559. f. See I. p. 347. g.
560. h. 5. after "Παλληνιακοῖς" insert as follows: "Schol. Eur. Rhes. 28. e Cod. Vat. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τρίτην (Εὐρώπην) ἀναγράψαντες, καθάπερ Ἡγήσιππος ἐν τοῖς Παλληνιακοῖς, γράφων οὕτως: Κάδμος σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῆς Εὐρώπ[ης] Τηλεφάνη ἐπίει [l. ἐπῆει] περὶ Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπυθάνετο Εὐρώπην ἐχ. . . . ἐν Θράκη. καὶ οὕτως ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸν κατ' ἀντίπεραν ἥπειρον. καὶ ἤρχεν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ πάντων Εὐρώπῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολειφθεῖσα, οὐχ ἡ Φοίνικος, ἀλλ' ἐπιχωρία τις γυνή. ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ ἥπειρος ἅπασα ἡ πρὸς Βορέαν ἄνεμον Εὐρώπῃ κέκληται."
560. k. For some additions see I. p. 351. t.
561. k. 5. for "de *Argonautis*" r. "de *Idmone Argonauta*."
561. m. 16. after "ἔφν" insert "See Athen. XV. p. 702. a. quoting an ode of *Ariphron*, where the same lines occur. The coincidence is pointed out by Fabricius ad Sexti locum, although unnoticed by Brunck Anacr. p. 106."
562. o. 4. after "Ἐλαίτης" add "Quoted again XIII. p. 621. Μενεκράτης ὁ Ἐλαίτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ κτίσεων."
563. r. 6. after "παραδόξοις" add "Clem. Al. Protr. p. 20. Α. αἱ μὲν Μοῦσαι τοιαίδε· ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Μυρσίφῳ τῷ Λεσβίῳ."
612. 10. for "agrees with me in observing" r. "observes"
614. 18. for "Ol. 70. 3." r. "Ol. 72. 3."
619. 13—15. for "But we know—24th *Metagitnion*" substitute as follows: "But as the intercalary month was interposed between *Loüs* of the intercalary year and *Dius* of the year following, throwing back the last day of *Loüs* 30 days farther from Oct. 28th than August 30th, the lowest date for *Loüs* would occur, not in the intercalary year itself, but in the year which followed (see above p. 363. v): and when *Dius* commenced on Oct. 28th, *Loüs* would terminate on Aug. 18th. But we know that in Ol. 110. 2 *Boëdromion* began Sept. 6. If, then, *Loüs* had been brought down to the lowest possible point, the last day of *Loüs* would have fallen upon Aug. 18=12th *Metagitnion*."















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